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A

LIBRARY OF FATHERS

OF THE

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH,

ANTERIOR TO THE DIVISION OF THE EAST AND WEST.

TRANSLATED BY MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

YET SHALL NOT THY TEACHERS BE REMOVED INTO A CORNER ANY MORE, BUT THINE EYES SHALL SEE THY TEACHERS. *Isaiah* XXX. 20.

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER;
J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.
MDCCCXLII.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

WILLIAM

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND,

FORMERLY REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

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IN TOKEN OF

REVERENCE FOR HIS PERSON AND SACRED OFFICE,

AND OF

GRATITUDE FOR HIS EPISCOPAL KINDNESS.

75314

TERTULLIAN.

TRANSLATED BY THE

REV. C. DODGSON, M.A.

PERPETUAL CURATE OF DARESBURY,
EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF RIPON,
LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

VOL. I.

APOLOGETIC AND PRACTICAL TREATISES.

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER:
J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.
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CONTENTS.

		Page
	Preface	i
I	Apology	1
	Note A, On the Apostolic decree Acts xv.	107
	Note B, Absence of images in the early Church	109
	Note C, On the doctrine of Paradise	116
	Note D, On the early views as to the Millennium	120
II	Of the Witness of the Soul	131
III	Address to Scapula	142
IV	Address to the Martyrs	150
V	Of the Crown	158
	Note E, Of the early views as to military service	184
VI	Of Public Shows	187
VII	Of Idolatry	220
	Note F, Of the human appearance of our Lord	252
VIII	Of Baptism	255
	Note G, Of the validity of heretical Baptism	280
IX	Of Prayer	298
	Note H, On the title "Spirit" used of the Divine Nature of our Lord	321
	Note I, On "The Son" being called "The Will" of the Father	324
X	Of Patience	327
XI	Of Repentance	349
	Note K, On the term "satisfaction" as used of works of repentance	369
	Note L, Exomologesis, the whole act of doing penance	376
	Note M, In what cases and for what ends Confession was required in the Ancient Church	379
XII	To his Wife, Book 1.	409
	Note N, On the early views as to the meaning of 1 Tim. 3, 1.	419
XIII	To his Wife, Book 2.	421
	Note O, On the early views as to marriage after divorce	431

		Page
XIV	On Prescription against Heretics	434
	Note P, On the early traces and variations of the Apostles' Creed	480
	Note Q, On the title "Rock," Matt. 16, 18. . .	491
	Note R, "The keys of the kingdom of Heaven," Matt. 16, 19. given to all the Apostles . . .	497
	Additional Notes	499

PREFACE.

Of the life of Tertullian little is known, except what is contained in the brief account of St. Jerome[a]. "Tertullian a presbyter, the first Latin writer after Victor and Apollonius, was a native of the province of Africa and city of Carthage, the son of a proconsular centurion: he was a man of a sharp and vehement temper[b], flourished under Severus and Antoninus Caracalla, and wrote numerous works, which as they are generally known, I think it unnecessary to particularize. I saw at Concordia in Italy an old man named Paulus. He said that, when young, he had met at Rome with an aged amanuensis of the blessed Cyprian, who told him that Cyprian never passed a day without reading some portion of Tertullian's works, and used frequently to say, *Give me my master*, meaning Tertullian. After remaining a presbyter of the Church until he had attained the middle age of life, Tertullian was by the envy and contumelious treatment of the Roman clergy driven to embrace the opinions of Montanus, which he has mentioned in several of his works under the title of the New Prophecy; but he composed, expressly against the Church, the Treatises de Pudicitiâ, de Persecutione, de Jejuniis, de Monogamiâ, and six books de Ecstasi, to which he added a seventh against Apollonius. He is reported to have lived to a very advanced age, and to have composed many other works which are not extant."

[a] Catal. Scriptt. Eccles.

[b] "acris et vehementis ingenii." Bp. Kaye's translation has been retained; the words, however, appear to me indicative of intellectual as well as of moral qualities.

In addition to these circumstances, it is known from his own writings that he was a convert from heathenism[a], and that he once despised the Gospel[b], which he afterwards embraced. As a Heathen, he had taken pleasure in the savage sports of the gladiators[c], and had fallen into the gross sins of Heathenism[d], but with these he contrasts his subsequent state[e], although with a deep consciousness of abiding sinfulness[f], and of his weakness of faith[g]. Of special infirmities, he[h] takes occasion of writing upon patience, to mention his own impatience. His conversion was probably A.D. 196[i]; his continuance in the Church can thus have been scarcely five years, since in A.D. 201[k], it seems certain that he was a Montanist. He had then, at all events, reached middle age[l]. His Treatises addressed "to his wife," written while in the Church[m], imply the likelihood of continued life; the whole

[a] Apol. c. 18. p. 41. de Pœnit. init. p. 349. Two other passages quoted, de Fuga in Pers. c. 6. and adv. Marc. iii. 21. only imply Gentile origin.

[b] Apol. l. c.

[c] de Spect. c. 19.

[d] de Res. Carnis c. 59.

[e] l. c.

[f] de Cult. Fem. ii. 1. de Pœnit. c. 4. and fin.

[g] de Bapt. c. 10. p. 267.

[h] de Pat. c. 1. p. 327.

[i] It seems clear, from the conclusion of the de Pallio, that it was written on his conversion to Christianity, the pallium being the dress of Christians. "Thus far speaketh the Pallium. But as for me, I now transfer my life to that sect and discipline, which is [not merely philosophical but] Divine also. Rejoice, Pallium, and be glad; a better philosophy hath accepted thee, from the time that thou becamest the Christian's dress." But the date of the de Pallio itself, in connection with Tertullian's other writings, then becomes fixed by the passage, in which he speaks of the peace consequent upon the harmony of the three Augusti, "How many cities hath the triple excellence of the existing rule either produced, or enlarged, or restored? God favouring so many Augusti, making them as one, how many census have been formed! how many people purified! how many ranks ennobled! how many barbarians driven out! Of a truth, the world, that most cultivated demesne of this Empire, all the aconite of hostility having been rooted out, with the cactus and brambles of treacherous intimacy, is adorned and agreeable above the orchards of Alcinous, or the rose-gardens of Midas." c. 2. The chief events alluded to, seem to have been the suppression of the revolt of Niger, the victories over the Arabians, Parthians, Adiabenians, the capture of Byzantium. The three Augusti, Severus, Antoninus Caracalla, and Albinus. The only other date would be two years later, when after the revolt and death of Albinus, Geta was made Cæsar; but they of whom T. speaks were three Augusti, Geta was not entitled Augustus until A. 208. This is subsequent to the date of some of T.'s Apologetic writings. (Pamelius and Scaliger agree in the above.)

[k] The date (as it seems) of the de Corona, (see notice, below, p. 158.) He was certainly a Montanist in A.D. 207. the date of the first book against Marcion. In the fifteenth year of Severus." (c. 15.)

[l] S. Jerome above.

[m] Tillemont (Note 3. sur Tertullien) on this ground infers that T. wrote these Treatises in the interval between his conversion and his ordination. In the absence of any marks of their precise date, the assumption cannot be disproved.

tenor of the two books implies that he was living in the ordinary course of married life. Previous to his conversion, he seems to have been engaged in the practice of the law[n], his accurate acquaintance with which Eusebius has occasion distinctly to specify[o]; on his conversion he abandoned it[p], and in the interval before his secession, was admitted to the Priesthood[q]. In this short interval, besides the works belonging to it now extant, he "detected, and as it seemed uprooted, the heresy of Praxeas," which had spread to Carthage, and brought Praxeas himself to sign a formal, though, it subsequently appeared, a hypocritical recantation, which was preserved in the Church[r]. In the same period probably he wrote two treatises against Marcion, the first a sketch, the second a fuller work, lost through the treachery of an apostate Catholic[s]. A later author[t] mentions that he had "practised Rhetoric at Carthage for many years, with much distinction," and this is perhaps borne out by the very varied character of his learning[u]. An early work of his is also mentioned by S. Jerome[x], written as

[n] The passage, quoted by Pamelius, (de Pallio, c. 5.) does not directly prove this; for it is spoken by the Pallium personified; it relates to other offices, judicial and military, ("non judico, non milito,") and declares that they which wore it had abandoned public life altogether. ("I have gone aloof from the people. My only business is within myself.") Yet, doubtless T. had reference to himself also, and the great prominence given to the law in the description makes it probable that he was previously engaged in it.

[o] H. E. ii. 2. "Tertullian, a man accurately acquainted with the Roman laws, and in other respects distinguished, and among those in great repute at Rome." This is said on occasion of the history of Tiberius' proposal to rank our Lord among the deities of Rome.

[p] de Pallio l. c.

[q] S. Jerome above. The way in which in the de An. c. 9 he distinguishes himself from the people, implies plainly that he was a priest. In the de Monog. c. 12. and the de Exh. Cast. c. 7. in which he includes himself among the laity, he must be speaking communicatively.

[r] adv. Prax. c. 1.

[s] adv. Marc. i. 1.

[t] Trithemius Abbas. de Script. Eccl.

[u] Especially in the Apology and the de Corona. Yet in the de Idol. c. 4. p. 224. he speaks of the weakness of his memory.

[x] adv. Jov. i. 7. "Here would he the place to descant on the straits of marriage, and to give full play to the language of Rhetoricians in their common-places. Certainly Tertullian also, when yet young, disported in this subject," and Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. §. 22. "Would you know from how many troubles the unmarried is free, by how many the wife beset, you may read 'Tertullian to a philosophic friend.'" Baronius, A. 197. §. 14. supposes that Tertullian was already a Christian, since S. Jerome in this very Epistle and elsewhere dissuades from reading Heathen writings. But this seems almost too large an inference, knowing, as we do, nothing of the circumstances of his conversion. Tertullian speaks of his own adult, but heathen, sins. (see

an exercise after the manner of Rhetoricians. The greater part of his life was spent at Carthage, for although he mentions incidentally his having been at Rome[x], the chief allusions in his writings are Carthaginian[z]; the small sect which bore his name, lingered on, until S. Augustine's time, in Carthage[a].

Of his mental qualities, the Ancient Church seems to have been much impressed with his acuteness, energy, learning, and eloquence[b]; what we have left, are apparently but a small portion of the great number of works which he composed; and these indicate no ordinary fertility of mind, in that he so little repeats himself, or recurs to favourite thoughts, as is so frequently the case even with the great St. Augustine. His character of mind is thus vividly described by Vincentius[c]: "As Origen among the Greeks, so is Tertullian among the Latins to be accounted far the first of all our writers. For who was more learned than he? Who in divinity or humanity more practised? for by a certain wonderful capacity of mind, he attained to, and understood, all philosophy, all the sects of philosophers, all their founders and supporters, all their systems, all sorts of histories and studies. And for his wit, was he not so excellent, so grave, so forcible, that he almost undertook the overthrow of nothing, which either by quickness of wit or weight of reason he crushed not? Further, who is able to express the praises which his style of speech deserves, which is fraught (I know not how) with that force of reason, that such as it cannot persuade, it compels to assent: whose so many words almost are so many sentences; whose so many senses, so many victories. This know Marcion and Apelles, Praxeas and Hermogenes, Jews, Gentiles, Gnostics, and divers others:

ab. not. d.) It seems more probable that he was not converted until middle age. Like S. Augustine, he may have long been lingering on the borders of Christianity.

[y] de Cult. Fem. i. 7.

[z] In the de Pallio, c. 1. the Apology, c. 9. 45. fin. ad Scap. c. 3. ad Ux. i. 6. de Præscr. c. 36. adv. Marc. iv. 5. de Res. Carni, c. 45. Scorp. c. 6.

[a] S. Aug. de Hær.

[b] "What more learned than Tertullian? what more acute?" S. Jerome, Ep. 60. ad Magn. §. 5. "Tertullian of whom many Treatises, written most eloquently, are commonly read." S. Aug. de Hær. "He published most eloquent and fervid Treatises in defence of the truth." Auct. de Hær.

[c] c. 18. p. 54. Oxf. Tr.

whose blasphemous opinions he hath overthrown with his many and great volumes, as it had been with thunderbolts. And yet this man after all this, this Tertullian, I say, not holding the Catholic doctrine, that is, the universal and old faith, being far more eloquent than faithful, changing afterwards his mind, at last did that which the blessed confessor Hilary in a certain place writeth of him; 'He discredited (quoth he) with his later error his worthy writings:' and he also was a great temptation in the Church. But hereof I would not say more; only this I will add, that by his defending, against the precept of Moses, for true prophecies the new madness of Montanus springing up in the Church, and those mad dreams about new doctrine of frantic women, he deserved that we should also say of him and his writings, 'If a prophet shall rise up in the midst of thee,' and straight after, 'thou shalt not hear the words of that prophet.' Why so? 'Because (quoth he) your Lord God doth tempt you, whether you love Him or no.'"

It is then the more strange, though the more solemn warning, that such an one, so gifted, so honoured, should not only have fallen into heresy, but into one, which would seem to have such little temptation; that he, who had seen his way clearly amid so much error, should have fallen, where there was so little apparently to attract, so much to repel. For it came not in a state of relaxed discipline, as in these latter days, when one might readily suppose that a mind ardent as Tertullian's might be led by the appearance of holiness, amid the degeneracy of the Church; he had not to advocate fasting when neglected or discountenanced, or the restoration of discipline, when sins the most grievous passed unnoticed. Tertullian himself even insists upon the slight difference between the Montanist fasts and those of the Church[b]; he does not even complain that the

[b] de Jejun. c. 15. "How very slight among us is the prohibition of meats! two weeks of dry-food do we offer unto God, and those too not entire, the Sabbaths and Lord's Days being excepted, abstaining too from things, which we do not reject but defer only."

Church discountenanced their optional use, but that she objected to their being imposed of necessity[c]; the picture which he himself gives of the penitence publicly imposed[d], and the nature of the offences which were visited by excommunication, certainly imply no relaxation of discipline; nor does it appear clearly that the Montanists followed out their own principles, so as to exclude all guilty of mortal sin from reconciliation with the Church. The only cases which he presses are sins of the flesh[e]. Again, how few comparatively the cases of second marriages at all times, and then the widowed state which the Montanists would enforce was held in honour by the Church. Yet this slight increase in fasting, the prohibition of second marriages, the extension of a discipline already strict, and the denial of the right to flee in persecution, were the only outward temptations to forsake the Church. On the other hand, they for whom he forsook it, had early the reputation of "making a gain of godliness," systematically levying money on their followers, under the character of Oblations, and that even on the poor, the orphans, and the widows, and of other acts of luxury, pomp, avarice, dissipation[f]. Tertullian himself also joined them

[c] ib. c. 13. "Ye answer that these things are to be done by choice, not by command."

[d] de Pœnit. c. 9. 11. see below, p. 364, 5. 367.

[e] de Pudic. c. 19. 21. He declares them unpardonable as being "sins unto death." (1 John 5, 16.) "You have no choice left, but either to deny that adultery and fornication are mortal sins, or to confess that they are irremissible; for which it is not even permitted to pray." He does not however specify other mortal sin.

[f] Apollonius, who wrote about A. 211. ap. Eus. v. 18. says, "But who is this upstart teacher [Montanus]? His deeds and teaching shew one..... It was he who appointed people to levy money, who under the name of offerings devised the new way of getting bribes, who supplies salaries to those that preach his doctrine, that by gluttony the teaching of that doctrine may gain support." "If they maintain that their prophets have not received presents, let them acknowledge this, that if convicted of having received them, they are no prophets; and then we will bring proofs innumerable that they have received them. And since all the fruits of a prophet must needs be put to the test, tell me, does a prophet dye his hair? does a prophet blacken his eyebrows? is a prophet fond of dress? does a prophet play with tables and dice? does a prophet lend on usury? let them confess whether these things are lawful or not: and that they have taken place with them I will prove." And of Priscilla and Maximilla. "We shew then that these very first prophetesses from the time that they were filled with the Spirit, left their husbands."..... "Thinkest thou not that all Scripture forbids a prophet to receive gifts or money? When then I see that a prophetess has received both gold and silver and costly apparel, how shall I do else than reject her?"

for a while only, and then rejected the authority of the founders of the sect[g], notwithstanding that he seems to have put forward, to himself, the external authority of the spiritual gifts claimed by the Montanists, not the substance of their doctrine, as the ground of his secession[h], and so long regarded the revelations they claimed, as the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Yet, we know not on what ground, retaining those points of discipline, which had probably originally recommended themselves to him, he separated from the Montanists, and formed a small local communion of his own[i]. If also, as seems probable, the Adversus omnes hæreses be his, he had himself been alive to the blasphemies circulated among some sections of them; and we have external testimony, that he at the first wrote against them[k]. His strong perception also of the validity of the "rule of faith," or, as is now said, "Catholic truth," as a definite substantial body of truth not to be departed from; his own well-recognised maxim that what was prior was Apostolic, that innovations branded themselves, as being such; his strong recognition of the Church, as the depository of Apostolic tradition;—would have seemed strong safeguards against his falling into error, and declaring against the Church[l].

In the absence of fuller information, the source of that strange and lamentable fall can only be conjectured. Something there may have been in Montanism, at the outset, more attractive than it now seems, when laid bare. Heresy, like all other sin, is attractive in the present, revolting when past, and the mask turned. Something there must have

g "He discharged from him all the idle pretence of Phrygia, and formed conventicles of Tertullianists. But in doctrine he changed nothing." Prædest.

h "Ourselves, after that time, the recognition and maintaining of the Paraclete separated from the Carnal." adv. Prax. c. 1.

i S. Aug. de Hæres.

k S. Aug. de Hær. "passing over to the Cataphrygas whom he had before overthrown." This seems to be an allusion to the adv. omn. Hær.; possibly, however, (as Tillemont perhaps means to suggest. art. 9.) it only signifies that he "overthrew" them by teaching the truths opposed to their errors, the lawfulness of second marriage, (ad Ux. ii. 1. i. 3. de Pat. c. 13.) of flight in persecution, (ad Ux. i. 3. de Pat. l. c.) of the Church's right to remit all mortal sin, (de Pœn. c. 7.)

l See the de Præscr. and notice below, p. 434, 5.

been, since even a Bishop of Rome[m] was on the point of acknowledging the prophecies of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, even when they had been condemned by his predecessors, and by the Asiatic Churches; and actually restored communion with them. They seem also in a very short time to have found adherents in the parts of the world the most distant[n], and some even among those ready to endure martyrdom[o]. It may be that at first they did not declare against the Church, and seemed only reformers within her[p]. The very rule of Tertullian may also have been, in some degree, the means of ensnaring him, both by leading him to a false security, and, in its application, fixing his mind exclusively on greater deviations from the Faith. For, if one may so judge of one so highly endowed, Tertullian's mind seems remarkable rather for its great acuteness, power, condensed strength, energy, than for its comprehensiveness. His characteristic seems to be the vivid and strong perception and exhibition of single truths or principles. These he exhausts, bares them of every thing extrinsic to them, and then casts them forth the sharper and the more penetrating. They seem to flash on his mind like lightning, and to go forth with its rapidity and clearness. As in the well-known description, "he flashed, he thundered, he shook Greece." But single powers of mind, the more vividly they are possessed and developed, the more, generally, do they impair the even

[m] adv. Prax. c. 1. Episcopum Romanum, agnoscentem *jam* prophetias Montani, Priscæ, Maximillæ, et ex ea agnitione pacem Ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et Ecclesiis eorum adseverando, et præcessorum ejus auctoritates defendendo, coegit et literas pacis revocare jam emissas, et a proposito recipiendorum charismatum concessare.

[n] They seem even to have displaced the Church in Phrygia, (S. Hil. ad Const. ii. §. 9.) in Thyatira, (Epiph. Hær. 51. c. 53.) Their early extent may also be perhaps inferred from the notice of them in S. Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. c. xvii. p. 900. the frequent mention of them in Origen, (see Tillemont, art. 13.) from the letter written against them by Serapion Bp. of Antioch, (Eus. H. E. v. 19.) and by the martyrs of Lyons, (ib. v. 3.) as also from Tertullian. Their subsequent extent is indicated by the frequent notice of them in the decisions on heretical Baptism, (see above, Note G. on the de Bapt. p. 284, &c.) and the statement in Sozomen. (ii. 32.) that they suffered by Constantine's laws against heretics except in Phrygia and the neighbouring provinces, where from the time of Montanus they had existed in great numbers, (Tillem. l. c.)

[o] ad Mart. c. 1. p. 151. and note c.

[p] They were excommunicated in Asia, did not separate themselves from the Church, and would gladly have been restored, see note m.

balance of the whole. Men's very excellences, lest they forget their humility and "be as gods," are often purchased at the expense of other endowments. It is with God Alone to possess all things perfectly. Thus we see how strength of memory and learning are mostly bought by forfeiture of originality or even judgment; inventiveness by want of precision; imaginativeness by absence of accuracy in reasoning; clearness by want of depth; what lies deep struggles to the surface, yet cannot reach it; contemplativeness and practical wisdom are severed; and so on. In this way the very intensity with which Tertullian's mind grasped single truths may have the rather hindered him from seeing their bearings upon other truth. While gazing intently upon one object, a person cannot for the time see others which surround it, or, at most, is only indistinctly conscious of their presence. On each occasion Tertullian seems to be wholly taken up with, and immersed in, the one truth which he is contemplating; and to see other things as they bear upon it, rather than its bearings upon others. It seems for the time the centre, around which his thoughts are revolving. This habit was perhaps augmented by his previous profession. To this habit of mind perhaps belong his frequent argumenta ad hominem; they stop the mouth of an adversary, and with this he seems for the time content; whether he have maintained his position or silenced an adversary seems to him indifferent[q]. One seems to see the habits of a mind, accustomed to bend all its energies to make out its case,—not, of course now, as in Heathenism and on secular subjects, irrespectively of truth or falsehood,—yet, even the more, because fully persuaded of the truth of what it advocates, seizing whatever will fortify its position, without fully considering whether it may not thereby be dismantling some other post, and pressing into its service what really does not belong thither. On different occasions, he seems to look on the same truth upon opposite sides, and each time

[q] It is perhaps out of reverence that he thus contents himself with retorting the charge of worshipping the Cross, (Apol. c. 16.) or the Sun because they prayed towards the East, (ib.)

exclusively, so that from the different point of view, its form seems not only different, but inconsistent and contradictory. He seems at no pains to guard or qualify his statements either to his own mind or that of others; rather he exhibits them unqualified, as being more effective. As an instance of this sort, it has been noticed in the body of the work, how he represents the end of the world, on different occasions, as the object exclusively of hope or fear, so that persons must needs pray for it or against it, long for its coming or its delay[r].

One form in which this habit of mind shewed itself was his very mode of employing his wonted test of heresy—the "rule of faith." The "rule of faith" or body of Apostolic teaching committed to the Church, and concentrated in the Creeds, is as a whole inviolable, either by the Church or by individuals. What has been "delivered once for all" must in its minutest details remain to the end. What is really Apostolical, admits neither of increase nor diminution, without blame. Other things may be true so that they contradict it not, but they cannot form part of it, nor may be ranked with it, because they did not originally belong to it; and what did once belong to it, must, of course, to the end remain a part of it. The doctrine of the Millennium may be true, but cannot be part of that body of truth, because it was not so at the first; the Roman doctrine of Purgatory cannot be true, because it is at variance with the Apostolical tradition of Paradise and a state of rest for those departed in the faith and fear of Christ; the value of almsdeeds or fasting, however of late disparaged, must continue a part of Catholic truth, because it was such. But Tertullian's view of the "rule of faith" seems to have been narrowed by his exclusive consideration of those, to refute whose errors he applied it. These were such as violated it in very gross cases, denying the Creator of the world or the resurrection of the flesh. Against these he urged vividly the extent of their departure from the Apostolic rule, as using the Scriptures

[r] Apol. c. 31. p. 27. note u.

of God, but denying the God Whose they were; presupposing that, until themselves taught, Christians had not known, Who that Christ was, Whose Name they bore[s]. But in this way, he seems to have habituated himself to regard Apostolic tradition as identical with the "rule of faith" or the Creed, so that what did not contradict this, might, although held by the whole Church, be contradicted or corrected. This he lays down after the summary of the Apostles' Creed, which he gives as a Montanist[t]. "This law of faith remaining, all other matters of faith and conversation admit of the novelty of *correction*, the grace of God namely working and advancing, unto the end. For what a thing were it, that whereas the devil ever worketh and daily addeth to the inventions of iniquity, the work of God should either have ceased, or failed to advance!" and, again[u], he represents the Montanists as aggrieved, because blamed for new doctrines which did not touch on these points. "These raise disputes against the Paraclete; for this are the new prophecies rejected, not because Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla preach another God, or annul Christ Jesus, or overthrow any rule of faith or hope, but because they teach to fast oftener than to marry;" and, elsewhere[x], he distinctly lays down that no change in discipline can be heretical, except it flow from heresy in doctrine. "They reproach the discipline of single-marriage as a heresy. Nor are they reduced to deny the Paraclete so much on any ground, as that they think He is the Framer of a new discipline, and that most burdensome to them"—and then

[s] de Præscr. c. 29.

[t] de Virg. vel. c. 1. see more below in Notice on "Prescription against Heretics," p. 434.

[u] de Jej. c. 1. add c. 11. "Undoubtedly heresy and false-prophecy will among us, who are all ministers [antistites] of One God, the Creator, and of His Christ, be judged such by differing as to the Godhead, and therefore I maintain this position unconcerned, leaving them to choose their own point of attack. Thou sayest, carnal one, 'it is the spirit of the devil.' How then does it command duties to our God, to be offered to none but our God? Either maintain that the devil takes part with our God, or be Satan accounted the Paraclete."

[x] de Monog. c. 2. see further p. 434. and init. where he distinguishes the 1) Catholics, 2) Montanists, 3) heretics. "The heretics take away, the Carnal heap up marriages.—But among us, whom the recognising of spiritual gifts rightly causes to be termed 'spiritual.—'"

having put the question quoted already, he objects to himself, " 'In this way of arguing,' sayest thou, 'any thing however novel and burdensome may be ascribed to the Paraclete, although it be from the opposing spirit.' Not so. For the opposing spirit would discover himself from the difference of teaching, first adulterating the rule of faith, and then adulterating the order of discipline, because that must first be corrupted, which precedes in order, i. e. faith as going before discipline. A person must first be a heretic as to God, and then as to the institute of God." There may be truth in this observation of Tertullian, so far that, (could it be traced,) practical heresy always implies doctrinal; but his theory implies yet further, that unless the doctrinal heresy can be shewn, the received tradition as to Apostolic practice may not only be modified by the Church on grounds of expediency, but may on private revelation be corrected as erroneous. Single-marriage was, according to the Montanists, not only an ordinance which might be imposed by the Church, restricting Christian liberty, but a point of faith; so that second-marriage was not only a less excellent way, but was adultery; a change analogous to that in the Council of Trent, which not only imposed the necessity of private confession, but declared it to be de fide, that all mortal sins, even of thought, must be confessed.

In this way, Tertullian facilitated his fall; but its primary source, from within as from without, appears to have been the failing, over which he himself mourns, impatience. St. Jerome hints at this in the external circumstances, when he says[y], that he "was by the envy and contumelious treatment of the Roman Clergy driven to embrace the opinions of Montanus." Internally, he seems to have been irritated at the refusal of the Church to recognise the spiritual claims of the Montanists, and what he deemed the manifestation of the Paraclete. He seems to have regarded it as a rejection of the Spirit[z], and to have thought himself com-

[y] See above, p. i.

[z] "On no other ground, are they compelled so much to deny the Paraclete." de Monog. c. 2. "Subsequently the recognition and maintaining of the Paraclete separated us from the Carnal." adv. Prax. c. 1.

pelled to remain outwardly separated from the body which so rejected It. Yet he may have persuaded himself that, the faith remaining entire, though visibly divided, they remained invisibly one Church, even as the several portions of the Church, whose communion is interrupted, Eastern, Western, our own, now do,—only that in the case of Tertullian, it was not merely a misunderstanding between Churches, each having the Apostolic constitution and succession, but the formation of a sect de novo, opposed to the Church. This at least seems the most natural meaning of a passage written by him as a Montanist, when, speaking of the agreement of the Eastern and Western Churches, he includes himself in the Western[a]. He may also in part have been carried away by his sympathies with an individual, Proculus, whose continency and eloquence he admired[b]. But the difference of his tone in and out of the Church, the remarkable expressions of deep self-abasement on many occasions, while within it, the arrogant and self-confident language after his secession[c], the calm and subdued tone, prevalent in the former, the irritated and impatient temper, visible in the latter period, seem to imply some moral fault, which his secession carried out into

[a] "In Greece and some harharous nations helonging to her, many Churches keep their virgins concealed. This same practice exists also in some parts in these climates; that persons may not ascrihe that custom to Greek or Barharian heathenism. But I have set before them Churches, [the Grecian] which the Apostles themselves or Apostolic men have founded, and I suppose hefore certain [the Roman]. They then also have the same authority of custom; they oppose periods [of ohservance] and [practice of] predecessors, more than those later. Which shall we observe? which choose? We cannot reject that custom, which we cannot condemn, not being alien, as not of aliens, inasmuch as we share [communicamus] with them the rights of peace and the name of hrotherhood, [comp. de Præscr. c. 20.] We and they have one faith, One God, the Same Christ, the same hope, the same sacraments of Baptism. (Eph. 4, 5.) To say all at once, we are one Church. So then whatever is of ours, is ours. But thou dividest the hody." de Virg. vel. c. 2.

[b] "as Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, Miltiades, Philosopher of the Church, Irenæus, most careful examiner of all doctrine, our Proculus, of virgin old-age and the glory of Christian eloquence, all of whom (quos) I should wish to follow in every work of the faith, as in this." adv. Val. c. 5. This, however, does not imply any special preference for Proculus, (as Tillemont implies, Tertull. art. 8.) although it is prohahle that he was the same as Proclus or Proculus the Montanist, as is thought hy Baronius, 201. §. 10. Tillemont l. c. and Note 15.

[c] S. Augustine seems to refer to this changed tone where he says, (de hon. vid. c. 4. §. 6.) "The Cataphrygian and Novatian heresies, which Tertullian also filled out with swelling cheeks not with wisdom's hreath, cutting off, as unlawful, with contumelious speech, second marriages, which the Apostle, with calm judgment, concedes to be wholly lawful."

action, and, as do decisive acts, fixed. A painful analogy has, before our own eyes, been furnished by the change of temper, and, as one should fear, judicial blindness, which secession from our own Church has, in some saddening cases, brought over persons' minds. Any way, it is a solemn warning, that one, who had possessed himself of a rule of faith against heresy, or, as we should say, of Catholic truth, should, probably the rather through no unnatural misapplication of that rule, be betrayed into heresy; that the most powerful mind perhaps of antiquity should be ensnared by a heresy, intellectually the least attractive; that a heresy, which soon shewed the characteristic of heresy, (as Tertullian himself had pointed out[a],) in dividing into lesser sects[b], and which at no time numbered any eminent persons within it, should have been reserved to ensnare one, who was in other points on his guard, and but for this would have been a chief defender of the faith and Doctor in the Church; that, as far as it seems, one single uncorrected fault should have been the chief instrument of his fall. "The more," says Tillemont[c], "Tertullian seems to have been removed from the vices of men, the more reason had he to dread falling into those of devils," [pride and impatience, see de pat. c. 5.] Of a truth, the "deceivableness" of Satan and his cunning in adapting his snares, in doctrine as in life, to each man's peculiar temperament and failings, seem far greater than they probably suspect, who in these days fear it most. The fall of Tertullian was the one great triumph of Montanism. The warning seems to come the more providentially in an age, which on the one hand is so recklessly careless as to heresy on the highest doctrines, as though it were as difficult to fall into it, as the Church in the first ages, which knew what those doctrines were, found it to guard men against it; on the other hand, patience seems, in many ways, the grace which God is especially forming in our Church, which they who keep will abide, they who lose will be driven away. Instructive is it,

[a] de præscr. c. 42. bel. p. 477.
[b] adv. omn. hær. c. 52. S. Epiph. Hær. 48. c. 14. 49. c. 1. 2.
[c] Tertull. art. 8.

again, in another way, to observe how nearly Tertullian, on other doctrine, was betrayed into heresy, while defending the truth; how, contending against the heretic Praxeas, he so expressed himself, as to fall into suspicion of heresy, even on the doctrine of the Trinity, though indeed sound; proving against Plato, that the soul has a beginning, he narrowly escaped materialism, and the doctrine of transmigration of the soul[d]; arguing against those who denied Baptism, he so wrote, as to seem to deny original sin[e].

To the right use of Tertullian, then, more care and judgment are required than for other fathers. His testimony to facts and doctrines, to the rites of the Church, is, of course, always of the highest value. In these respects he is of value even when writing against the Church, whereby some of his statements are elicited. Nor, in other respects, will any question his great instructiveness, whom S. Cyprian entitled his "Master." Still he requires a mature judgment; and it is on this account, perhaps, that his influence upon the Church has rather been mediated through those whose minds were formed by his writings, than direct. Among these, we may count not S. Cyprian only, but Pacian and S. Jerome, in both of whom the sayings of Tertullian re-appear in a form, which shew how great an influence his writings must have had upon them. The more, however, this mediate influence increased, and his writings moulded other minds within the Church, the more did the apparent necessity for them cease, and the office once assigned them was suspended. The rareness of MSS. of his works, with the single exception of the Apology, (and even these are in no great number,) illustrates what S. Hilary[f] says on his Treatise on Prayer, that it was indeed "excellently to the purpose, but that the subsequent error of the man had taken from the authority even of what he had written well." And this, not without reason; for the maxims of Tertullian are often so

[d] "Some object to Tertullian, that he said that the soul came by transmission, i. e. that soul was generated of soul as body of bodies." Prædest.

[e] See on the de Bapt. c. 18. p. 277. n. o.

[f] in Matt. cap. 5.

fascinating from their very condensation, as readily to gain admission although involving unperceived consequences. Thus even S. Jerome admits the maxim, that what a man hath received, that he may impart[g], which, although it may, in cases of necessity, apply to the immediate subject, Holy Baptism, would equally justify presbyterian ordination. In other instances, it is observable how Tertullian, as a Montanist, misapplies the principles which were perhaps just safe in a Catholic sense, as that "Three formed a Church;" again, the maxim of the undeservedness of repentance becomes a ground why it should not be believed to be bestowed[i]. Even on the ground of the evident maxim, that priority was in some sense the test of truth, since what was first in order would be truth, what was added subsequently was the error, he at least lightly hints that the Greek Church was more to be relied upon than the Roman, as being the prior[k], whereas both were Apostolic.

Since, then, the abuse of Tertullian lies so very near the use, the young especially should be cautioned, how they use or apply his maxims, and that they apply them not according to any private judgment. With this caution, however, it was thought that the energy and fervor of Tertullian might have their office in a relaxed age; and that the more, since our dangers do not lie in the same direction. And with this caution he should be read for edification also, since it were manifestly a perverted use of any Christian writer to read him (as some seem to do) merely as bearing testimony to facts or doctrines, to the disregard of the moral effect which he ought to have upon our own minds.

The Treatises in the present Volume, with the exception of the de Corona, have no traces of Montanism; all the rest were also written probably before Tertullian's fall, (see Notices to each,) except the "address to Scapula," which furnishes no occasion for any allusion either way.

[g] See on the de Bapt. c. 17. p. 275. not. d.

[h] See de Bapt. c. 6. p. 263. not. p.

[i] comp. de Pœn. c. 7. and de Pudic. c. 10.

[k] de Virg. Vel. quoted above, p. xiii.

With respect to the execution of the present work, the Editor found reason to adhere for the most part to the text of Rigaltius; the text accordingly, where not otherwise specified, is his. The previous Editions and most existing MSS. have, however, been collated, and where Rigaltius made alterations on mere conjecture, the older text has been restored. It was intended that the present text should rest entirely upon authority. One exception, however, was unavoidable. This relates to the readings, published by Wouwer, under the title, "Emendationes Epidicticæ in Tertullianum," as having been taken from ancient MSS. by F. Ursinus. These Rigaltius much relied upon and adopted into his text, there being no apparent ground to doubt their genuineness. M. Heyse, however, after searching in vain in the Vatican, at the request of the Editor, for the more ancient MSS. which F. Ursinus is said to have used, with a happy ingenuity discovered at last the original, from which Wouwer had printed his Emendationes. From this it appeared that they were never intended for any thing else than conjectural emendations, except here and there, where a MS. was quoted. They are then only ingenious conjectures of a good critic, often very probable, at other times mistaken, as applying classical criticism to Tertullian. This was not discovered until the treatise "on Idolatry" (p. 252.) had been printed; in the subsequent treatises, the use of these corrections was relinquished; and certainly in the case of these, as of other conjectures, readings which one should at first be inclined to lay aside as desperate, have seemed to the Editor to have more of the character of Tertullian, than what at first sight seemed very preferable. And this may be satisfactory amid the great dearth of MSS. of Tertullian, that as little can be done for rendering the text easier, so less is probably required than would at first sight appear to be the case.

The object of the Translator has been to transfuse as faithfully as possible the whole and the precise meaning of the original: a task, as all know who are acquainted with

Tertullian, of exceeding difficulty, and in executing which the Translator has often sacrificed his own ideas of English style. Faithfulness and a conciseness which might follow as nearly on the condensed style of Tertullian, as the genius of the two languages would permit, appeared a prior object; and the Editor cannot but hope that the work will thus become a good introduction to the study of the Author in the original, the very austerity and stern conciseness of whose style binds yet more to him those not deterred by its first exterior. With the same view of faithfully representing the original, the quotations from Holy Scripture have been rendered as they stand in Tertullian's version. The Translator has purposely abstained from the use of any previous translation, in order to give his own view of the meaning unbiassed. Of these, the translation of the Apology by the Rev. T. Chevallier might, from its elegance, almost have superseded any other; yet, in exhibiting together the chief works of Tertullian, it did not seem right to omit what has been the most celebrated and the most popular. Of his other Treatises, the book of "prescription against heretics" and "the address to Scapula" alone (the Editor believes) have been hitherto translated into English.

The notes (for which, as for the alterations in the text of Rigaltius, the immediate Editor is alone responsible) have been added more largely, partly, as once before, on account of the copious materials ready to hand in the collections of Pamelius and La Cerda, and, on the Apology, of Havercamp, partly on account of the allusive style of Tertullian, and to strengthen his authority as not making allusions at random; again, partly to defend his statements, partly to guard against their abuse. In so doing, the Editor has freely used the existing materials, only verifying the references, (for aid in which on the Apology the Editor has to express his thanks to the Rev. J. B. Morris, Fellow of Exeter, to whom he is indebted for the Index, and the Rev. T. Morris, Student of Christ Church,) and since it would have been wearisome to note on every occasion the source or sources from which references were derived, these have mostly been omitted.

Thus guarded, it is hoped that the present volume, the first in which any number of the Treatises of Tertullian have been made accessible to English readers, may tend, under God's blessing, to form in them the earlier rather than the later character of that great mind, his sternness against self, and "boldness in rebuking sin," his uncompromising adherence to the lightest admonition of God's law, and ready submission of his will, at whatever cost, so that his very fall was in misdirected submission to an authority without him;

> And Cyprian's Master, as in age high-soul'd
> Yet choosing as in youth the better part[1],

may act alike as a fire to kindle, a light to guide, and a beacon to warn against what he now, his slough cast away, would most wish to warn, his own errors and the tempers in which they originated. So may the scandal caused by his fall be compensated, and he, with the rest of the holy company, from whom on earth he was disunited, be employed in "preparing" for the coming of his Lord, for Whom he looked so ardently, "by the preaching of repentance[m]" in holy austerity and self-discipline.

E. B. P.

Feast of St. John the Baptist,
1842.

[1] Lyra Apostolica, No. 91.

[m] Collect for St. John Baptist's Day.

THE
BOOK OF APOLOGY
AGAINST
THE HEATHEN.

[The Apology was written probably A.D. 198. It was under Severus, because under one of the better Emperors (c. v. p. 13.) before he became a persecutor, (ib. and T. praises him c. 4.) and as the result of *old* laws, (c. 2—4.) i. e. before A. 202; after the conspiracy of Albinus (c. 35.) A.D. 396, 7., while the remains of the conspirators were being gleaned up, public rejoicings held at Rome, and a largess given, (ib.) as did Severus, upon his victory over Albinus, A. 198. (Herodian, Hist. iii. 8.) upon which he set out on the war against the Parthians (Spartian. in Sever. c. 14.) alluded to, probably, c. 37. (see Mosheim Disq. de æt. Apol.) Lumper, (Hist. S. Patr. t. vi. c. 1. §. 16.) places it A. 199, imagining the "gleaning" c. 25. to be that of the adherents of Niger. S. Clement Al. mentions "copious streams of the blood of martyrs shed daily," at the same time, before the edict of Severus, (Strom. ii. p. 494.) another proof that the sufferings of the early Christians were not confined to the great persecutions; they were demanded by the populace. Allix infers, from the way in which T. speaks of Rome and the Romans, (c. 9. 21. 35.) that the Apology was not written at Rome; it is addressed to the executive (c. i. 2. 9. 50.) in a Proconsulate, (c. 45. see Bp. Kaye, Tert. p. 52.) so that Eusebius is probably mistaken in saying it was addressed to the Roman Senate. (H. E. v. 5.) S. Jerome says of it, (Ep. 70. ad Magnum, §. 5.) "What more learned than Tertullian, what more acute? His Apology and his Books against the Gentiles comprise the whole range of secular learning."]

If it be not allowed you, Lords of the Roman empire, sitting above all, to judge, in an open and exalted spot, at the very summit almost of the city, openly to look about you, and publicly to examine what there be of very truth in the cause of the Christians; if in this instance alone your authority be either afraid[a] or ashamed to make enquiry in public, touching the diligent use of justice; if finally, as hath just now happened, the enmity against this sect, having too much exercised itself in private condemnations[b], formeth an obstacle to their defence, let the truth be permitted to reach your ears even by the secret way of silent writings[c]. She asketh no favour for her cause, because she feeleth no

John 15, 18. 19.

[a] On account of the popular eagerness, inf. c. 35. 37. 40. 49. 50. Ep. of Churches of Vienne, Eus. H. E. v. 1. inf. p. 10. n. k.

[b] Judiciis, i. e. having exercised severity against their own families, (see c. 3. and perhaps ad Scap. c. 3.) they were the less fitted to be judges. Others, indiciis 'informations;' T. complains of treachery, c. 7. Add Justin M. Apol. 2. §. 12. Orig. c. Cels. i. 3. Theodoret, l. i. c. 6. v. 34. Ruf. H. E. v. 1. *Ju* and *in* are in MSS. often scarcely distinguishable, and often transcribed wrongly.

1 John 3, 13. Heb. 11, 13.

[c] Comp. ad Scap. 1.

Apol. I. 1.

wonder at her condition. She knoweth that she liveth a stranger upon earth, that among aliens she easily findeth foes; but that she hath her birth, her home, her hope, her favour, and her worth in the heavens[e]. One thing meanwhile she earnestly desireth, that she be not condemned unknown. If she be heard, what loss cometh thereby to the laws, supreme within their own dominion? Will not their power boast the more in this, that they will condemn Truth even when she hath been heard? But if they condemn her unheard, besides the ill-repute of injustice, they will merit also the suspicion of a certain consciousness, as being, namely, unwilling to hear that, which when heard, they could not condemn[f]. This therefore we lay before you as the first argument for the injustice of your hatred towards the name of Christians. Which injustice the same plea, namely, ignorance, which seemeth to excuse it, aggravateth and convicteth. For what more unjust than that men should hate that of which they know nothing, even if the thing deserve their hatred? For then doth it deserve, when it be known whether it do deserve. But when knowledge of the desert be wanting, whence is the justice of the hatred maintained? which ought to be approved, not by the event, but by previous conviction! When then men hate for this reason, because they know not what manner of thing that, which they hate, is, why may it not be of such a sort as that they ought not to hate it? Thus from either point we prove either against them, that they are both ignorant, in that they hate, and hate unjustly, in that they are ignorant. It is an evidence of that ignorance, which, while it is made the excuse, is the condemnation of injustice, when all, who aforetime hated because they were ignorant what it was which they hated[1], as soon as they cease to be ignorant, cease also to hate. From being such, they become Christians, to wit from conviction, and begin to hate what they were, and to profess what they hated, and are as numerous as indeed we are publicly declared to be. Men cry out that the state is beset, that the Christians are in their fields, in their forts, in their

[1] quale sit quod oderant *added*

[e] Aug. de Civ. Dei, i. 15. v. fin.

[f] Lact. v. init. Minuc. p. 256, ap. Lac.

islands[g]. They mourn, as for a loss, that every sex, age, condition, and now even rank is going over to this sect[h]. And yet they do not by this very means advance their minds to the idea of some good therein hidden: they allow not themselves to conjecture more rightly, they choose not to examine more closely. Here alone is the curiosity of man dull: they love to be ignorant, where others rejoice to know. How much more would Anacharsis[i] have condemned these, the uninformed judging the informed, than the unmusical the musical! They had rather be ignorant, because they already hate. Thus they determine in the outset that that which they know not, is such as, if they knew, they could not hate; since if no due cause of hatred be found, surely it were best to cease to hate unjustly; but if it be clear that it is deserved, not only is their hatred nothing diminished, but stronger ground is gained for persevering in it, even with the sanction of justice itself. 'But,' saith one, 'it is not therefore at once determined[1] to be good because it converteth many, for how many are remoulded[2] to evil! how many are deserters to the worse cause!' Who denieth it? Nevertheless, that which is really evil not even those, whom it carrieth away, dare to defend as a good. Nature hath cast over every evil either fear or shame. Finally, evil-doers delight in hiding themselves; shun appearing[3]; are bewildered when discovered; being accused deny; not even when tortured, readily or always confess; certainly mourn when con-

[1] præjudicatur *added*

[2] reformantur

[3] devitant apparere *om. in Rig.*

[g] "There is no race of men, whether Barbarians, or Greeks, or by whatsoever name called, not even the wandering houseless tribes of Scythians, in which there are not prayers and Eucharists to God the Creator of all things, through the Name of the crucified Jesus." (Justin M. Dial. §. 117. on Mal. 1, 10.) See bel. c. 37. ad Scap. c. 2 and 5. adv. Jud. c. 7 and 12. de Cor. c. 12. ad Nat. i. 8. "Consider, whether they whom ye call 'a third race' hold not the chief place, seeing there is no nation not Christian; therefore whatever nation be first, is nevertheless Christian." Origen. c. Cels. i. speaks of the "myriads among barbarians," and that Christianity had "gained possession of the greatest part of Barbarism." Arnobius, l. ii. p. 44. that "no barbarian was not softened." On the multitude of Christians, see Heathen Testimonies, Tac. xv. 44. Lucian in Pseudom. "that Pontus was filled with Atheists and Christians." Cæcil. ap. Minuc. F. p. 80. Maximin. ap. Eus. ix. 7. rescript to Sabinus, ib. 9. heathen ap. Aug. de Catech. rud. c. 25. and Christian, speaking of the rapidity with which it spread, Arnob. l. i. p. 33. ed. Lugd. ii. p. 50. Eus. H. E. ii. 3. de Laud. Const. c. 16. of its extent, Clem. Al. Strom. vi. fin. Orig. de Princ. iv. 1. Lact. v. 13. Eus. H. E. viii. 1. Orig. c. Cels. i. 7. 67. ii. 13. iii. 24. J. Firmicus, p. 42. in Dan. 2. Eus. H. E. x. 4. de laud. Const. c. 17. its continual increase, Minuc. F. p. 312. see passages ap. Kortholt in Epp. Plin. et Traj. p. 167—186.

[h] Comp. Orig. c. Cels. iii. §. 9. Eusch. H. E. v. 21. of the times of Commodus.

[i] Diog. Laert. in vit. ej. i. 103. ed. Meib.

Apol. I. 2.

demned; sum up against themselves, impute either to fate or to the stars the impulses of a wicked mind[k]: for they will not have that to be their own, which they acknowledge to be evil[l]. But what doth the Christian like this? None is ashamed, none repenteth, save indeed that he was not such long ago. If he be marked down, he glorieth; if accused, maketh no defence; being questioned, confesseth even of his own accord; being condemned, giveth thanks[m]. What manner of evil is this, which hath not the natural marks of evil, fear, shame, shrinking, penitence, sorrow? What manner of evil is this, whereof he that is accused, rejoiceth? whereof to be accused is his prayer, and its punishment his happiness[n]? Thou canst not call that madness, of which thou art proved to know nothing.

II. If finally it be certain that we are never so guilty, why even by you are we treated otherwise than our fellows, that is than other guilty men, since for the same guilt the same treatment ought to be introduced? Whatever we be called, when others are called the same, they employ both their own tongue, and hired advocates, to commend their innocency: the liberty of answering, of disputing, is open to them, since it is not even lawful that they should be condemned, undefended and altogether unheard. But the Christians alone are allowed to say nothing which may clear them, which may defend the truth, which may make the judge not unjust: but that alone is looked to, which is needed for the public hatred, a confession of the name[o], not an examination of the charge: whereas, when ye take cognizance of any criminal, although he confess to the name of a murderer, or a sacrilegious or an incestuous person, or a public enemy[p], (to speak of our own titles,) ye are not content at once to pronounce him such, without enquiring out also attendant circumstances, the quality of

[k] See de Idol. c. 9. Jul. Firm. i. 1. 3. S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, v. 10. Ep 246. (al. 243.) and others, ap. Herald. and Hav. Aug. in Ps. 31. §. 16.

[l] Quinctil. iii. 8.

[m] c. 46. 50. Justin M. Apol. ii. 2. 11. "Thanks be to God" (Deo Gratias) became a formula with which the sentence to martyrdom was received. See S. Aug. Serm. i. in Natal. S. Cypr. 301. §. 6. and Acta Mart. ap. Her. ad c. 50.

[n] See ad Scap. c. 1.

[o] See Justin Apol. i. §. 4. Athenag. §. 2: a remarkable fulfilment of the letter of our Lord's prophecy, "Ye shall be hated of all men for My Name's sake." Matt. 10, 22. 24, 9. Luke 21, 12.

[p] Arnob. l. 1. init.

the act, the number of acts[q][1], the place, the manner, the time, the accessories, the accomplices. In our case there is nothing like this, although it were equally right that the fact be extorted, whatsoever charge be falsely thrown out; how many murdered infants each hath tasted, how many incests he hath shrouded in darkness[r]; what cooks, what dogs[s], were present. Oh! how great the glory of that magistrate, if he should hunt out one who hath already eaten an hundred infants! But we find even enquiry into our case forbidden: for the second Pliny[t], while governor of a province, when some Christians had been condemned, some degraded, being nevertheless troubled by their very numbers, asked of Trajan, then Emperor, what he should do for the future, alleging that, excepting their obstinacy in not sacrificing, he had discovered nothing else touching their religious mysteries, save meetings before day-break to sing to Christ as God[u], and to form a common bond of discipline, forbidding murder, adultery, fraud, perfidy, and other crimes. Then wrote Trajan back that this sect should not indeed be enquired after, but, when brought before him, must be punished[x]. O sentence necessarily confounding itself! He forbiddeth that they should be enquired after, as though they were innocent, and commandeth that they should be punished, as though guilty! He spareth and rageth, winketh and punisheth! Why, O sentence, dost thou overreach thyself? If thou condemnest, why dost thou not also enquire? if thou enquirest not, why dost thou not also acquit[y]? For tracking robbers through all the provinces,

[1] numerum *added*

[q] The inventors of these calumnies were the Jews, see Tert. adv. Jud. c. 13. v. fin. and ad Nat. 1. 14. quod aliud genus seminarium infamiæ nostræ? Justin. M. Apol. i. 49. Dial. c. Tryph. §. 17. 108. Origen c. Cels. vi. 27. All the Apologists had to refer to them, Justin. M. Apol. i. §. 26. ii. §. 12. Dial. c. Tryph. §. 10. Theoph. ad Autol. iii. 4. Athenag. Legat. §. 3. Orig. c. Cels. l. c. Minucius F. Octavius cc. 9. 30. add also Euseb. H. E. iv. 7. Salvian de Provid. iv. v. fin. p. 39. ed. Manut. and for the first, Tatian adv. Græc. §. 25. Origen l. c. says, that "absurd as this calumny was, of old it prevailed with very many; and even now it deceives some, who are by the like turned away from the simplest intercourse even of speech with the Christians." Euseb. l. c. speaks of it, as not lasting long. In the persecution of Lyons and Vienne, slaves were made by torture to confess it as true.

[r] Numerum; ad Nat. i. 2. quotiens cædem ederit.

[s] See below, c. 7. 8.

[t] Ep. x. 97.

[u] Ut Deo, the ancient cod. Fuld. Christo quasi Deo, Pliny l. c. Most edd. carelessly, "et Deo."

[x] Ap. Plin. Ep. x. 98.

[y] Athenag. Leg. §. 3.

Apol. I. 2.

military stations are allotted[z]. Against men accused of treason, and public enemies, every man is a soldier. The enquiry is extended to the accomplices, even to the accessories. The Christian alone may not be enquired after, but may be brought before the court; as though enquiry had any other object than to bring him thither! Ye condemn him therefore when brought before you, whom none would have enquired after, who, I suppose, hath already deserved punishment, not because he is guilty, but because, when not to be enquired after, he was found! So then neither in this do ye act towards us according to the rule of judging malefactors, namely, that to others ye apply tortures, when they deny, to make them confess; to the Christians alone, to make them deny[a]; whereas, if it were a sin, we indeed should deny it, and ye by your tortures would compel us to confess it. Nor could you think that our crimes were therefore not to be enquired of by examinations, because ye were assured by the confession of the name, that they have been committed, seeing that to this day from one who hath confessed himself a murderer, though ye know what murder is, ye nevertheless extort the whole train of circumstances touching the act. Wherefore it is with the greater perverseness that, when ye presume our guilt from the confession of our name, ye compel us by tortures to go back from our confession, that by denying the name we may of course equally deny the crimes also, of which ye presumed us guilty from the confession of the name. But, I suppose, ye do not wish us, whom ye deem the worst of men, to die! For thus (doubtless) ye are wont to say to a murderer, 'Deny the fact;' to order the sacrilegious person to be torn with scourges if he persevere in his confession! If ye act not thus towards us as criminals, ye therefore judge us to be most innocent, since, as though we were most innocent, ye will not have us persevere in that confession, which ye know must be condemned by you of necessity, not of right. One crieth out, 'I am a Christian.' He sayeth what he is: thou

[z] By Augustus. Suet. in vit. c. 32.

[a] See inf. c. 7. ad Scap. c. 4. Justin M. Apol. i. 4. S. Cyprian ad Demetrian. c. 7. p. 207. ed. Oxf. Minut. F. p. 257. ed. Ouz. Arnob. l. vii. (cit. ibid.)

wouldest hear what he is not. Sitting in authority to draw out the truth, from us alone do ye labour to draw out falsehood. 'I am,' saith he, 'that which thou askest, if I am. Why torture me to unsay it? I confess, and thou torturest me: what wouldest thou do if I denied?' Certainly ye do not easily lend credit to others when they deny: us, if we deny, ye forthwith credit. Let this perverseness be cause of suspicion to you that there may be some power[b] lurking in secret, which maketh you its ministers against all rule, against the very nature of judicial trial, against even the laws themselves. For, if I mistake not, the laws command that malefactors be hunted out, not concealed, prescribe that such as confess be condemned, not acquitted. This the acts of your senate, this the mandates of your princes, this the government, whose servants ye are, determineth. Your rule is civil, not despotic. For with tyrants tortures were used[1] for punishment also: with you they are tempered down to the examination alone. Observe therein your own law as necessary up to the time of confession[2]. Now then, if they be anticipated by confession, they will be superfluous: sentence must needs be given. The culprit must discharge the penalty due, not be discharged from it. Finally, none desireth to acquit him: it is not lawful to wish it: therefore neither is any compelled to a denial[c]. A Christian, thou deemest a man guilty of every crime, an enemy of the Gods, of the Emperors, of Law, of Morals, of all Nature[d]; and thou compellest to deny that thou mayest acquit, whom thou wilt not be able to acquit, unless he deny. Thou quibblest with the laws. Thou wilt have him therefore deny himself guilty, that thou mayest make him not guilty, unwilling too as he now is, and not accounted guilty for the past. Whence this perverseness, not to consider this also, that more credit should be given to one that of his own will confesseth, than to one who from compulsion denieth, or that when compelled to deny, he may not deny in earnest,

[1] adhibebantur

[2] ad conf. necessariam. Et jam

[b] Satan, see c. 27. ad Nat. i. 3. "The source of your hatred is the Name, which a certain hidden Power warreth against by your ignorance." Lactant. Instt. ii. 1. Justin M. Apol. i. 5. ii. 1.

[c] Cypr. ad Demetr. c. 7.

[d] Inf. c. 32. 37. Christians were said ζῆν παρανόμως (Porph. ap. Euseb. vi. 19.) to return to heathenism was ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τρέπεσθαι. (Æmilian Præf. of Egypt, ib. vii. 11.)

Apol. I. 3. and being acquitted, may, on the spot, behind the judgment-seat, laugh at your rivalry, a Christian for the second time? Seeing then that in all things ye deal with us otherwise than with other criminals, in striving for this one thing, that we be debarred from this name, (for debarred we are, if we do what those who are no Christians do,) ye may perceive that it is no crime which is called in question, but a name, which a sort of plan of rival agency[e] persecuteth, aiming first at this, that men may be unwilling to know for certain that, which they know for a certain that they know not. Therefore also they believe of us things which are not proved, and will not have them enquired into, lest those things be proved not to be, which they had rather should be believed to be; so that the name opposed to that rival plan may, by its own confession alone, be condemned, on the presumption, not on the proof, of crimes. Wherefore we are tortured when we confess, and punished when we persevere, and acquitted when we deny, because it is a war about a name. Finally, why read ye that man a Christian from the tablet[f]? why not a murderer also, if a Christian be a murderer[g]? Why is he not also a committer of incest, or whatever else ye believe us to be? In our case alone ye are ashamed or loth to proclaim the very names of our crimes. If 'Christian' be the name of no crime, it is very absurd that there should be crime in the name alone[h].

III. What when the generality run upon an hatred of this name with eyes so closed, that in bearing favourable testimony to any one, they mingle with it the reproach of the name. 'A good man Caius Seius, only he is a Christian.' So another, 'I marvel that that wise man Lucius Titius[1] hath suddenly become a Christian.' No one reflecteth whether Caius be not therefore good, and Lucius wise, because a Christian, or therefore a Christian because wise and good. They praise that which they know, they revile that which they know not; and that which they know, they spoil through that which they know not: whereas it were more

[1] Titium added

[e] See above, p. 7. n.

[f] Containing the charge. Thus in the martyrdom of Polycarp, "Polycarp hath confessed himself a Christian." Euseb. H. E. l. iv. 15. "This is Attalus the Christian." ib. v. 1.

[g] Punctuation changed. Cur non et homicidam, si homicida Christianus? cur non et incestus?

[h] Cyprian ad Demetrian. l. c.

just to prejudge things unseen by things seen, than to precondemn the seen through the unseen. Others condemn in the very thing, wherein in fact they praise, those whom in time past, before they had this name, they knew as vagabonds, worthless, wicked. In the blindness of their hatred they fall upon commending them. What a woman! how voluptuous! how gay! What a youth! what a rake! what a man of pleasure! They have become Christians. Thus is this name applied to their reformation. Some even barter their own interests for this hatred, being content to suffer injury, so that they have not at home that which they hate. The husband now no longer jealous hath turned out of doors his wife now chaste. The father, patient before, hath disowned his now obedient son. The master, once lenient, hath banished from his sight his now faithful servant. As each is reformed by this name, he offendeth. Virtue is not in such account as hatred of the Christians. Now then if the hatred be of the name, what guilt is there in names? what charge against words? unless it be that any word which is a name have either a barbarous, or an ill-omened, or a scurrilous, or an immodest sound. But the word 'Christian,' as far as its meaning is concerned, is derived from 'anointing.' And even when it is by you wrongly pronounced, 'Chreestian[1],' (for not even of the name is there any certain knowledge among you,) it is made from 'sweetness,' or from 'kindness.' Wherefore in innocent men a name, also innocent, is hated. But in truth the sect is hated in the name of its Head. What new thing is it, if any School bring upon its followers a name from its master? Are not Philosophers named from their founders, as Platonists, Epicureans, Pythagoreans? Even from the places of their meetings and stations, as Stoics, Academics? So too Physicians from Erasistratus, and Grammarians from Aristarchus,

[1] The heathen, to whom the name Christus was unintelligible, substituted *Chrestus*, which was a name among themselves. (See instances in Hav.) Thus in the well-known passage of Suetonius, (vit. Claud. c. 25.) impulsore Chresto. Tac. Ann. xv. 44. (corrected into Christiani.) Lucian. in Philopatr. so also in Lactant. Instt. iv. 7. Justin. M. alludes to the same, Apol. i. 4. Theoph. ad Autol. i. 1. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 4. "they who believe in Christ, forthwith are, and are called, χρηστοί" [good]. Clem. Alex. often substitutes χριστὸς for χρηστὸς, as equivalent, see Coh. ad Gr. c. 9. and Potter ib.

Apol. I. 4.

and even Cooks from Apicius? And yet the profession of a name, handed down together with the institution, from its founder, doth not offend any. Clearly if any hath proved the sect bad, and thus the founder also bad, he will prove the name likewise bad, deserving of hatred from the guilt of the sect and of its founder. And therefore, before hating the name, it were meet, first to judge of the sect from the founder, or of the founder from the sect. But now, all examination and knowledge of either set aside, the name is laid hold of, the name is attacked, and a word alone pre-condemneth a sect unknown, and its founder also unknown, because they bear a name, not because convicted.

IV. And so, having as it were premised these things, that I might set a mark upon the injustice of the public hatred against us, I will now take my stand on the ground of our innocence, and not only refute the charges which are brought against us, but even retort them upon the very men who bring them; that in this also all may know that those things exist not in Christians which they are not ignorant do exist in themselves; and at the same time may blush in accusing—I will not say the best, themselves being the worst, but—those who are now, on their own shewing, their compeers. We will answer touching all the things severally, which we are said to commit in secret, which are openly discovered against us, in which we are accounted wicked, in which foolish, in which to be condemned, in which to be laughed at. But since, when the truth of our cause meeteth you at every turn, the authority of the laws is at last set up against it, so that it either is said that nothing must be reconsidered after the laws[j] have decided, or the necessity of obedience is unwillingly preferred to truth, I will first contend with you about the laws as with the guardians of the laws. And first, when ye harshly determine, saying, 'It is not lawful that ye should exist[k],' and prescribe this law without any gentler

[j] Of Nero against the Christians, ad Nat. i. 7. "This institute of Nero hath alone remained, when all others have been reversed." See also c. 5. and 37.

[k] The common cry of the populace was, "Away with the Christians; let not the Christians be; (Christiani non sint;) away with the Atheists." See Acta Sabini ap Baron. A. 301. 18. Eus. H. E. iv. 15. "Which [the contagion of this superstition] seemeth as though it might be stopped and corrected." Justin M. Dial. §. 110. Aug.

reconsideration, ye avow violence, and an unjust despotism from within your strong hold, if ye therefore say it is unlawful because ye will have it, not because it ought to be, unlawful. But if, because it ought not to be, therefore ye will not have it lawful, doubtless that ought not to be lawful, which is ill done, and surely it is, even hereby, already determined that what is well done is lawful. If I shall find that to be good, which your law hath forbidden, is it not by this previous determination, disabled from forbidding me[1] that which, if it were evil, it would justly forbid? If your law hath erred, it was devised, methinks, by man; for it hath not dropped down from the sky. Do we wonder that man could either err in framing a law, or that he should become wiser in disallowing it? Why! did not the amendments by the Lacedæmonians in the laws of Lycurgus himself inflict such pain upon their author, that in retirement he condemned himself to starve to death? Do not even ye, as experience throweth light upon the darkness of antiquity, lop[2] and cut down, with the new axes of imperial rescripts and edicts, all that old and slovenly forest of laws? Did not Severus, the steadiest[l] of princes, repeal but yesterday, after an old age of such high authority, those most foolish laws of Papius, which enforce the bringing up of children before that those of Julius do the contracting of marriage[m]? but there were laws too aforetime, that men cast in a suit might be cut in pieces[n] by the creditors: yet was this cruelty afterwards erased[o] by public consent, the punishment of death being exchanged for a mark of disgrace. The confiscation of goods resorted to would

[1] ex illo præjudicio prohibere me non potest

[2] truncatis

in Ps. i. 90. p. 1. Kortholt ad Ep. Plin. et Traj. p. 187.

[l] "Severus, an earnest-minded Emperor, answering to his name." Lamprid. in Comm.

[m] The first Julian law (they are commonly called laws) was proposed by Augustus, A. U. C. 736, after the destructive civil war; the Papian, which was an enforcement of them, 26 years after, within 5 years of his death. The unmarried could not inherit, except from the nearest relations; but the age fixed by the Julian law is unknown; that of 25, named by Sozomen, (H. E. i. 9.) probably refers to the Papian as the later, and so still in force under Constantine, who repealed them, it seems, wholly, as imposing disqualifications on religious celibacy.

[n] "If there were many to whom the debtor was assigned, the laws of the 12 Tables allowed them to cut, if they willed, and divide his body." Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. 20. 1. quoting the law, "At the third market-day, let them cut it in pieces; and if they cut more or less, let it be without any penalty."

[o] A. U. C. 630.

Apol. I. 5.

rather have the suffusion than the effusion of a man's blood. How many laws still lurk behind needing to be purified! It is not length of years, nor the worth of their founders, which commendeth them, but equity alone; and therefore when they are acknowledged to be unjust, they are justly condemned, although condemning. Why call we them unjust? yea, if they punish a name, we call them foolish also; but if doings, why in our case do they punish doings, on the score of a name alone, which in others they maintain must be proved by the act, not by the name? "I am guilty of incest,"—why do they not examine me? "of child-murder,"—why do they not extort the proof? "I commit some act against the gods, against the Cæsars,"—why am I not heard, who[1] have whereby to clear myself? No law forbiddeth that to be thoroughly sifted, which it forbiddeth to be done; for neither doth a judge punish justly, unless he know that an act, which is not lawful, hath been committed; nor doth a citizen obey the law honestly, not knowing what sort of thing it be which he punisheth. No law ought to satisfy itself merely of its own justice, but those also from whom it expecteth obedience. But the law is suspicious, if it will not have itself proved, and reprobate, if unapproved it domineereth.

[1] qui

V. To treat somewhat of the origin of the kind of laws, there was an ancient decree, that no god should be consecrated by the Emperor[p], unless approved by the Senate. Witness Marcus Æmilius in the case of his own god Alburnus[q]. This also maketh for our cause, that with you deity is measured according to the judgment of man[r]. A god, unless he please man, shall not be a god. Man will now be obliged to be propitious to a god. Tiberius therefore, in whose time the name of Christ entered into the world, laid before the Senate, with his own vote to begin with,

[p] "Let no one have gods of his own, or new gods; nor let him privately worship even foreign gods, unless they be publicly received." Cic. de Legg. ii. 14 and 27. In this law the Emperor would be included. Any one who "felt constrained to celebrate the Bacchanalia," was required by a decree of the Senate to apply through the City-Prætor to the Senate. Liv. l. xxxix. 8. add iv. 30. against foreign rites, "that none should be worshipped, but Roman gods, nor with other than the country's rites."

[q] See again adv. Marc. i. 18.

[r] See inf. c. 13. Lact. Instt. i. 13.

things announced to him from Palestine in Syria, which had there manifested the truth of the Divinity of that Person[s]. The Senate, because they had not themselves approved it, rejected it[t]. Cæsar held by his sentence, threatening peril to the accusers of the Christians. Consult your Annals: there ye will find that Nero was the first to wreck the fury of the sword of the Cæsars upon this sect, now springing up especially at Rome. But in such a first founder of our condemnation we even glory. For whoever knoweth him, can understand that nothing save some great good was condemned by Nero. Domitian too, who was somewhat of a Nero[x] in cruelty, had tried it, but forasmuch as he was also a human being, he speedily stopped[y] the undertaking, even restoring those whom he had banished. Such have ever been our persecutors; unjust, impious, infamous, whom even yourselves have been wont to condemn, by whom whosoever were condemned ye have been wont to restore. But out of so many princes thenceforward to him of the present day, who had any savour of religion and humanity, shew us any destroyer of the Christians. But we on the other hand have one to shew who protected them, if the letters of that most august Emperor Marcus Aurelius be enquired of, wherein he testifieth of that drought in Germany removed by the shower obtained by the prayers of the Christians who chanced to serve in his army[z]. As he did not

[s] Justin. M. (Apol. i. 35. and 48.) also mentions incidentally that Pilate sent an official account (Acta) of His Death and miracles; (as was usual to transmit accounts of all important events, so that the omission had been very improbable;) nor does there seem any ground to question this statement, which rests on Tertullian's authority; for the supposed improbability that the Senate would venture to reject the proposal of Tiberius is met by the fact that they did so, on different occasions, without displeasing Tiberius, (Suet. Tiber. c. 31.) This account, and those of Lampridius (a heathen) as to other Emperors, who intended to associate the Lord with the heathen gods, mutually confirm each other, though the dishonour was, by God's providence, averted.

[t] Bp. Pearson (Lect. iv. in Actt. n. 14.) explains it, "because he (T.) had not approved of it in his own case," as referring to Tiberius' refusal of divine honours. (Suet. Tib. c. 26.) He is followed by Tillemont, H. E. art. S. Pierre, n. 19. and Lardner. It seems safer, however, to adhere to the sense given by Euseb. (H. E. ii. 2.) S. Chrysostom, (in 2 Cor. Hom. 26.) P. Orosius, (vii. 4.) and otherwise there had been no ground for the mention of the "ancient law" just above.

[u] See Scorp. c. 14. Euseb. H. E. ii. 25. Aug. de Civ. D. xviii. 52. Sueton. Nero. c. 16.

[x] T. calls him "Subnero," de Pallio c. 4.

[y] Euseb. H. E. iii. 20.

[z] See ad Scap. c. 4. The greatness and unexpectedness of the deliverance

Apol. I. 6.

openly take off the penalty from the men of that sect[a], so in another way he openly made away with it by adding a sentence, and that a more horrid one, against the accusers also. What sort of laws then be those which only the impious, the unjust, the infamous, the cruel, the foolish, the insane, execute against us? which Trajan in part foiled by forbidding that the Christians should be enquired after[b]; which no Adrian, though a clear searcher into all things curious[c], no Vespasian, though the vanquisher of the Jews, no Pius, no Verus[d], hath pressed against us? Surely the worst of men, it might be thought, ought to be more readily rooted out by the best, as being their antagonists, than by their own fellows.

VI. Now I would have these most religious guardians and [1] ultores avengers[1] of the laws and institutions of their fathers answer touching their own fealty, and their respect and

is confessed by the heathen also; some referred to by Euseb. (H. E. v. 5.) and by extant writers, Dio. Cass. lxxi. 8 sqq. Jul. Capitolin. (Marc. Ant. i. 24.) Themistius (Or. 15.) Claudian (de sexto cons. Honor. v. 340 sqq.) and of these, Dio. §. 10. and Jul. Cap. mention the further fact stated in Euseb. from Apollinaris (Bp. of Hierapolis, a contemporary) and others, that lightning discomfited the enemy, while rain refreshed the Roman army, which is attested also by the Antonine column, according to the engraving in Baronius, A. 176. no. 23. The lightning alone is dwelt upon by Claudian; the rain by Them. and visible on Antonine's medal (ap. Pagi ad A. C. 174.) The heathen differ only in ascribing it to the prayers of Antonine himself, (J. Cap. Them. Claud.) or (as was done in the first plagues of Egypt) to the incantations of Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician (so, Dio C. Claud.) invoking Mercury, (to whom the medal ascribes it, the column to Jupiter Pluvius,) Dio C. Though then there can be no doubt of a great interposition of Providence, obtained through the prayers of the Christians, Tertullian seems to have been misinformed as to the ground of the letter of Antonine, whether as Euseb. states (H. E. iv. 12.) it was sent by Titus Antoninus, or (as the copies now bear) by Marcus, (ib. c. 13.)

[a] In the extant Rescript (Eus. l. c.) it is taken off, "If any one persevere in troubling any such, as such, let him who is accused, be acquitted of the charge, though he appear to be such; and let the accuser be subject to punishment." This, however, may have been local; at Rome the old law was still enforced under Commodus, Apollonius martyred, his accuser's legs broken. (Eus. v. 21.)

[b] Ap. Plin. Ep. x. 98.

[c] Spartianus in Adriano Hist. Rom. Scriptt. t. ii. p. 190 sqq.

[d] The martyrdom of S. Polycarp and Justin, and many others in Asia Minor, took place under M. Aurelius Verus Antoninus, Eus. H. E. iv. 15—17. as also those at Vienne and Lyons, (ib. v. 1.) It is supposed then, that by Verus, T. means L. Verus, the brother of M. Aurelius, after whose death Paulus Diac. states the persecution under M. Aurelius to have taken place, or that he means that he passed no decrees against the Christians, though the persecutions were carried on under the old laws. This seems the more probable, on account of the character given to L. Verus; so Baronius, A. 164 init.

deference towards the decrees of their ancestors, whether they have fallen off from none, whether they have deviated in none, whether they have not annulled such as are necessary, and in proportion as they are the best fitted, to good discipline. Whither have gone those laws which checked extravagance and ambition? which enacted that an hundred *assés*, and no more, should be allowed for a supper[e]; and that not more than one fowl, and that not a fatted one[f], should be introduced? which expelled from the Senate a Patrician on grave proof of ambition, because he possessed ten pounds of silver[g]? which forthwith pulled down the theatres as they rose for the corruption of morals[h]? which suffered not the badges of dignities and honourable birth to be assumed without cause or without a penalty? For I see centenarian suppers, which must now be so named from an hundred sesterces[i], and silver mines wrought out into dishes, (it were a small matter if only for Senators, and not for freed men[k], or those who are even now having the whip broken upon them.) I see too that it is not enough that theatres should be single or uncovered. For it was for the games forsooth that the Lacedæmonians first invented their odious cloak[l], that immodest pleasure might not be chilled even in the winter. I see too no distinction left in dress between matrons and harlots[m]. Touching women indeed, even those rules of their forefathers have dropped, which supported modesty and sobriety, when no woman knew ought of gold, save on the one finger on which her husband had placed the pledge of the nuptial ring[n]; when women were so entirely kept from wine, that her own friends starved a matron to death for unsealing the stores of a wine

[e] And that on the great festivals only Lex Fannia, 11 years before the third Punic war, ("lex centussis" Lucilius,) renewed in the Lex Licinia. (A. Gell. ii. 24. Macrob. Sat. ii. 13.)

[f] Lex Fannia, Plin. x. 50. (al. 71.)

[g] i. e. wrought silver, A. U. C. 458. The Censor was Fabric. Luscinius; the expelled, Corn. Rufinus, had been Dictator and twice Consul. (Val. Max. ii. 9. 4.) Five pounds only were allowed, Plin. xxxiii. 50.

[h] See de Spectac. c. 10.

[i] £8072 18*s*. 4*d*. Æsop spent as much on a single dish, Tert. de Pall. c. 5. See other instances ib. and in Adam's Rom. Ant. art. Money.

[k] Drusillanus, a slave of Claudius, de Pall. c. 5. Plin. xxxiii. 52.

[l] Tiberius first used it to this end, Dio. lvii. 13.

[m] De Cult. Fem. ii. 12. de Pallio, c. 4. "Varied and florid garments harlots use for their trade, rich women for their luxury." Artemid. ii. 3.

[n] See Plin. xxxiii. 4. De Idol. c. 16.

Apol. I. 6.

cellar[o]; and under Romulus one who had touched wine was slain[l] with impunity by her husband Mecenius. Wherefore also they were obliged to offer kisses to their nearest kinsfolk, that they might be judged by their breath[p]. Where is that happiness in marriages, favoured doubtless by good morals, through which, during nearly six hundred years[q] from the founding of the city, no one family wrote a writing of divorcement? In the women, now, owing to their gold, no limb is light[r], owing to their wine, no kiss is free: and for divorce, it is now even the object of a wish, as though it were the proper fruit of matrimony[s]. As touching even your gods themselves, the decrees, which your fathers had providently enacted, ye, these same most obedient persons, have rescinded. Father Bacchus, with his mysteries, the Consuls by the authority of the Senate, banished not only from the city, but from the whole of Italy[t]. Serapis, and Isis, and Harpocrates with his dog-headed monster, having been forbidden the Capitol[u], that is, turned out of the palace of the gods, the Consuls Piso and Gabinius (certainly not Christians) renounced, overturning even their altars, thus checking the vices of base and idle superstitions. These ye having bestowed, have conferred the highest dignity upon them. Where is your religion? Where is the reverence due from you to your ancestors? In dress, food, establishment, income, finally in your very language, ye have renounced your forefathers. Ye are ever lauding the ancients, yet fashioning your lives anew every day. By which it is manifest, that, while ye fall back from the good customs of your ancestors, ye retain and guard those things which ye ought not, while ye guard not those which ye

[l] tiuci-data *sit*

[o] Plin. xiv. 13. (al. 12.) Val. Max. 6. 3. 9.

[p] Ib. and Arnob. l. ii. p. 91. ed. Lugd.

[q] 520. Val. Max. ii. 1. 4. And that for barrenness.

[r] De Cult. Fem. i. fin.

[s] See Senec. de Benef. iii. 16. Juv. vi. 20. Martial. vi. 7. ap. Hav.

[t] Liv. l. xxxix. Val. Max. i. 3. Aug. de Civ. D. vi. 9.

[u] And their altars destroyed (Varro ap. Tert. ad Nat. i. 10.) by the Senate, and allowed only to be without the walls, Dio. xl. 47. xlii. 26. they were restored by popular tumult, but forbidden by Gabinius chiefly, A. U. C. 695. (Tert. ib.) Arnobius, ii. 95. mentions both. Afterwards M. Æmil. Paulus himself broke down the walls of the temple, Val. Max. i. 3. fin. The worship was vix agreque admissum, Macrob. i. 7. in the triumvirate by Augustus, Dio. xlvii. 15. Lucan. vii. 83. but even afterwards only without the city, Dio. liii. 2. and a mile from it, liv. 6. The worship appears to have been that of the populace. (Tert. l. c. Val. Max. l. c.)

ought. Besides[1] that very thing, which being handed down from your fathers ye seem most faithfully to observe, in which ye mark out the Christians as specially guilty of transgression,—I mean diligence in worshipping the gods, wherein antiquity hath mostly erred,—although ye have rebuilt the altars of the now Roman Serapis, although ye offer[2] your frantic orgies to the now Italian Bacchus, I will shew in the proper place[x] to have been just as much despised and neglected and destroyed by you, contrary to the authority of your ancestors. For I shall now make answer to the evil report touching secret crimes, that I may clear my way to such as are more open.

[1] Ipsum adhuc

[1] immoletis

VII. We are said to be the most accursed of men, as touching a sacrament of child-murder, and thereon a feast, and incest after the feast, where the dogs that overturn the candles, our panders forsooth, procure darkness and an absence of all shame besides, for impious lusts. Yet 'said to be' is ever the word, and ye take no care to expose that which we have been so long said to be. Wherefore either expose it, if ye believe it, or be unwilling to believe it, seeing ye have not exposed it. Through your own connivance it is ruled against you, that that hath no existence which even yourselves dare not expose. Far other is the task which ye impose on your executioner against the Christians, not that they should confess what they do, but deny what they are[y]. This religion dateth, as we have already set forth[z], from Tiberius. Truth set out with being herself hated; as soon as she appeared, she is an enemy[3]. As many as are strangers to it, so many are its foes[a]: and the Jews indeed appropriately from their rivalry, the soldiers from their *violence*, even *they of our own household* from nature. Each day are we beset, each day betrayed; in our very meetings and assemblies are we mostly surprised. Who hath ever in this way come upon a screaming infant? Who hath kept for the judge the mouths of these Cyclopses and Sirens, bloody as he found them? Who hath discovered any marks of impurity even in our wives? Who hath concealed such crimes,

[3] inimica *est* Luke 3, 14. Mat. 10, 36.

[x] c. 13.
[y] See above, c. 2.
[z] c. 5.
[a] Athenag. Leg. §. 3. Orig. c. Cels. i. 3.

Apol. I. 7. when he hath discovered them, or hath taken a bribe to do so, while haling the men themselves[b]? If we be always concealed, when was that, which we commit, divulged? Yea, by whom could it be divulged? By the criminals themselves forsooth! Nay, verily: since the fidelity of secresy is, by the very rule of all mysteries[1], due to them. The Samothracian and Eleusinian are kept secret; how much more such as, being divulged, will in the mean time provoke even the vengeance of man, while that of God is kept in store! If themselves then be not their own betrayers, it followeth that strangers must be. And whence have strangers the knowledge, when even holy mysteries ever exclude the profane, and beware of witnesses? unless it be that unholy men have the less fear! The nature of fame is known to all. It is your own saying,

[1] vel ex forma omnium mysteriorum

"Fame is an ill, than which more speedy none." (Virg.)

Why "Fame an ill?" because "speedy?" because a tell-tale? or because mostly false? who, not even at the very time when she beareth any thing true, is without the vice of falsehood, detracting, adding, changing from the truth! What, when her condition is such, that she endureth only while she lieth, and liveth only so long as she proveth not her words? for when she hath proved them, she ceaseth to be; and, as having discharged her office of talebearer, delivereth up a fact. And thenceforward the fact is laid hold of, the fact is named, and no one saith, (for instance,) 'They say that this happened at Rome,' or 'The report is that he hath obtained the province,' but, 'He hath obtained the province,' and 'This happened at Rome.' Fame, a name for uncertainty, hath no place when a thing is certain. But would any, but an inconsiderate man, believe Fame? since a wise man believeth not that which is uncertain. All may judge that, over whatever extent it be spread, with whatever assurance framed, it must needs have at some time sprung from some one author, and thence creep into the channels of tongues and ears. And a fault in the first little seed doth so darken the rest of the tale, that none enquireth whether that

[b] i. e. had they been bribed, they had let them go altogether

first tongue have not sown a falsehood[c], which often happeneth either from the spirit of rivalry, or the wanton humour of suspicion, or that taste for falsehood which in some is not new, but inborn. But it is well that "time revealeth all things," which even your own proverbs and sayings testify, according to the general law of nature which hath so ordained that nothing long remaineth hidden, even that which fame hath not spread abroad. With good cause then hath Fame been so long the only witness of the crimes of the Christians[d]. This informer ye produce against us, who even to this time hath not been able to prove that which she once threw out, and in so long a period hath strengthened into an opinion.

VIII. That I may appeal to the authority of Nature herself against those who presume that such things are to be believed, lo! we set before you the reward of these crimes. They promise eternal life. Believe it for the moment: for I ask this, whether even thou, who dost believe it, thinkest it worth while to attain to it by such a conscience[e]? Come plunge thy knife into an infant, the foe of none, the accused of none, the child of all. Or, if this be the office of another, only stand by this human being, dying before it hath lived; wait for the young soul's flight; catch the scarce-matured blood; soak thy bread in it; freely feed upon it. Meanwhile as thou sittest at the meal, calculate the places where thy mother, where thy sister is; note them diligently, so that when the darkness caused by the dogs shall fall upon thee, thou mayest not err; for thou wilt incur pollution if thou commit not incest. Thus initiated and sealed thou livest for ever. I desire thee to answer whether Eternity be worth such a price; or if not, therefore it ought not to be believed to be so. Even if thou shouldest believe it, I say that thou wouldest not do it; even if thou wouldest, I say that thou couldest not. And why should others be able, if ye are not able? Why should ye not be able, if others are able? We,

[c] Obscurat, i. e. the original falsehood is so mixed up in all the parts of the story, as to make it impossible to see clearly what the truth really is. (Tr.) According to another reading, (obscurant) "And the other appendages of the tale so disguise the fault in the first little seed, that none considereth &c."

[d] Athenag. Leg. §. 2.

[e] Salvian, l. iv. (ubi sup.) p. 39. ed. Manut.

Apol. I. 8. I suppose, are of another nature! Are we Cynopeans or Sciapodes[f]? Have we other rows of teeth? other nerves for incestuous lust? Thou that canst believe these things of a man, canst also do them[g]. Thou thyself also art a man, as is a Christian. Thou that canst not do them, oughtest not to believe them, for a Christian also is a man, and all that thou also art. But (say ye) men while in ignorance are cheated and practised on[h]. Because forsooth they knew not that any such thing was asserted of the Christians, a thing doubtless to have been looked to by them, and investigated with all diligence! But it is the custom, methinks, for those who desire to be initiated, first to go to the master of the mysteries, and to note down what things must be prepared[i]. Then saith he, 'An infant thou must needs have, still of tender age, who knoweth not what death is, who can smile under thy knife: bread too, with which thou must take up the mess of blood: candlesticks moreover, and candles, and certain dogs, and sops, which may make them stretch forward to overturn the candles: above all, thou wilt be bound to come with thy mother and sister.' What if they will not come, or if thou hast none? What, in short, must solitary Christians do? A man, I suppose, will not be a regular Christian, unless he be a brother or a son! What now, even if all these things be prepared for men ignorant of them? Surely they know them afterwards, and bear with and pardon them. They fear to be punished! men, who, if they publish them, will deserve to be defended; who should rather even die voluntarily, than exist under such a conscience. Well! grant that they do fear. Why do they still go on? for it followeth that thou canst not wish any longer to be that, which, if thou hadst known it before, thou wouldest not have been.

IX. To refute these charges the more, I will shew that that is done by you, partly in public and partly in secret, through which perchance ye have come to believe them of us also. In the bosom of Africa, infants were publicly

[f] Lit. "dog-faced" and "feet-shadowed," fabulous monsters, ap. Plin. vii. 2.

[g] Salvian, iv. p. 93. Minut. F. p. 289.

[h] See details in Minut. F. p. 87.

[i] Apul. Milesiarum sive Metamorph. l. xi. pp. 255 et 262.

sacrificed to Saturn[k], even to the days of a proconsul under Tiberius, who on the very trees of their temple which shaded their crimes, as on consecrated crosses[l], hung up, alive[l], to public view the priests themselves; witness the soldiery of my own country who executed that very office for that proconsul. But even now this consecrated crime is continued in secret. It is not the Christians only who defy you; nor is any crime rooted out for ever, nor doth any god change his character. Since Saturn did not spare his own sons, doubtless he persisted in not sparing those of others, whom indeed their own parents offered of themselves, and willingly paid their vow, and fondled the infants, lest they should be slain weeping[m]. And yet murder by a parent differeth much from manslaying. Among the Gauls a riper age was sacrificed to Mercury. I leave to their own theatres the fables of Tauri[n]. Lo! in that most religious city of the pious descendants of Æneas there is a certain Jupiter[o], whom, in his own games, they drench with human blood. But, say ye, 'the blood of one condemned to the beasts:' and therefore, I suppose, not so bad as that of a man. Is it not therefore worse, because the blood of a bad man[p]? Still in any case it is shed by manslaying. O Christian Jupiter! and 'the only son of his father'—through cruelty! But since as touching child murder it mattereth not whether it be done from Religion or of mere wanton will, though in the case of murder by a parent there is a difference, I will appeal to the people. Of these who stand around and pant for Christian blood, of your own

[l] vivos *added*

[k] Especially a Phœnician, and so, a Punic idolatry, see Diod. Sic. xx. 14. The human sacrifices of Carthage and the Phœnicians are spoken of by Plato, Politic. p. 315. Ennius, Ann. 7. Lact. Instt. (l. 21.) from Pescenius Festus. Silius Ital. iv. 767. Porph. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. 2. Euseb. Laud. Const. Athanas. adv. Gentes, c. 25. Orig. c. Cels. v. 27. and others quoted on Minut. F. p. 291. ed. Ouzel. Saturn is identified with Baal, Procop. in Is. c. 46. ib. Athanas. l. c. to whom human sacrifices were also offered, Gesen. Monumm. Phœn. 453. and who is perhaps the same as Moloch, id. Thes. v. מלך.

[l] Hung them, as it were offerings, on the trees, whereon they hung the offerings to their God.

[m] Which was ill-omened, add. Minut. F. l. c.

[n] Eurip. Iphig. Taur. add. Minut. F. l. c. Aug. de Civ. D. vii. 19. and 26. &c.

[o] Latiaris, Tert. adv. Gnost. c. 7. Minut. F. p. 198. and 297. Lact. i. 21. Tatian. adv. Græc. §. 29. (whom it aided to alienate from Heathenism.) Athanas. c. Gentes, c. 25. Porph. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. 2. p. 35. Plin. xxxiv. 7. and others quoted, ib.

[p] Minut. F. p. 297.

Apol. I. 9.

selves, magistrates most just and most severe against us, how many will ye that I smite in their consciences, as slayers of the children born unto them? If indeed there be a difference too as to the manner of death, surely it is with greater cruelty that ye force out their breath in the water, or expose them to cold and hunger and dogs[q]. For even those of riper age would desire to die by the sword. But to us, manslaying having once been forbidden, it is not lawful to undo even what is conceived in the womb, while the blood is as yet undetermined to form a man. Prevention of birth is a precipitation of murder[r]: nor doth it matter whether one take away a life when formed, or drive it away while forming. He also is a man, who is about to be one. Even every fruit already existeth in its seed. Touching the eating of blood, and such like tragic dishes, read whether it be not somewhere related, (it is in Herodotus[s], I think,) that certain nations have ordained for the making of a treaty the shedding of blood from their arms, and the drinking it the one from the other[t]. Under Catiline[u] also there was some drinking of the same sort. They say too that among some tribes of the Scythians every one that dieth is eaten by his relations[x]. I am travelling too far. In this age, in this country, blood from a wounded thigh, caught in the palm of the hand, and given to eat, sealeth those consecrated to Bellona[y]. They too, who in the games in the theatre have drunk[1] with greedy thirst the fresh blood streaming from the neck[2] of the butchered criminals to cure the falling sickness, where are they[a]? they too, who from the stage sup on the meat of wild beasts, who fetch it from the boar, from the stag[a]? That boar hath

Lam. 4, 9.

[1] hauserunt
[2] de jugulo decurrentem *restored*

[q] Ad Nat. ii. 12. Plin. Ep. x. 71. Lactant. vi. 20. Justin. M. Apol. 1. §. 27. Aug. de Nupt. i. 15. Minut. F. p. 289.

[r] Exhort. ad Cast. c. 12. Athenag. Leg. §. 35. Minut. F. p. 290. hence the Christian Canons, Basil. Can. 2 and 8, &c. ap. Bingh. 16. 10. 3. and 4.

[s] i. 74. of the Medes and Lydians, iv. 70. of the Scythians.

[t] Tac. Ann. xii. 47. of the nations under Mithridates. Mela, ii. 1. of several tribes, Val. Max. ix. 11. of the Armenians: among American tribes, Lips. ad Tac. l. c.

[u] Sall. Catil. i. 23. speaking doubtfully. L. Florus (iv. 1.) positively. Minut. F. p. 297, 8.

[x] Massagetæ, adv. Marc. i. 1. Herod. i. ult.

[y] "Signat Bellonæ" corresponds with Minut. F. p. 298, 9. Bellonam sacrum suum haustu humani cruoris imbuere. add Lactant. i. 21. the cutting of the arms is named by Lucan. i. Lamprid. in Comm. &c. Tib. Eleg. i. 6. ib.

[z] Plin. xxviii. 6. Corn. Celsus, iii. 23. Minut. F. p. 299.

[a] Minut. F. l. c.

from the man, whom he hath covered with blood, in struggling with him, wiped it off. That stag hath lain in the blood of a gladiator. The paunches of the very bears are in request, reeking yet with undigested human entrails[b]. The flesh which hath been fed on a man forthwith riseth in the stomach of a man. Ye that eat these things, how far removed are ye from the feasts of the Christians? And they too, who with brutal appetite seize on human bodies, do they do the less because they devour the living? Are they the less consecrated to filthiness by human blood, because what they take up hath yet to become blood? They feed not indeed on infants, but on those of riper age. Let your sin blush before us Christians, who do not reckon the blood even of animals among meats to be eaten[c], who for this cause also *abstain from things strangled*, and *such as die of themselves*, that we may not be defiled by any blood even buried within their entrails. Finally, among the trials of the Christians, ye offer them also pudding-skins stuffed with blood, as being well assured that that, whereby ye would have them transgress, is unlawful among them. Moreover what manner of thing is it to believe that they, who ye are assured abhor the blood of beasts, pant for human blood? unless perchance ye have found it sweeter! Which very blood too it were meet should be applied as a test of Christians, in like manner as the altar, as the censer. For they would be proved Christians[1] by desiring human blood, as by refusing to sacrifice, and would be to be slain on another ground if they tasted, in the same way as if they had not sacrificed[d]. And surely ye would have no lack of blood in your examination and condemnation of prisoners. Moreover, who are more incestuous than those whom Jupiter himself hath taught? Ctesias relateth that the Persians are connected with their mothers[e]. And the Macedonians also are suspected, because when they first heard the Tragedy of Œdipus, laughing at

Acts 15, 20. Levit. 22, 8.

[1] probarentur Christiani qui

[b] The wild beasts were so fed in the arena, Salvian. de Prov. vi. p. 121. ed. Baluz.

[c] The same argument was used by Biblias Ep. Lugd. et Vienn. ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 1. see further Note A. at the end of the Apology.

[d] The older Editions read alioquin negandi si non gustassent, quemadmodum si immolassent, "otherwise to be declared not to be Christians, if they tasted not, in the same way as if they had sacrificed."

[e] Tatian. c. Græc. §. 28. Brisson gives many authorities, de reg. Pers. l. 2 sqq.

Apol. I. 10.

the grief of the incestuous man they said, ἤλαυνε τὴν μήτερα. Now consider what an opening there is to involuntary sin for the commission of incest, the promiscuousness of your debauchery supplying the materials. In the first place ye expose your children[f] to be taken up by the compassion of any passing stranger, or resign them to be adopted by nobler parents. Of a stock thus alienated, it must needs be that the memory is sometimes lost; and when once[1] a mistake shall have chanced upon them, thenceforward it will go on transmitting the incest, the generation creeping on with the crime[g]. Then, secondly, in whatever place ye be, at home, abroad, across the seas, lust is your companion, whose promiscuous sallies may any where easily make children for men unawares, so that the stock thus scattered, as it were, out of some portion at least of the seed[2], doth through the intercourse of man meet with its own reflected images, and knoweth them not for mixtures of incestuous blood. Us a most careful and most faithful chastity[h] hath fenced from such a consequence; and in proportion as we are safe from adulteries, and from all transgression after marriage, so are we also from the chance of incest. Some men, much more secure, beat off by a pure continency the whole power of such error, little children to their old age[i]. If ye would consider that these things exist among you, ye would perceive forthwith that they exist not among the Christians. The same eyes would have testified of both. But two sorts of blindness easily unite, so that they who see not things which are, think also that they see things which are not. So I might shew it to be in every case. Now for the open sins.

[1] semel

[2] ut vel ex aliqua semine portione veluti a-persum genus

X. 'You do not,' say ye, 'worship the Gods[k], and you offer

[f] Justin M. Apol. i. 27. Clem. Al. Pædag. iii. 3. Lact. vi. 20. Minut. F. p. 305.

[g] Lact. l. c.

[h] Christian chastity is appealed to, as a known fact, by Justin, Apol. i. §. 15. add. §. 29. Tatian, c. 37. Athenag. c. 32, 33. Minut. F. p. 307.

[i] Remaining to old age what they were as children. Justin M. l. c. Athenag. c. 33. Orig. c. Cels. i. 26. Minut. F. p. 310.

[k] Atheism was one of the three charges against Christians. Athenag. c. 3. Justin, Dial. c. Tryph. c. 17. Apol. i. 6. Epist. Anton. ap. Euseb. H. E. iv. 13. Arnob. l. i. init. and p. 16. ed. Lugd. iii. p. 116. iv. p. 147. v. p. 178. Lact. v. 9. vii. 27. Cyril. Al. c. Julian, l. ii. p. 43. vii. p. 238. and p. 343. Prudent. Peri-Stephanon. Hymn 14. Dio Cass. l. 67. §. 83. quoted by Kortholt de Calumn. Pag. c. 8. Elmenhorst ad Arnob. l. i. p. 16.

not sacrifices for the Emperors.' It followeth that we sacrifice not for others for the same reason for which we do not even for ourselves, simply from not worshipping the gods. It is for sacrilege, therefore, and treason that we are arraigned. This is the chief point in the case: nay it is the whole, and certainly worthy of being considered, if neither presumption nor injustice are to judge it, the one despairing to find, the other rejecting, truth. We cease to worship your gods from the time when we discover that they are no gods. This therefore ye ought to require, that we prove that they be no gods, and therefore not to be worshipped, because then only ought they to have been worshipped, if they had been gods. Then also ought the Christians to be punished, if it were proved that those are gods, whom they worshipped not, because they thought them not to be so. 'But to us,' ye say, 'they are gods.' We challenge this, and appeal from yourselves[1] to your conscience. Let that judge us: let that condemn us, if it shall be able to deny that all these gods of yours were men. If she too herself would go about to deny it, she shall be convicted out of her own documents of Antiquity, from whence she hath learned to know them, which bear witness, to this day, both to the cities in which they were born, and to the countries wherein, having wrought any thing, they have left traces of themselves, nay even those in which they are proved to have been buried[l]. Nor shall I run through all separately, so many as they are and so great, new, old, barbarian, Grecian, Roman, foreign, taken in war, adopted, peculiar, common, male, female, of the country, of the town, of the fleet, of the army. It is idle to go over their very titles. Let me sum up all in brief: and that, not that ye may learn, but be reminded of them; for certainly ye act as though ye had forgotten them. Before Saturn there is, according to you, no god[m]. From him is

[1] a vobis ipsis

The grounds were, not worshipping the heathen gods, (Athenag. l. e. and c. 13. Justin, Apol. l. c. Arnob. i. p. 16.) and that they had no known places of worship, [being obliged to conceal them,] Arnob. vi. init. Hence the cry of the populace, "Away with the Atheists," see Ep. Eccl. Smyrn. ap. Eus. iv. 15.

[l] Especially Euhemerus, (who was translated and followed by Ennius,) Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. v. fin. c. 42. He is also referred to by Euseb. Præp. Ev. ii. 4. Minut. F. p. 160. Arnob. l. iv. p. 147. Aug. de Civ. Dei, vi. 7. vii. 26. Lact. i. 11. as also by many heathens. See also Clem. Al. Cohort. e. 2. p. 7.

[m] Ad. Nat. l. 2. Macrob. Sat. i. 1. Aug. de Civ. D. v. 8. Minut. F. p. 209.

Apol. I. 10. the date of all Deity, though better or better known than himself. Whatever therefore shall be proved of the origin, the same will also follow of the line. Touching Saturn, therefore, as far as books teach, neither Diodorus the Greek[n], nor Thallus[o], nor Cassius Severus[p], nor Cornelius Nepos, nor any of that class of writers on antiquities, have pronounced him to be ought else than a man. If we measure by the evidence of facts, I no where find any more trust-worthy than in Italy itself, wherein Saturn, after many travels, and after his entertainment in Attica, settled, being received by Janus or Janes as the Salii will have it[q]. The mountain, which he had dwelt in, was called Saturnius[r]: the city which he had planted, is even to this day Saturnia[s]: finally, the whole of Italy, after being called Œnotria, was surnamed Saturnia[t]. From him first came your tablets, and coin stamped with an image[u], and hence he presideth over the treasury. But if Saturn be a man, surely he is born of a man[x], and, because of a man, surely not of Heaven and Earth. But it easily came to pass that one, whose parents were unknown, should be called the son of those, of whom we may all be thought to be sons[y]. For who may not call Heaven and Earth his father and mother, in the way of reverence and respect, or according to the custom of men, whereby persons unknown, or unexpectedly appearing, are said to have dropped down upon us from the skies[z]? In like manner it happened to Saturn, coming unexpected every where, to be called heaven-born. For even the vulgar call those, whose birth is uncertain, "sons of Earth[a]." I say nothing of men being as yet in so rude a condition, that they might be

[n] Siculus, l. 1.

[o] A writer of Syrian history, African. ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. x. 1. referred to by Lact. i. 13. Minut. F. l. c.

[p] It should be Cassius Hemina, a writer of Italian history from the earliest times to his own, A. U. C. 608. Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 21. He is quoted by Lact. l. c. Minut. F. l. c. Pliny, vii. 10. xxxv. 30. mentions Cassius Severus, a celebrated orator, (under Augustus, Suet. Aug. 56.) but does not say (as Pam. states) that he took much from him.

[q] Lact. i. 14. Minut. F. l. c. Euseb. Præp. Ev. x. 3.

[r] Dionys. i. 34. Varro de Ling. Lat. iv. 7. Aurel. Victor. O. G. R. 3. ap. Heyne, Exc. 2. ad Æn. l. 8. Aug. de Civ. D. vii. 2.

[s] Virg. Æn. 8. 358. Macrob. Sat. i. 7.

[t] Ib. 8. 319—29.

[u] Minut. F. l. c.

[x] Minut. F. l. c. Lact. i. 11. v. fin.

[y] Aurel. Victor de Orig. Gentis Rom. i. 2.

[z] Tib. Eleg. i. 3. Minut. F. l. c.

[a] Cic. ad Att. l. i. Ep. 10, &c.

moved by the appearance, as though divine, of any strange man, when even polished as they are at this day, men consecrate as gods those whom a few days before they acknowledged by a public mourning to be dead[b]. Enough now, little as it is, of Saturn. I shall shew that Jupiter also was as well a man as born of a man; and so, in order, that the whole swarm of his descendants were as mortal as they were like the seed whence they sprung.

XI. And since, as ye dare not deny these to have been men[c], so ye have determined to affirm that they became gods after their death, let us treat of the causes which have worked out this effect. In the first place indeed ye must needs allow that there is some superior God, and some dispenser of Deity, who hath made gods out of men. For neither could they have assumed to themselves that Deity which they had not, nor could any give it to them which had it not, save one who in his own proper right[1] possessed it. But if there were no one to make them gods, in vain do ye presume that they were made gods, when ye refuse them a maker. Surely if they could have made themselves, they would never have been men, to wit as possessing in themselves the power of belonging to an higher state of being. Wherefore if there be one who maketh gods, I return to examine the reasons for making gods out of men, and I find none, unless it be that that great God lacked their services and aid in divine functions. First it is unworthy of Him that He should need the aid of any man, and that a dead one, seeing that He, who was about to lack the aid of a dead man, might more worthily have made some god from the first. But I do not even see any room for such aid: for all this body of the universe, whether, according to Pythagoras, without beginning and without a maker, or, according to Plato, having a beginning and a maker, in any case being once for all, in the very act of its conception[2], disposed, and furnished, and ordered, was found with a government of perfect reason[d]. That could not be imperfect, which perfected[3] all things.

[1] apud se *added*

[2] in ipsa conceptione

[3] perfecit

[b] On the deifying of the Emperors see Dio, l. 59. c. 28. of Caligula.

[c] Athenag. c. 28. and above on c. 10.

[d] i. e. being provided once for all with certain laws, and self-governed, (according to their view,) it needeth not the aid of Saturn and his race.

Apol. I. 11. Nothing awaited Saturn and the race of Saturn. Men must be fools, if they be not assured that from the beginning rain hath fallen from heaven, and stars have beamed, and light hath shot forth, and thunders have roared, and Jupiter himself hath feared those bolts which ye place in his hands; that all fruit likewise sprang abundantly from the earth before Bacchus, and Ceres, and Minerva, yea before that first man whosoever he was; because nothing provided, for the maintenance and support of man, could have been introduced after man. Finally they are said to have discovered these necessaries of life, not to have made them[e]: but that which is discovered, was, and that which was, will not be accounted his who discovered, but his who made it: for it was, before it was discovered. Further, if Bacchus be therefore a god, because he first made known the vine, Lucullus, who first introduced cherries generally into Italy, hath been hardly dealt with, because, being the [1]pointer out, he was not thereupon deified as the author of a new fruit. Wherefore if the universe hath existed from the beginning, both ordered and dispensed by fixed laws for the exercise of its functions, there lacketh a cause in this particular for admitting man to the Godhead, because the posts and powers which ye have assigned to them, have existed just as much from the beginning as they would have, even if ye had not created these gods. But ye betake yourselves to another reason, and answer that the conferring Deity upon them was a means of rewarding their merits, and hence ye grant, I suppose, that this god-making God is excellent in justice, one who would not rashly, nor unworthily, nor lavishly, dispense so great a reward. I would therefore recount their merits, whether they be such as should raise them to heaven, and not rather sink them down[2] into "the nethermost hell," which, when ye choose, ye affirm to be the prisonhouse of eternal punishments[f]. For thither are the wicked wont to be thrust, and such as are unchaste towards their parents, and their sisters, and the debauchers of wives, and the ravishers of virgins, and the corrupters of boys, and they who are of angry passions, and they who kill, and they who steal, and they who deceive, and whosoever are like some

[1] inventor et *omitted*

[2] demerserint

[e] Lact. i. 18. [f] Ibid.

god of yours[g], not one of whom will ye be able to prove free from crime or vice, unless ye shall deny that he was a man. But as ye cannot[1] deny that they were men, ye have, besides, these marks which do not either allow it to be believed that they were afterwards made gods. For if ye sit in judgment for the punishment of such men, if all who among you are honest refuse the intercourse, the conversation, the company, of the evil and the base, and if that God hath admitted their compeers to a fellowship in his own majesty, why then condemn ye those whose fellows ye worship? Your justice is a stigma upon heaven. Make all your worst criminals gods, that ye may please your gods. The deifying of their fellows is an honour to them. But to omit farther discussion of this their unworthiness, grant that they be honest, and pure, and good. Still how many better men have ye left in the shades below! in wisdom a Socrates, in justice an Aristides, in warlike arts a Themistocles, in greatness of soul an Alexander, in good fortune a Polycrates, in wealth a Crœsus, in eloquence a Demosthenes! Which of these gods of yours was more grave and wise than Cato? more just and warlike than Scipio? Which more great of soul than Pompey? more fortunate than Sylla? more wealthy than Crassus? more eloquent than Tully? How much more worthily would he have waited for these to be adopted as gods, foreknowing, as he must, the better men! He was hasty I trow, and shut up heaven once for all, and now blusheth doubtless to see better men grumbling in the shades below.

[1] potestis

XII. I say no more now of these, as knowing that, when I have shewn what they are, I shall by the very force of truth shew what they are not. As touching your gods therefore, I see names only, the statues[2] of certain dead men of olden time, and I hear fables, and in their fables I read their mysteries. But as touching the images themselves I find nothing else than materials akin to vessels and instruments of common use, or from these same vessels and instruments, as though changing their destiny by their consecration, the wantonness of art transforming them, and that too most insultingly, and in the work itself sacrilegiously: so that in very truth it may be a

[2] statuas *added*

[3] esse *omitted*

[g] Athenag. c. 30.

Apol. I. 12.

consolation to us in our punishments, especially since we are punished on account of these very gods, that they themselves also suffer the same things in order that they may be made. Ye put the Christians upon crosses and stakes[h]. What image doth not the clay first form, moulded upon a cross and a stake[i]? It is on the gibbet that the body of your god is first consecrated! Ye tear the sides of the Christians with claws[k]: but upon your gods hatchets, and planes, and files, are more stoutly laid over all their limbs. We lay down our necks: until lead and glue and pegs have been used, your gods are headless. We are driven to the beasts; those surely which ye attach to Bacchus, and to Cybele, and to Cælestis[l]. We are burned with fire: so too are they in their original mass. We are condemned to the mines: it is thence that your gods are derived. We are banished to islands: in an island also one or other of your gods useth to be born or to die[m]. If by such means any deity is formed, then those who are punished are deified, and your condemned criminals ought to be called gods. But clearly your gods feel not these injuries and insults in the forming of them; as neither do they the honours paid to them. O impious words! O sacrilegious revilings! Gnash your teeth and foam upon us. Ye are the same men who approve of a Seneca declaiming against your superstition in more copious and bitter words[n]. Wherefore if we worship not statues[o] and cold images, very like their dead originals, which the kites, and the mice, and the spiders, well know[p], did not the renouncing of the discovered error deserve praise rather than punishment? For can we think that we injure those, who we are sure have no being at all? That which is not, suffereth nothing from any, because it is not.

[h] By impaling, (Theod. de Cur. Gr. Aff. Disp. viii. init.) or when exposed to the wild beasts, Eus. H. E. v. 1. or burnt alive, Lips. de Cruce.

[i] Justin M. Apol. i. 9. Ep. ad Diogn. c. 2. Clem. Al. Cohort. c. 4. p. 15. Minut. F. p. 218. Arnob. vi. p. 200.

[k] Cyprian. de Laps. c. 10. Auct. de Laud. Mart. init. Prudent. in Roman. Mart. 451. They are still preserved at Rome.

[l] The tutelary goddess of Carthage. They were pictured as drawn by lions, tigers, or lynxes.

[m] Jupiter in Crete, Apollo and Diana in Delos, Juno in Samos.

[n] See in Aug. de Civ. D. vi. 10.

[o] See note B. at the end of the Apology.

[p] See Baruch vi. 19. Clem. Al. Cohort. c. iv. p. 15. Arnob. l. vi. p. 202. Minut. F. p. 221. Lact. ii. 4. Aug. in Ps. 113. §. 2.

XIII. 'But,' sayest thou, 'they are gods to us.' And how is it that ye on the other hand are found to be impious, and sacrilegious, and irreligious, towards those [1] gods? neglecting those, whom ye presume to exist; destroying those, whom ye fear, and even mocking those, whom ye avenge! Mark whether I speak falsely. First in that[2], when ye worship, some one, some another, of course ye offend those whom ye worship not[q]. The preference of one cannot go on without the slight of another, because there is no choice without rejection. Ye despise then at once those whom ye reject; whom ye fear not, by rejecting, to offend. For as we have before shortly hinted, the case of each god depended upon the judgment of the Senate. He was not a god, whom man, after consultation, had refused, and, by refusing, had condemned. Your household gods, whom ye call Lares, ye deal with according to your household rights, by pledging, selling, changing them, sometimes from a Saturn into a chamber vessel, sometimes from a Minerva into a pan, as each hath become worn and battered by being long worshipped, as each man hath found his household need the more sacred god. Your public gods ye equally profane by public right, whom ye have in the register as a source of revenue. Thus the capitol, thus the herb-market is bid for[r]. Under the same proclamation of the crier, under the same spear, in the same catalogue of the quæstor, Deity is consigned and hired. But in truth lands charged with a tribute are of less value: men assessed for a poll-tax are less noble. For these are the marks of villenage. But the gods who pay the highest tribute are the most holy; yea, rather, they who are the most holy pay the highest tribute. Their majesty is made a source of gain: Religion goeth about the taverns begging[s]. Ye exact payment for a footing in the temple, for access to the sacred rite. Ye may not know the gods for nothing: they have their price. What do ye at all to honour them, which ye do not bestow on your dead men also?

[1] Deos *illos, ut* negligatis, &c.

[2] qui

[q] Athenag. c. 14. Aug. de Civ. D. vii. 1.

[r] The fees for visiting the capitol were let by auction every five years (ad Nat. i. 10.) like the tolls of the herb market.

[s] Chiefly the Dea Syria, Magna Mater, whence the term *μητραγύρται*; *μητραγυροῦντες*, Dionys. Hal. ii. 20. p. 276. ed. Reisk. Aristot. Rhet. iii. 2. 10. Clem. Al. Cohort. p. 20. ed. Pott. Minut. F. p. 224. Aug. de Civ. D. vii. 26. see below, c. 42.

Apol. I. 13.

Temples all the same, altars all the same,—the same dress and badges on the statues. As the dead man hath his age, hath his profession, hath his occupation, so hath the god. How doth the funeral feast differ from the feast of Jupiter? a bowl from a chalice[t]? an embalmer from a soothsayer? for a soothsayer also attendeth on the dead. But rightly do ye offer divine honours to your deceased Emperors, to whom even when living ye assign them. Your gods will count themselves your debtors, yea will be thankful because their masters are made their equals. But when among your Junos, and Cereses, and Dianas, ye worship Larentina[u], a public harlot, (I would at least it had been Lais or Phryne;) when ye instal Simon Magus[x] with a statue and the title of an holy god; when ye make I know not whom out of the court pages a god of the synod[y]; although your ancient

[t] Out of which libations to the dead were poured. The sameness of the rites argues that the gods also were but dead men.

[u] Area Larentia, the nurse of Romulus, Plin. xviii. 1. Licinius Macer ap. Macrob. Sat. i. 10. A. Gell. vi. 7.

[x] Justin M. Apol. i. c. 26. gives the inscription "Simoni Deo Sancto," and says that the statue with this inscription "stood by the Tiber *between the two bridges.*" This was the title of the Island of Æsculapius, (Plutarch. in Poplic. p. 221. ed. Bryan.) where A.D. 1572 was dug up a statue with the inscription, "Semoni Sanco" (or "Sango") Deo Fidio sacrum Sex. Pompeius, &c. whence some have thought that he confounded Semo [the Sabine Hercules] with Simon Magus, and that the more, since the i and e are interchanged in inscriptions, e. g. Mircurius, Gimina, and that the Sabine god is called Sanctus, Ov. Fast. vi. 214. Grabe ad Euseb. H. E. ii. 13. [This however is doubtful. Sancto is thought to be a corrupt reading, derived from the abbreviation SCO. Yet he is called Sanctus in the edd. of Sil. Ital. viii. 422. and in a second inscription it is used as an epithet "Sango Sancto Semoni Deo," which comes nearer to the use in Justin, see Comm. in Ovid. l. c. ed. Burmann.] Tillemont, on the other hand, remarks, (t. ii. Notes sur Simon le Mag.) 1. that Justin implies (ib. c. 56.) that the statue was erected by Claudius and the Senate, (and S. Augustine affirms it, Hær. i. 6. "auctoritate publica,") that discovered, is by an individual: 2. that the words are not the same, nor the order: 3. that Justin speaks of it, as a single case, and asks for one statue to be removed, whereas there were many statues of Simon; (so Baronius, who mentions one on the Quirinal:) 4. that S. Augustine, who makes the same statement, knew of the Sabine Semo (de Civ. D. xviii. 19.) [as did Lact. i. 15.] 5. that Theodoret, Hær. Fab. i. 1. says, that the statue was of brass, that this was of stone, [but it does not seem that any statue was found, but the base only, Baron. l. c.] There is then to set against the authority of Justin, only a *similarity* of inscription and the identity of the place, which however was full of temples, and was hence called the sacred island, (Liv. ii. 5. Plut. l. c.) Another contrast would be suggested by Baronius A. 44. §. 55. who says on the authority of S. Irenæus, i. 20. [23, 4.] Epiph. xxi. 3. that Simon's statue was in the form of Jupiter, while that of Semo represented Hercules. But these fathers are not here speaking of the Roman statue, but of that which his followers had and worshipped, of which S. Irenæus speaks positively, of the Roman, as a report. (ib. §. 1.)

[y] The degraded Antinous, by the Emp. Adrian. see Orig. c. Cels. iii. 36. Hegesippus ap. Eus. H. E. iv. 8. Spartian. in Adriano. An ancient inscription calls him "enthroned" (συνθρονω) "with the Egyptian gods."

gods be not more noble, yet they will account it a slight on your part that that hath been allowed to others also, which they alone had from the earliest ages preengaged.

XIV. I am unwilling[1] to recount also your sacred rites. I say not what your behaviour is in sacrificing, when ye offer up all your dying, and rotting, and scabbed animals; when from those that are fat and sound ye cut off all the superfluous parts, the heads and the hoofs, which, even in your own houses, ye would have set aside for your slaves and your dogs; when of the tithe due to Hercules ye lay not even one third part upon his altar. I will rather praise[2] your wisdom, for that ye save somewhat of that which is thrown away. But turning to your books, by which ye are instructed in prudence and in honourable duties, what mockeries do I find! gods fighting, on account of the Trojans and Greeks, matched against each other like pairs of gladiators[z]! Venus wounded with an arrow by a man, because she would fain deliver her own son Æneas, lest he should be slain by the same Diomede[a]! Mars almost wasted to death by imprisonment in chains for thirteen months[b]! Jupiter delivered by the aid of a kind of monster[c], lest he should suffer the same violence from the rest of the gods! and now weeping for the fall of Sarpedon[d], now foully lusting after his own sister, and recounting to her his mistresses, not loved, for a long time past, so much as her[e]. Thenceforward what poet is not found to be a degrader of the gods, after the example of his master? One assigneth Apollo to King Admetus for feeding his cattle[f]: another letteth out to Laomedon the services of Neptune as a builder[g]: and there is that one among the Lyric Poets, Pindar I mean, who singeth of Æsculapius[h] being punished by a thunderbolt, as the reward of his covetousness, because he had practised medicine sinfully. Wicked Jupiter, if the bolt be his! unnatural towards his grandson! jealous

[1] Nolo

[2] Laudabo

[z] Il. Υ. 66 sqq.

[a] Il. Ε. 335 sqq. Rig. omits this sentence, "quod filium suum Æneam, ne interimeretur ab eodem Diomede, rapere vellet."

[b] Il. Ε. 385 sqq.

[c] Briareus, Il. Α. 399 sqq.

[d] Il. Π. 433 sqq. The instances are found together in Justin Cohort. init. see also Athenag. c. 21. 29. Clem. Al. Strom. i. 21. t. i. p. 383. ed. Pott.

[e] Il. Ξ. 314 sqq.

[f] Eurip. Alc. Prol. Athenag. c. 21.

[g] Eurip. Troad. Prol.

[h] Pyth. iii. 96. Athenag. c. 29.

Apol. I. 15.

towards his craftsman! These things ought neither to be disclosed if true, nor invented if false, amongst the most religious of all people. Not[1] even the tragic and comic writers spare them; or forbear to cite in their prologues the distresses and the frailties of the family of some one of the gods Of the philosophers I say nothing, content with Socrates, who, in mockery of the gods, swore by an oak, and a goat, and a dog[j]. But (say ye) Socrates was on that account condemned, because he disparaged the gods. Verily, of old time, indeed at all times, truth is hated. Nevertheless when, in repenting of their sentence, the Athenians both punished afterwards the accusers of Socrates, and set up a golden[k] statue of him in a temple, the reversal of his condemnation bore testimony in behalf of Socrates. But Diogenes[l] too has some jest upon Hercules: and the Roman Cynic Varro introduceth three hundred Joves, or perhaps I should say Jupiters, without heads.

[1] ne *for* nec

XV. The rest of your licentious wits work even for your amusement through dishonour of the gods. Consider the pretty trifles of the Lentuli[m] and Hostilii, whether in those jokes and tricks ye are laughing at the buffoons, or at your own gods; 'The adulterer Anubis,' 'The male Luna[n],' 'Diana[o] scourged,' and 'The will of the deceased Jupiter' read aloud, and 'The three starved Herculeses[p]' turned to ridicule. But the writings also of the stage shew up all their baseness[q]. The Sun mourneth for his son cast down

[j] Theoph. ad Autol. iii. 2. Philostr. de vit. Apoll. vi. 9. Lucian in Icaromenipp. (ap. Her.) mention "a dog, goose, (κύνα καὶ χῆνα by a sort of alliteration probably.) and plane." Schol. on Aristoph. "a goose, dog, ram, and the like." It seems to have been a sort of protest against perjury and swearing by the gods at all: so the Schol. l. c. Porph. de Abstin. iii. Suidas; saying that it was in imitation of Rhadamanthus. S. Augustine de Vera Rel. c. 2. interprets as Tert., that Socrates meant to imply that they were better gods, than the works of men's hands, or that Pantheists must think these to be gods or parts of God. add. Lact. iii. 20. P. Petit Misc. Obss. iv. 7. remarks that the "dog" only is mentioned by Plato, and infers that Socrates meant symbolically his "genius" as a "guardian."

[k] Probably "brazen;" "auream" for "aream."

[l] The Cynics continually jested on Hercules, whose followers they professed to be in their coarseness. Lucian Vit. Auct. c. 8. Cynic. 13. and in part Apuleius, Apol. p. 288. ed Elm.

[m] De Pallio, c. 4. Hieron. adv. Ruf. Apol. 2.

[n] The moon was a god in the East. (in Heb. and Arab. it is masc.)

[o] Hom. Il. Φ. 481—494.

[p] On the jests on Hercules' gluttony, see in Athenæus, x. l. xiv. 72. Eurip. Alc. 747—802.

[q] Arnob. l. iv. fin.

from Heaven, and ye are delighted: and Cybele sigheth for her scornful shepherd, and ye blush not; and ye suffer lampoons on Jupiter to be sung, and Juno, Venus, and Minerva to be judged by the shepherd. Take the very fact[1], that the mask, representing your god, covers an ignominious[2] and infamous head[r]? of a person impure, and brought to this point of skill by being unmanned, acting a Minerva or a Hercules? Is not their majesty insulted and their divinity defiled, amidst your applause? of a verity ye are more religious in the theatre, where your gods dance forthwith upon human blood, upon the stains of capital punishments, furnishing arguments and stories to wicked wretches, except that those wretches assume the characters of your gods themselves. We have ere now seen Atys, your[3] god from Pessinus, mutilated; and he who was burnt alive, was acting Hercules. We have smiled too, amidst sportive atrocities of the noonday men[s], at Mercury examining the dead with his red-hot bar. We have seen likewise the brother of Jupiter conducting the dead bodies of the gladiators with his hammer[t]. If these several things, and others which any man might search out, disturb the honour of their divinity, if they level to the ground the crown of their majesty, they must surely be imputed to the contempt both of those who do them, and of those for whom they do them. But let these be mere jests. Nevertheless if I shall add, (what the consciences of all will no less admit,) that adulteries are committed in the temples[u], that debaucheries are carried on about the altars, chiefly in the very abodes of the ministers and priests, that under the same fillets and caps and purple robes, lust is satisfied while the incense is burning, I know not whether your gods may not complain more of you than of the Christians. Certainly the committers of sacrilege are ever found to be of your party; for the Christians have no dealings with the temples even in the day-time; they too perchance might rob them, if they too worshipped in them.

[1] Ipsum quod
[2] igno-mini-osum
[3] vestrum *added*

[r] See de Spect. c. 22. Minut. F. p. 345. Arnob. l. vii. p. 239. Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 14. 27.

[s] The gladiators, who had escaped with their lives in the morning, were made to fight at noon, without defensive armour. Seneca (Ep. 7.) calls them "mere murders," see Lips. Sat. ii. 15.

[t] i. e. the one, to try if any life were left, the other to destroy it.

[u] Minut. F. p. 237.

Apol. I. 16. What then do they worship, who worship not such things? Already indeed it is easy to be inferred that they are the worshippers of the Truth, who worship not that which is false; and that they err no longer, in that, by discovering their error in which, they have ceased from it. Receive this first: and hence ye may draw the whole order of our sacred rites, certain false opinions being however first refuted.

[1] Nam, ut quidam

XVI. For as some of you [1] have dreamed of an ass's head being our God [x]; a suspicion of this sort Cornelius Tacitus hath introduced. For in the fifth of his Histories [y], having begun the account of the Jewish war from the origin of the nation, having also discussed what questions he chose, as well touching the origin itself, as the name and the religion, of the nation, he telleth us that the Jews being delivered, or, as he supposed, banished, from Egypt, when they were pining with thirst in the wastes of Arabia, places most destitute of water, took as their guides to the springs wild asses, which, it was supposed, would perhaps, after feeding, go to seek water, and that for this service they consecrated the image of a like creature. And so, I suppose, it was thence presumed that we, as bordering on the Jewish Religion [z], were taught to worship such a figure. But yet the same Cornelius Tacitus, (that most un-tacit man forsooth in lies,) relateth in the same history [a], that Cneius Pompeius, when he had taken Jerusalem, and thereupon had gone up to the temple to examine the mysteries of the Jewish religion, found no image therein. And without doubt, if that were worshipped, which was under any visible image

[x] Cæcil. ap. Minut. F. p. 83.

[y] c. 3. He had it probably from Appion, see Joseph. c. Ap. ii. 10. It is repeated by Plutarch, Symp. iv. 5. Democritus ap. Suid. v. Ἰουδάς.

[z] The Christians are called Jews by Arrian, Diss. Epist. ii. 9. and meant under the title by Dio Cass. l. 67. c. 14. (of Clemens and Domitilla,) and l. 68. c. 1. (of Nerva's edict forbidding any to be "accused for impiety on a Jewish tenor of life.") by Seneca ap. Aug. de Civ. D. vi. 11. and confused with them by Sueton. Claud. 25. Ulpian. de Procons. Off. l. 3. (ap. Lac. ad c. 3.) Sulpitius Severus thinks that Adrian's measures against the Jews were directed against the Christians, Hist. S. l. ii. p. 251. ed. Galesin. see Havere. ad Apol. p. 8. All have much in common; the Christians of the circumcision much more; the Jews further diligently circulated, that the Christians were an ungodly "sect," who had risen in Galilee: (Just. M. Dial. c. 17. 108.) and so connected them with themselves. Kortholt refers to the de Persecutt. Eccl. proœm. iii. sect. ii. 6. v. 33.

[a] c. 9.

represented, it would be no where more seen than in its own holy place, the rather because the worship, however vain, had no fear of strangers to witness it; for it was lawful for the priests alone to approach thither; the very gaze of the rest was forbidden by a veil spread before them. Yet ye will not deny that beasts of burden and whole geldings[b], with their own Epona, are worshipped by yourselves. On this account perchance we are disapproved, because, amidst the worshippers of all beasts and cattle, we are worshippers of asses alone. But he also who thinketh us superstitious respecters of the Cross, will be our fellow worshipper[c], when prayer is made to any wood. No matter for the fashion, so long as the quality of the material be the same; no matter for the form, so long as it be the very body of a god. And

[b] i. e. the whole animal, not his head only.

[c] Tert. does not imply that the Christians worshipped the Cross, but the contrary. Here, and in the charges, as to the ass's head, and the ὀνόκοιτις, in all which there was no foundation in fact, he answers by mere irony; where there was plausible ground for a heathen so to think, as in the worship of the Sun, he says so, and names the ground. The irony too is such, as one would not have used, who paid reverence to the figure of the Cross. Minut. F. p. 284, imitating the passage, says, "Crosses we neither worship nor wish for." in allusion to the charge of the heathen, p. 86. "so that they worship what they deserve:" and p. 105. "so here are Crosses for you, not to be worshipped, but to be undergone." Julian (ap. Cyril Al. vi. p. 195.) grounds the same charge on their painting the figure of the Cross. "Ye worship the wood of the Cross, painting (σκιαγραφοῦντες) figures thereof on the forehead and before the doors." (ἐγγράφοντες πρὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων.) S. Cyril states, at great length, that it was a memorial only of the mercies and duties of the Cross; to the same end that they signed themselves with it. (de Cor. c. 3. ad Uxor. ii. 5.) Of instances, later than Tertullian's age, of homage to the visible Cross, the following plainly prove nothing. Ambr. de ob. Theod. §. 48. "Helena raised and placed the Cross of Christ upon the head of kings, that the Cross of Christ might in kings be adored," i. e. that the reverence paid to kings might rather be paid to the Cross over their brow. Id. de Inc. Dom. Sacr. c. 7. §. 75. "Do we, when *in Christ* we venerate the Image of God and the Cross, divide Him?" not the visible Cross, but the doctrine; it stands paralled to "His Divinity and His flesh;" as Euseb. Emis. (de adv. Joann. Opusc. p. 9.) "But although they [the Jews] declined that healing, we, the Heathen, who have become worshippers of the Cross (οἱ προσκυνήσαντες τὸν σταυρὸν) have received it, as said Isaiah (53. 5)." Jerome in Vita Paulæ, Ep. 108. §. 9. of her visit to the holy Sepulchre, "Prostrate before the Cross she worshipped, *as though* she saw the Lord hanging thereon." Not the Cross, but the crucifix, is the temptation to idolatry. Sedulius (A. 434.) carm. Pasch. iv. "And that no one might be ignorant that the form of the Cross is to be venerated," (speciem Crucis esse colendam) is not speaking of the material Cross; for he goes on to speak of the Cross formed by the four quarters of the Heavens, and that "Christ rules the world compassed by the Cross." The earliest instance then alleged is that of Pseudo-Lactantius, de Pass. Dom. (the other poem 'de Pascha,' found with it, is of the age of Charlemagne.) These are lines in the mouth of the Redeemer, depicted in the Church, and bidding to "bow the knee, and adore with tears the venerable *wood* of the Cross." It the more illustrates the previous silence. See further, Note B at the end of the Apology.

Apol. I. 16. yet how doth the Athenian Minerva differ from the body of the Cross? and the Ceres of Pharos, who appeareth in the market, without a figure, made of a rude stake and a shapeless log? Every stock of wood, which is fixed in an upright posture, is a part of a cross; we, if we worship him at all, worship the god whole and entire. We have said that the origin of your gods is derived from figures moulded on a cross. But ye worship victories also, when, in your triumphs, crosses form the inside of the trophies[d]. The whole religion of the camp is a worshipping of the standards[e], a swearing by the standards[f], a setting up of the standards above all the gods[g]. All those rows of images[h] on [1]insignis your standards[1] are the appendages of crosses; those hangings on your standards and banners are the robes[1] of crosses. I commend your care: ye would not consecrate your crosses naked and unadorned. Others certainly, with greater semblance of nature and of truth, believe the sun to be our God. If this be so, we must be ranked with the Persians; though we worship not the sun painted on a piece of linen, because in truth we have himself in his own hemisphere. Lastly, this suspicion ariseth from hence, because it is well known that we pray towards the quarter of the east[k]. But most of yourselves too, with an affectation of sometimes worshipping the heavenly bodies also, move your lips towards the rising of the sun. In like manner, if we give up to rejoicing the day of the sun, for a cause far different from the worship

[d] Justin M. Apol. i. §. 55. Minut. F. p. 286.

[e] Claudian. in Rufin. 5. 366. Dionys. Hal. vi. 45. p. 1142. They sacrificed to them, Joseph. de B. J. vi. 32.

[f] Liv. xxvi. 48.

[g] "Follow the Roman birds[Eagles], the special deities of the legions," Germanicus, ap. Tac. Ann. ii. 17. "turning to the standards and gods of wars." Id. Hist. iii. 10.

[h] Of the gods and emperors. They were of gold and silver.

[i] The banner was of silk and gold.

[k] Christians prayed to the East, as the type of Christ the Sun of righteousness, (S. Clem. Al. Strom. vii. 7. p. 856. Damasc. iv. 12.) whence also in Baptism they turned to the East to confess Christ, (S. Jer. in Am. vi. 14. Ambros. de iis qui initiantur c. 2.) and their Churches were toward the East. (Tert. c. Valent. c. 3. Const. Ap. ii. 57. so that other positions were rare exceptions, Soer. v. 22. Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever.) as the place of our lost Paradise; (Cyril Jerus. Lect. xix. 6. p. 261. ed. Oxf. S. Basil. de Sp. S. c. 27. Const. Ap. ii. 57. Greg. Nyss. Hom. 5. de Or. Dom. t. i. p. 755. Quæstt. ad Antioch. q. 37. Damasc. l. c.) as the more eminent part of the world, (unde cœlum surgit, Aug. de serm. Dom. in Monte, ii. 5. Quæstt. ad Orthod. ap. Justin. M. q. 118.) It is instanced as an Apostolic tradition by S. Basil. l. c. and so called in the Quæstt. ad Orthod. l. c. Origen (Hom. 5. in Num.) instances it as a rite in universal practice, but the ground of which was not clear and obvious to most.

of the sun, we are only next to those, who set apart the day of Saturn[l] for rest and feasting, themselves also deflecting from the Jewish custom, of which they are ignorant. But now a new report of our God hath been lately set forth in this city, since a certain wretch, hired to cheat the wild beasts[m], put forth a picture with some such title as this, "The God of the Christians conceived of an ass." This was a creature with ass's ears, with a hoof on one foot[n], carrying a book, and wearing a gown. We have smiled both at the name and the figure. But they ought instantly to adore this two-formed god, because they have admitted gods made up of a dog's[o] and a lion's head[p], and with the horns of a goat[q] and a ram[r], and formed like goats from the loins[s], and like serpents from the legs, and with wings on the foot[t] or the back[u]. Of these things we have said more than enough, lest we should have passed over any rumour unrefuted, as though from a consciousness of its truth. All which charges we have cleared, and now turn to shew you what our Religion is.

XVII. That which we worship is the One God, Who through the Word by Which He commanded, the Reason by Which He ordained, the Power by Which He was able[x], hath framed out of nothing this whole material mass with all its furniture of elements, bodies, and spirits, to the honour of His Majesty; whence also the Greeks have applied to the universe the name Κόσμος. He is invisible though seen,

[l] The seventh day of the month, sacred to Saturn, as the seventh planet, was regarded as an ill-omened day for business, and so spent in idleness and dissipation. Little reason had they then to reproach the Christians. On the seventh day among the Heathen, see at great length, Selden de Jur. Nat. et Gent. l. iii. c. 15 sqq.

[m] An apostate Jew, ad Nat. i. 14.

[n] The Empusa, or mid-day Hecate, had one ass's foot. Philostr. de vit. Apollon. ap. Hav.

[o] "The Hermopolitæ worship a dog-headed animal." Strabo, l. 17. ap. Ouz. ad Minuc. p. 263. also Athan. c. Gent. Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 13. Clem. Protr. 2. 39. of the Cynopolitæ. The dog was worshipped throughout Egypt. Strabo, l. c. &c.

[p] Probably Mithra. Ph. a Turre de Mithra, c. 3. p. 128. c. 5. p. 202. Porph. also de Abstin. l. iv. p. 54. ap. Elmenh. ad Minuc. p. 261. mentions in Egyptian idolatry, human figures "with the head of a bird or a lion," (whence the Nomos Leontopolites) and Arnob. l. vi. p. 116. ib.

[q] Sispita or Lanuviana, Pan, and Satyrs. see Spanheim. de Usu Numism. p. 354. The Mendesians worshipped the goat. Strab. l. c. Herod. ii. Clem. Protr. l. c. Minuc. p. 261. "de capro et homine mixtos Deos."

[r] Jupiter Ammon.

[s] Pan. Porph. de Abstin. l. 3.

[t] Mercury, and sun-images. Macr. Sat. i. 19. "pennata vestigia" Martian. Capell. de Nupt. Philol. p. 20.

[u] Cupido, &c.

[x] Minuc. p. 141. 148.

Apol. I. 17.

incomprehensible though present through His grace, inconceivable though conceived by the sense of man. Therefore He is true; and such is His greatness. Now that which can ordinarily be seen, which can be comprehended, which can be conceived, is less than the eyes by which it is scanned, and the hands by which it is profaned, and the senses by which it is discovered: but that which is immeasurable is known to itself alone. This is it which causeth God to be conceived of, while He admitteth not of being conceived: thus the force of His greatness presenteth Him to men, as both known and unknown. And this is the sum of their offending, who will not acknowledge Him of Whom they cannot be ignorant. Will ye that we prove Him to be, from His own works, so many and such as they are, by which we are maintained, by which we are supported, by which we are delighted, by which also we are made afraid? Will ye that we prove it by the witness of the soul itself, which although confined by the prison of the body, although straitened by evil training, although unnerved by lusts and desires, although made the servant of false gods, yet when it recovereth itself as from a surfeit, as from a slumber, as from some infirmity, and is in its proper condition of soundness[1], it nameth God, by this name only, because the proper name of the true God. 'Great God,' 'Good God[y],' and 'which God grant[z],' are words in every mouth. It witnesseth also that He is its Judge. 'God seeth[a],' 'I commend to God,' 'God shall recompense me.' O testimony of a soul, by nature Christian! Finally, in pronouncing these words, it looketh not to the Capitol, but to Heaven; for it knoweth the dwelling-place of the true God: from Him and from thence it descended.

[1] sanitatem suam patitur

[y] "O bone Deus," Scribon. Larg. compos. 84. in fine ap. Facciol. v. bonus.

[z] ἦν Θιὸς παράσχοι, passim ap. Her. ἦν Θιὸς θέλῃ. Xenoph. Cyrop. iv. ii. 13. Aristoph. Plut. 347. 405. "But how must we speak?" Socr. "If God will," ὅτι ἐὰν Θιὸς ἐθέλῃ Plato Alcib. 1. p. 135. Steph. ξὺν τῷ Θιῷ πᾶς καὶ γιλᾷ κώδύρεται. Soph. Aj. 383. ξὺν Θιῷ δ' ἱερήσεται. Arist. Plut. 114. quoted by Herald. Advers. ii. 5. see more fully de Testim. Animæ, c. 2. 3. 4. 5. The argument is repeated, de Res. Carn. c. 3. de Corona, c. 6. and by S. Cyprian, de Idol. Vanit. c. 6. p. 18. ed. Oxf. Arnob. l. ii. init. Lactant. ii. 1. Minut. F. p. 144. Cyrill c. Julian. ii. 36. Hieron. in Malach. ii. 14. Breviarium in Ps. 95. v. 10.

[a] "There is a God (est Deus) in Heaven, who both heareth and seeth what we do." Plautus Captiv. ap. Her. "Be of good cheer, of good cheer, my child, there is a great God in Heaven who beholdeth and ruleth all things." Soph. El. 175. (ib.)

XVIII. But that we might approach more fully and with deeper impressions, as well to Himself as His ordinances and His counsels, He hath added the instrument of Scripture, if any desireth to enquire concerning God, and having enquired, to find Him, and having found, to believe in Him, and having believed, to serve Him. For He hath from the beginning sent forth into the world men, worthy, by reason of their righteousness and innocency, to know God and to make Him known, overflowing with the Divine Spirit, whereby they might preach that there is One God Who hath created all things, Who hath formed man out of the ground, (for this is the true Prometheus[b],) Who hath ordered the world by the appointed courses and issues of the seasons; Who hath next put forth the signs of His Majesty in judgment by waters and by fires[c]; Who, for the deserving of His love, hath determined those laws, which ye are ignorant of or neglect, but hath appointed rewards for these who obey[1] them; Who, when this world shall have been brought to an end, shall judge His own worshippers unto the restitution[2] of eternal life, the wicked unto fire equally perpetual and continual; all that have died from the beginning being raised up, and formed again, and called to an account for the recompense of each man's deservings. These things we also once laughed to scorn. We were of you. Christians are made, not born such[d]. Those, whom we have called preachers, are named Prophets from their office of foretelling. Their words, and the miracles also, which they worked in witness of their being of God, remain in the treasures of writings: nor are those writings now hidden. The most learned of the Ptolemies, whom they surname Philadelphus, and right well skilled in all lore, when, in his zeal for libraries, he was vying, as I think, with Pisistratus, amongst others of those records, which either antiquity or a curious taste recommended to fame, on the advice of Demetrius Phalereus, the most approved, in that day[3], of grammarians, to whom he had committed the chief care

[1] observantibus his

[2] restitutionem

[3] tunc *added*

[b] Adv. Marcion. i. 1. de carne Christi, c. 9.

[c] The Flood, and Sodom, as joined 2 Pet. 2, 5. 6.

[d] De Testim. Animæ, c. 1. "Not birth, but re-birth maketh Christians." S. Aug. de Pece. Mer. iii. 9. Jerome, Ep. 60. ad Heliod. de Nepotian. §. 8. Cyril, Cat. i. 2.

Apol. I. 12.

of these things, demanded of the Jews also their books, writings peculiar to themselves and in their own vulgar tongue, which they alone possessed. For the prophets were of that people, and had ever addressed themselves to that people as to the people and family of God, according to the grace given to their forefathers. They who are now Jews were formerly Hebrews: therefore are their writings Hebrew, and their language. But that the understanding of them might not be lacking, this also was granted to Ptolemy by the Jews, by allowing him seventy-two interpreters, whom Menedemus also the philosopher[e], the assertor of a Providence, looked up to for the agreement of their opinion. This moreover hath Aristeas affirmed unto you, and so hath he left a public record of it in the Greek language. At this day the collections of Ptolemy are shewn in the temple of Serapis with the very Hebrew writings. But the Jews also read them openly; a taxed licence[f]. All have access to them every sabbath day. Whoso heareth shall find God: whoso moreover desireth to understand shall be compelled also to believe.

[1] igitur *added*

XIX. Extreme antiquity then[1] in the first place claimeth an authority for these documents. Even with yourselves there is a sort of sacredness in a claim to credit from antiquity. And so all the substances, and all the materials, antiquities, arrangements, veins of each of your ancient writings, most nations moreover, and famous cities, hoary histories and monuments[2], finally even the forms of letters, those witnesses and guardians of things,—methinks I still am saying too little;—I say your very gods themselves[g], your very temples, and oracles, and sacred rites; all these, the while, doth the record of a single prophet surpass by centuries, laid up in which are seen the treasures of the Jewish religion, and in

[2] historiarum et canas memoriarum

[e] Menedemus was a disciple of Plato. The context in Josephus (Ant. xii. 2. 12.) and Aristeas (p. xxiii. ap. Hody de LXX Intt.) plainly shews that the reference is to the skill of the LXX in answering the questions proposed to them, not to the story of the exact agreement of their translation, of which Pam. understands it. The anachronism as to Menedemus is noticed by Hody, l. c. c. 7.

[f] The poll-tax, paid from the time of Vespasian, for free use of their worship. Xiphilin. in Vespasian. Suet. Domit. c. 12. Juv. iii. 14. Appian. in Syriac. (ap. Casaub. ad Suet.) Martial, vii. 54.

[g] Clem. Al. Strom. i. 21. p. 139. Tatian. c. Gentes, §. 40. Euseb. Chron. Præf. Præp. Ev. x. 3.

like manner consequently[1] of ours also. If ye have ever heard of a certain Moses, he is of the same age with Inachus of Argos[i]; he precedeth by almost four hundred years, (for it is seven years less than this[k],) Danaus, himself also a very ancient among you: he goeth before the overthrow of Priam by about a thousand years[l]; I could say also, having some authorities with me[m], that he was five hundred years more before Homer. Our other prophets also, although they come after Moses, yet are not, even the very last of them, found to be later than your first philosophers, and lawgivers, and historians[n]. For me to expound by what train of proofs these things may be established, is a task not so much out of reach as out of compass, not difficult, but at the same time tedious. We must apply closely to many documents and many calculations: unlock the archives of even the most ancient nations, the Egyptians, the Chaldæans, the Phœnicians: call in the aid of their countrymen, by whom such knowledge is supplied, a Manetho from Egypt, a Berosus from Chaldæa, an Iromus king of Tyre moreover from Phœnicia; their followers also, Ptolemy the Mendesian, and Menander of Ephesus, and Demetrius Phalereus, and king Iuba[o], and Appion, and Thallus, and if any[2] confirmeth or refuteth these, as Josephus[p] the Jew, the native champion of Jewish antiquities. The Greek annalists likewise must be compared with them, and the transactions of the various periods, that the mutual connection of dates may be unfolded, through which the order of the annals may be made

[1] pro- inde jam et

[2] si qui *for* qui

[i] Polemo Hellen. l. i. Appion. c. Jud. i. Hist. iv. ap. Justin. Cohort. §. 9. Porph. adv. Christian. l. iv. Africanus Ann. l. v. ap. Euseb. l. c. Ptolemy Mendes. ap. Clem. Al. Strom. i. 21. init. p. 138. Eusebius himself places Inachus 300 years prior to Moses, he is followed by S. Aug. de Civ. D. xviii. 8.

[k] Joseph. c. Ap. i. 16.

[l] Joseph. l. c. "nearly 1000." Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. c. from Porph. "above 800." Theoph. ad Autol. iii. 21. "900 or even 1000." Tatian. §. 38, 39. and Clem. Al. l. c. more correctly "twenty generations," or, "400 years." Cyril. c. Jul. l. i. "410." Eusebius himself Chron. "228."

[m] Theopompus and Euphorion ap. Clem. Al. Strom. i. 21. p. 141. "some" ap. Tatian. §. 31. who names other dates assigned, viz. 80, above 100, 140, 180, 240, 317, after the Trojan war. The expression shews that Tertullian was not anxious about the facts: his concern was but to arrest attention by shewing the impression which their own writers had of the superior antiquity of Moses.

[n] Justin. Dial. c. Tryph. §. 7. Theoph. iii. 23. Clem. Al. l. c. p. 143. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. c. Lact. iv. 5. Aug. de Civ. D. xviii. 37.

[o] He wrote an Assyrian history, (Tatian, l. c. c. 36.) and is often quoted by Plin. N. H.

[p] Ap. i. 13 sqq.

Apol. I. 20. clear. We must travel into the histories and literature of the world. And yet we have, as it were, already produced a part of our proof, in dropping these hints of the means by which the proof may be made. But it were better to defer this, lest through haste we pursue it not far enough, or, in pursuing it, stray too far from our course.

XX. To make up for this postponement, we now proffer the more; the majesty of our Scriptures, instead of their antiquity. If it be doubted that they are ancient, we prove them divine. Nor is this to be learned by tedious method, or from foreign sources. The things which shall teach it you, are before your eyes, the world, and time, and its events. Whatsoever is doing was foretold; whatsoever is seen was before heard of: that the earth swalloweth up cities, that the sea stealeth away islands, that wars within and without tear asunder; that kingdoms dash against kingdoms, that famine, and pestilence, and all the special plagues of countries, and deaths for the most part ever haunting[1], make havoc well nigh of every thing; that the humble are exalted, and the lofty ones abased; that righteousness groweth scant[2], iniquity increaseth; that the zeal for all good ways waxeth cold: that the offices of the seasons, and the proper changes of the elements are out of course; that the order of natural things is disturbed by monsters and prodigies—all these things have been written of foreknowledge. While we suffer them, we read of them; while we review them, they are proved to us. The truth of the divination is, methinks, sufficient proof that it is divine[q]. Hence therefore we have a sure confidence in the things to come also, as being in truth already proved, because they were foretold at the same time with those things which are proved every day[r]: the same voices utter them, the same writings note them, the same spirit moveth within them. To prophecy, time is but one, the time of foretelling things to come: with men (if they deal with it) it is divided, while it is fulfilling, while from the future it cometh to be reckoned the present, and then from the present the past. What do we amiss, I pray

Matt. 24, 7.

[1] frequentia plerumque mortium Ezek. 21, 26.

[2] et *omitted* Mat. 24, 12.

[q] De Anima, c. 28. Orig. c. Cels. vi. 10.

[r] Justin M. Apol. i. 30; 52. Dial. c. Tryph. c. 7. Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 9.

you, in believing in the future also, who have already learned to believe the same things through two stages of time?

XXI. But since we have declared that this sect is supported by the most ancient records of the Jews, although almost all know, and we ourselves also profess, that it is somewhat new, as being of the age of Tiberius, perchance on this account a question may be mooted touching its state, as though it sheltered somewhat of its own presumption under the shadow of a most famous, at least a licensed, religion; or because, besides the point of age, we agree not with the Jews, neither touching the forbidding of meats, nor in the solemnities of days, nor even in their "sign" in the flesh, nor in community of name, which surely we ought to do, if we served the same God; but even the common people knoweth Christ as one among men, such as the Jews judged Him to be, whence one might the more easily suppose us worshippers of a man[s]. But neither are we ashamed of Christ, seeing that we rejoice to be ranked, and condemned, under His Name, nor do we judge otherwise than they, respecting God. We must needs therefore say a few words concerning Christ as God. The Jews alone had favour with God, because of the excellent righteousness and faith of their first fathers; whence the mightiness of their race and the majesty of their kingdom flourished, and so great was their blessedness, that they were forewarned by words of God, whereby they were taught[1] to deserve the favour of God, and not to offend. But how greatly they sinned, puffed up, even to doting[2], with a vain confidence in their fathers, turning their course[3] from their Religion after the way of the profane, though they themselves should not confess it, the end of them at this day would prove. Scattered abroad, wanderers, banished from their own climate and land, they roam about through the world, with neither man nor God for their king, to whom it is not permitted, even in the right of strangers, to greet their native land so much as with the sole of their foot[t].

[1] quibus edocebantur *restored*
[2] ad delirandum
[3] derivantes

[s] Trypho ap. Justin. Dial. c. 10.

[t] Adrian's decree after the rebellion of Barchochebas, Euseb. iv. 6. from Aristo Pellæus. see adv. Jud. c. 11, 12, and 13. Justin M. Apol. i. 62. and Hieron. Chron. Euseb. MMCXL. Hilary (in Ps. 58.) speaks of the prohibition as continuing, and S. Jerome

APOL. I. 21. While holy voices threatened them aforetime with these things, all the same voices ever added this besides, that it should come to pass, in the ends of the world's course, that God would henceforward out of every nation, and people, and country, choose unto Himself worshippers much more faithful than they, to whom He should transfer His grace, and that, more abundantly according to the measure of His greatness, Who is the Author of their religion. Of this grace therefore and religion the Son of God was proclaimed the Dispenser and the Master, the Enlightener and the Guide of the human race, not indeed so born as that He should be ashamed of the name of "Son," or of His descent from His Father; not from the incest of a sister[u], nor the defilement of a daughter; nor had He for His father a god, the lover of another's wife, with scales, or horns, or feathers, or transformed into gold; for these are the godheads of your Jupiter[x]. But the Son of God hath no mother, no not of pure wedlock[1]: even she, whom He seemeth to have, had not known her husband. But first I will declare His substance, and then the quality of His birth will be understood. We have already set forth, that God formed this universal world by His Word, and His Reason, and His Power. Among your own wise men also it is agreed, that Λόγος, that is, 'Word' and 'Reason,' should be accounted the Maker of all things. For Zeno determineth that this Maker, who hath formed all things and ordered them, should also be called Fate, and God, and the Mind of Jupiter[y], and the Necessity of all things. These titles doth Cleanthes confer upon the Spirit which, he affirmeth, pervadeth the universe. And we also ascribe, as its proper substance, to the Word, and the Reason, and the Power also, through Which we have said that God hath formed all things, a Spirit, in Which is the Word when It declareth[z],

[1] de pudicitia

in Soph. c. 2. except that on the day of the destruction of Jerusalem, they paid for the permission, Scal. Anim. ad Eus. Chron. p. 216.

[u] Justin M. ad Græc. c. 2. Apol. i. 21. Athenag. c. 32. Tatian. c. 8. 10. Theodoret. de cur. Gr. Affect. Disp. iii.

[x] Cypr. ad Donat. c. 7.

[y] See Lact. iv. 9. Diog. Laert. Zenon. "That God, and Mind, and Fate, and Jupiter, were one." Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 14. describes both as Pantheists, as Tatian (of Zeno) c. 3. Minut. F. p. 150. Yet, in as far as they spake of God, as a Spirit, they witnessed to the truth, which they perverted.

[z] 2 Sam. 23, 2. "The SPIRIT of God spake by me; and His WORD was upon my tongue."

and with Which is the Reason when It ordereth, and over Which is the Power when It executeth. This, we have learned, was forth-brought from God, and by this Forth-bringing, was Begotten, and therefore is called the Son of God, and God, from being "of one substance with" Him; for that God also is a Spirit. Even [1] when a ray is put forth from the sun, it is a part of a whole; but the sun will be in the ray because it is a ray of the sun, and the substance is not divided, but extended. So cometh Spirit of Spirit and "God of God," as "light" is kindled "of light[a]," the parent matter [2] remaineth entire and without loss, although thou shouldest borrow from it many channels of its qualities[b].

[1] Etiam

[2] materia matrix

[a] Tertullian here uses the very words adopted in the Nicene Creed, "God of God, Light of Light, Ὁμοούσιον;" his object, in the further application of the metaphor, is, to shew the Heathen, that they could not consistently object à priori to the Christian doctrine; these analogies, though, as physical, imperfect, at least silence objections. If in earthly things, the same substance might exist, distinct in some way but united, and procession implied no diminution of the substance whence it proceeded, how little were they entitled to argue against the truth, thus shadowed forth! Tertullian elsewhere distinctly asserts the Consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, ("of one individual Substance," adv. Prax. c. 13. "Christ and the Spirit are both of the Substance of the Father, and they who acknowledge not the Father, neither can they acknowledge the Son, through the Oneness of Substance." c. Marc. iii. 6. "In the Spirit is The Trinity of One Divinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." de Pudic. c. 2. "I every where hold One Substance in Three Conjoined." c. Prax. c. 12. add. c. 4, and 8. ap. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 7. 1, 2.) and His Coequality, (c. Marc. iv. 25. de Res. Carn. c. 6. adv. Prax. c. 7, and 22. ib. §. 4. and adv. Herm. c. 7. 18.) whence it is the more hard that Petavius should press these analogies, as though they implied that, as the whole sun does not exist in the ray, neither does the whole Divinity in the Son, (de Trin. i. 5. 3.) In Bp. Bull's words (l. c. §. 5.) "such comparisons are not to be pressed too close, but to be taken candidly, attending to the mind of the author, as explained elsewhere more clearly and unfiguratively. In some things the likeness holds; in some, not. It agrees herein, 1. That as a 'portion' does not alone and by itself constitute the whole, so also the Son is not All which is God; but beside the Son, other Hypostases, namely, the Father and the Holy Spirit subsist in the Divine Essence. 2. That as a portion is taken from the sum or whole, and the whole is by nature anterior to its portions or parts, so also is the Son derived from the Substance of the Father, and the Father, as the Father, is, as it were, by Nature anterior to the Son. But the likeness fails in this; 1. By 'portion' we understand what is divided and separated from the whole; but the Son is and ever was undivided from the Father. This Tertullian every where and uniformly asserts, (adv. Prax. c. 8. 9. 19.) 2. A 'portion' is less than that whence it is taken, but the Son is in all things (save that He is the Son) like and equal to the Father, and hath and possesseth all the things of the Father. Which also Tertullian clearly teaches in the places just adduced. Add to this, that adv. Marc. iii. 6., after he had said that the Son was a portion out of the fulness of the Divine Substance, he presently subjoins expressly that that Portion was "a sharer in His fulness."

[b] Justin M. Dial. c. Tryph. §. 128. "I said this Power was begotten of the Father—but not by severance, as though the Essence of the Father were divided off, as all things besides, when divided and cut, are not the same as before they were cut; and, as an example, I took, how from fire we see other fires kindled, that being nothing minished, whence

Apol. 1. 21. So likewise that which hath come forth from God is God, and the Son of God, and Both are One. And so this Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, hath become 'the second'[c] in mode not in number[d], in order not in condition[e], and hath Mic.5,1. gone forth, not gone out, of the original Source[f]. Therefore this ray of God[g], as was ever foretold before, entering into a certain virgin, and in her womb endued with the form of flesh, is born Man joined together with God[h]. The flesh

many may be kindled, but remaining the same." §. 61. "As in fire, we see other fire produced, that not being minished, whence the kindling was produced, but remaining the same; and that which was kindled from it, itself also manifestly existeth, not minishing that from which it was kindled." The same likeness is used by Tatian, §. 5. (Hull, ii. 4. 4.) Athenag. Legat. §. 24. (of the Holy Ghost.) Bull, ii. 4. 9. Hippolytus in Noet. ap. Fabr. t. ii. p. 13. (Bull, ii. 8. 5.) Origen. c. g. de Princ. i. 4. (see Hull, ii. 9. 14.) Theognostus (ap. Athanas. Ep. 4, ad Serap. §. 25. Bull, ii. 10. 7.) Dionysius Alex. Apol. l. 3. ap. Athanas. Ep. de Sent. Dionys. 118. (Grabe. ad Bull, ii. 11. fin.) Respons. ad quæstt. Paul. Sam. t. i. p. 240. (Bull, iii. 4. 3.) Lact. iv. 29. (Bull, ii. 14. 4.) Carm. adv. Marc. v. 9. ap. Tert. 'genitum de lumine lumen.' (Hull, iii. 10. 19.) Aug. de Trin. vi. init.

[c] Hippol. M: Hom. de Deo trino et uno, "When I speak of 'another,' I speak not of two Gods, but as Light from Light, and water from the source, or a ray from the Sun."

[d] i. e. in mode of existence, as The Son, not The Father, but not as to be numerically distinct.

[e] i. e. in the "Order" of Persons, within the Divine Unity, not in any difference of Being. "Three, not in Condition, but in Order; not in Substance, but in Form; not in Power, but Property; but of One Substance, and One Condition, and One Power; because One God, from Whom both those Orders, and Forms, and Properties are reckoned in the Name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit." Adv. Prax. c. 2.

[f] Adv. Prax. c. 8. "We say that the Son was forth-brought (prolatus) from the Father, not separated."

[g] Heb. 1, 3. ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης Αὐτοῦ. Theognostus l. c. founds the language upon this passage, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας ἴδιον. ὡς τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα: and Origen de Prine. iv. 28. p. 190. ed. de la Rue. Dionys. Al. Apol. ap. Ath. de Sent. Dionys. §. 15. Greg. Nyss. de Deit. Fil. et Sp. S. iii. 468.

[h] Homo Deo mixtus; lit. "mingled, commingled with God," comp. de carn. Chr. c. 15. c. Marcion. l. ii. 27. The same word is used by S. Cyprian, de Idol. Van. c. 6. [concretus Id. Test. ii. 10.] Zeno Veron. [l. ii. Tr. 6. §. 1. ad 1 Cor. 15, 24. Tr. 8. §. 2. S. 2. de Nativ. "there, unimpaired what He was, He meditateth to become what He was not. So then mingled with human flesh, &c;" Leo, S. 3. de Nativ. c. 1. (where a MS. substitutes uniretur,) "immixtus," S. 4. in Epiph. c. 4. Novatian de Trin. c. 11. Divinitate Sermonis in ipsa concretione permixtam, add. c. 20. 21. Vigilius c. Eut. l. 1. c. 24. "commixtio." The translator of S. Irenæus (iii. 19. ed. Mass.) commixtus, (where the original ap. Theodoret. has ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸν Λόγον χωρήσας, and (4. 37.) commixtio et communio Dei et hominis. S. Aug. de Trin. iv. 20. "Verbo Dei quodammodo commixtus est homo." Lact. iv. 13. "et Deum fuisse et hominem ex utroque genere permixtum." Chrysol. S. 142. de Annunc. "miscerí." In like way, κρᾶσις, μῖξις, μίγνυται, are used by Greg. Naz. Or. 42. de Pasch. [p. 682. ed. Morell.] συγκρᾶσις, Or. 51. p. 739. σύγκραμα, Or. 52. p. 747. (see Nicetas col. 1186.) κεκιρασμένος, by S. Cyril. Alex. Thes. l. 20. p. 197. and ἀνάκρασις, Pasch. 8. p. 103. ἀνακραθεὶς, by S. Athanasius, Or. c. Arian. iv. 33. συνανεκράθη, by S. Greg. Nyss. c. Ennom. l. 1. t. ii. p. 45. ἀνάκρασις, id. Cat. c. 11. t. ii. p. 498. συνανάκρασις, c. 17. p. 517, 518. μῖξις, was originally used of the juxta-position of solids, κρᾶσις, of the union of liquids which were yet thought to be separable, (Philo de conf. ling. p. 347. ap. Petav. de

stored with the Spirit is nourished, groweth to manhood, speaketh, teacheth, worketh, and is CHRIST. Receive for the moment this tale, (it is like your own,) whilst we shew you whereby Christ is attested. They also among yourselves, who fore-ministered rival tales of this sort for the overthrow of this truth, knew[1] that Christ was to come: the Jews too knew it, since it was to them that the prophets spake. For even now they look for His coming[i]; nor is there any other greater cause of contention betwixt us and them, than that they do not believe that He hath already come. For seeing that two advents of Him are declared, the first, which hath been already fulfilled in the lowliness of the human nature, the second which remaineth yet to come to close this world, in the majesty of the Divine Nature then shewn forth, through not understanding the first, they have regarded, as the only one, the second, for which, being more clearly foretold, they now hope[k]. For their sins deserved[l] that they should not understand the former, since they would have believed, had they understood, and would have obtained salvation, had they believed. They themselves

[1] sciebant *et* qui penes vos *ejus modi* fab.

Is. 6, 9. 10.

Incarn.iii.2.9. from whom, and Ballerini ad Zeno (Opp. p. xci. Diss. 2. c. 3.) §§. 14. 15. these instances are taken. S. Augustine says, Ep. 137. (ol. 3.) §. 11. (ib. §. 14.) "As in the unity of person, soul is united to body, that so man may be; so in unity of person, God is united to man, that so Christ may be. In the one person there is a mingling of soul and body; in the other, is a mingling of God; so that, when any heareth this said, he must abstract himself from that observation of the senses, that two fluids are wont so to be commingled, that neither should retain its character unaltered; (though even in corporeal substances light is mingled with air, and uninjured.) The person of man then is a mingling of soul and body; the person of Christ a mingling of God and man. For when the Word of God was commingled with a soul having a body, It took at once both soul and body." Leporius de libello emendat. c. 4. "He could, without injury and in very deed, be mingled." And S. Cyril in answer to Nestorius, l. 1. t. 6. p. 15. (ib. §. 16.) "Some of the holy fathers also have used the word 'mingling,' (κρᾶσις). Whereas you say you fear, lest some confusion (ἀνάχυσις) shall be thought to have taken place, as in liquids when mingled together, I free you from this fear. For they use this word in other than its proper sense, anxious to express the extreme union of the Natures, which came together." After the heresy of Apollinaris had sprung up, ἕνωσις, unitio, was preferred, κρᾶσις having been abused by these, as συνάφεια, sociatio, by the Nestorians. In like way, (as has been pointed out to me) S. Ephraem uses the words, ܡܙܓ and ܚܠܛ; the latter of which is the same word as "misceo;" the former, used in older Syriac of any "junction," came to signify "mingling," whence ܐܬܡܙܓ "Thou unitedst," ܐܬܡܙܓ "was united," was substituted for it, (as in Leo above.) see Assem. Bibl. Or. t. i. p. 80—82. add. p. 107.

[i] Adv. Jud. c. 7.

[k] Adv. Jud. c. 14.

[l] Adv. Jud. c. 11. Orig. c. Cels. ii. 5. 6. 8. Minut. F. p. 319. Chrys. Hom. 77. in Matt. 24. Hieron. in Is. l. 17. c. 63. Aug. de Cons. Ev. i. 2. and 13.

Apol. I. 21.

read that it is so written, that they were punished by the taking away of their sense and understanding, and of the use of their eyes and of their ears. Whom therefore they had presumed from His lowliness to be only a man, it followed that they should from His power account a magician [m]; when by a word He cast out devils from men, recovered the sight of the blind, cleansed the lepers, strengthened anew the sick of the palsy, finally by a word restored the dead to life, made the very elements 'obey Him,' stilling the storms and walking on the waters, shewing Himself to be the Λόγος of God, that is, *the Word*, which *was in the beginning*, the First-Begotten, accompanied by His Power and His Reason, and upheld by His Spirit, the Same Who by a word both did and had done all things [n]. But whereas the rulers and chief men of the Jews were confounded at His doctrine, they were so filled with indignation, chiefly because a great multitude had turned aside after Him, that at length, they brought Him before Pontius Pilate, then governor of Syria on behalf of the Romans, and by the violence of their voices, wrung from him that He should be delivered up unto them to be crucified. He had Himself also foretold that they would do this. This were but a small thing, if the prophets also had not done so before [1]; and at length being nailed to the cross, He shewed many special signs to mark that death [o]. Of Himself [2] He with a word gave up the ghost, preventing the office of the executioner. At the same moment the light of mid-day [p] was withdrawn, the sun veiling his orb. They thought it forsooth an eclipse, who knew not that this also had been foretold [3] concerning Christ: when they discovered not its cause, they denied it; and yet ye have this event, that befel

Is. 6, 9.

Matt. 11, 5.

Mark 4, 41.

John 1, 1.

Ps. 33, 6.

John 1, 3.

[1] Is. 65, 2. Ps 22, 16. see adv. Jud. c. 13.

[2] sponte *restored*

[3] Am. 8, 9. see adv. Jud. l. c.

[m] Cels. ap. Orig. c. Cels. i. c. 6. 28. 38. viii. 9.; the then Jews, ap. Orig. c. Cels. iii. 1. Recog. l. 1. c. 58. Talm. Schabb. f. 104. p. aut. Wagenseil, confa. Tel. Jesch. p. 16. 17. of the Heathen (apparently from the Jews) Arnob. i. p. 25. c. 4. Pseudo-Ignat. Ep. ad Ph l. Just. M. Apol. i. 30. Aug. de Cons. Ev. i. 8. 9. 10. 14. Eus. Dem. iii. 6. The miracles were confessed.

[n] Rig. omits Eundem qui verbo omnia et faceret et fecisset, with the Fulda MS. It has however a good sense, that "He shewed Himself to be the Word, in that He did, or He had done, all things by a word." Comp. Heb. 1, 3.

[o] "Multa mortis illius propria ostendit insignia; nam" *restored.*

[p] Dies media, orbem signante sole. Others medium. Comp. adv. Jud. c. 10.

the world, related in your own records[q]. Him being taken down from the cross, and buried in a sepulchre, they caused moreover to be surrounded with great diligence by a guard of soldiers, lest, because He had foretold that He should rise on the third day from the dead, the disciples removing the body by stealth should deceive them, though suspecting it. But, lo! on the third day, the earth being suddenly shaken, and the massive body being rolled away which had closed the sepulchre, and the watch being scattered through fear, and no disciples being to be seen, nothing was found in the sepulchre save the grave clothes only of the buried[1]. Yet the chief men notwithstanding, whom it concerned to spread a wicked tale, and to draw back from the faith[r] the people, their tributaries and dependents, reported that He was stolen away by the disciples. For neither did He *shew* Himself *to all the people*, lest the wicked should be delivered from their error, and that the faith which was reserved unto no mean reward should cost some difficulty. But He continued forty days with certain disciples in Galilee, a region of Judæa, teaching them what things they should teach. After that, having ordained them to the office of preaching throughout the world, He was taken from them

[1] sepulti *restored*

Acts 10, 40.

[q] "archivis" or "arcanis." Probably the account sent by Pilate, spoken of c. 5.: at all events, public documents. So Lucian Martyr (ap. Ruf. H. E. ix. 6. p. 149.) refers to their own annals. This statement then is independent of the question whether Phlegon (Orig. c. Cels. ii. 33. 59. Enseb. Chron. p. 202. ed. Scal.) in speaking of a very great eclipse about this time, or Thallus, as supposed by Africanus. (Chron. ap. Routh Reliq. S. t. ii. p. 183.) alluded to that event. Eusebius mentions also other Greek memoirs, which he clearly distinguishes from that of Phlegon, giving also the words of each (*καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὕρομεν ἱστορούμενα κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα — γράφει δὲ καὶ Φλέγων*) which Lardner (Test. P. ii. c. 13.) overlooked. With regard to these latter statements, the Heathen, not knowing the circumstances, might very naturally have concluded that the darkness was produced by an eclipse, and the combined mention of the earthquake and the eclipse in the several authorities quoted by Eusebius, make it probable that they referred to the events at the Crucifixion. This probability would be diminished, if it be correct that there was a great eclipse of the Sun in the same Olympiad. (Kepler, Eclogæ Chronicæ, p. 87. 126.) Origen's argument (in Matt. Tr. 35. p. 922, 3. ed. de la Rue) is, that no heathen author (and especially not Phlegon) had explicitly related the darkness to have been produced by an eclipse, (as some Christians thought that it had, miraculously,) he does not imply that Phlegon's account might not refer to it, as himself had supposed it might. (c. Cels. and, if it be his, Fragm. in Matt. in App. Biblioth. Gall. quoted Routh, l. c. p. 337.) Tillemont, Note 35. sur J. C. and Dr. Routh, l. c. think, (it seems, rightly,) that the mention of *Phlegon* in Africanus did not originally stand in the text.

[r] A fide, others "ad fidem," "to their allegiance to themselves."

Apol. I. 21.

into Heaven in a cloud which covered Him; an account far better than that which your Proculi[s] are wont to affirm of your Romuli. These things concerning Christ did Pilate, himself also already in his conscience a Christian[t], report to Tiberius the Cæsar of that day. But the Cæsars also would have believed on Christ, if either Cæsars had not been necessary for the age, or if Christians also could have been Cæsars. Moreover the disciples, spread throughout the world, obeyed the commandment of their Divine Master; who, themselves also, having suffered many things from the persecuting Jews, with good will assuredly, in proportion to their confidence in the truth, did finally at Rome, through the cruelty of Nero, sow the seed of Christian blood[u]. But we will shew[1] that the very beings whom ye worship, are sufficient witnesses to you of Christ. It is a great thing if I can employ, in order that ye may believe the Christians, those very beings on whose account ye believe not the Christians. Meanwhile such is the system of our Religion; such an account have we set forth both of our sect and name with its Founder. Let no man now charge us with infamy, let no one imagine aught besides this, since it is not lawful for any to speak falsely concerning his own Religion. For in that he saith that aught else is worshipped by him than that which he doth worship, he denieth that which he worshippeth, and transferreth his worship to another, and, in transferring it, he already ceaseth to worship that, which he hath denied. We say, and we say openly, and while ye torture us, mangled and gory we cry out, 'We worship God through Christ:' believe Him a man: it is through Him and in Him that God willeth Himself to be known and worshipped. To answer the Jews, they themselves also learned to worship God through the man Moses: to meet the Greeks, Orpheus in Pieria, Musæus at Athens, Melampus at Argos, Trophonius in Bœotia, bound mankind by their rites: to look to you also, the masters of the world, Numa Pompilius was a man, who loaded the Romans with the most burthensome superstitions. Let Christ also be permitted to pretend to the divine nature, as a thing proper

[1] monstrabimus

[s] Liv. i. 16.

[t] In that he held Him guiltless. See also above, c. 5.

[u] See c. ult.

to Himself, Who did not, as Numa, soften to a state of gentler culture rude and as yet barbarous men, by confounding them with so great a multitude of gods to be propitiated; but Who opened to a knowledge of the truth the eyes of men already polished, and blinded through their very refinement. See then whether this Divine Nature of Christ be real: if it be such that by the knowledge of it any one be changed unto that which is good, it followeth that any other, which is found to be contrary to it, must be pronounced false; specially that, by all means[1], which, hiding itself under the names and images of the dead, doth by certain signs, and miracles, and oracles, work out the proof of a divine character.

[1] omni ratione *restored*

XXII. And therefore we say that there are certain spiritual substances: nor is the name new. The Philosophers acknowledge dæmons, and Socrates himself looked unto the will of a dæmon. Why not? since it is said that a dæmon clave unto him from childhood, dissuading him[x]: doubtless—from good. The poets acknowledge dæmons[y]; and now the untaught vulgar oft putteth them to the use of cursing. For even Satan the chief of this evil race, doth it, as though from a special consciousness of the soul, name in the same word of execration[z]. Moreover Plato[a] denied not that there

[x] The Dæmon of Socrates dissuaded him only. Plato puts this assertion repeatedly in Socrates' own mouth, and that in words so similar, that there seems no doubt that they are those of Socrates. "With me this hath been, beginning from a child that a certain voice hath come, which, when it cometh, ever turneth me away from what I may be about to do, but impelleth me never (ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με προτρέπει δὲ οὔ ποτε)." Apol. Socr. §. 19. ed. Bekk. "There is wont to follow me, by the Divine appointment, a certain dæmon, beginning from a child. And this is, a voice, which when it cometh ever signifieth to me to turn away from what I may be about to do, but impelleth me never." σημαίνει ἀποτρέπων, προτρέπει δὲ οὐδέποτε Theages, §. 10. add Phædrus, §. 43. and in part Apol. §. 31. Xenophon's account (Mem. i. 1.) that "whereas others were withheld and impelled from action by omens, and Socrates was directed to act or not to act, the dæmon fore-signifying," is obviously a less precise account. Tertullian gives it an ironical turn.

[y] "Of the Greeks, Homer appears to use both names [gods and dæmons] in common, sometimes calling the gods, dæmons. But Hesiod clearly and definitely first set forth four kinds of being, having reason, gods, then dæmons, then heroes, lastly men." (Ἔργ. κ. Ἡμ. 107—199.) Plut. de Orac. Def. p. 431. E. quoted by Euseb. Præp. Ev. v. 4. On Hesiod, see Plato Cratyl. (§. 32. ed. Bekk.) Rep. v. §. 15. Proclus. Schol. ad Hesiod. l. c. l. 121. p. 119. ed. Gaisf. Lact. ii. 15.

[z] See de Testim. Anim. c. 3.

[a] Sympos. t. v. p. 72. §. 28. ed. Bekk. "All Dæmon-nature is between God and mortal. Endued with what power? said I. Interpreting and transmitting to the gods the things from men, and to men those from the gods; of the one, the prayers and sacrifices; of the other, the

Apol. I. 22.

be angels also. Even the Magi[b] are at hand to bear witness of both names. But how from certain angels corrupted of their own will a more corrupt race of dæmons proceeded, condemned by God together with the authors of their race, and with that prince of whom we have spoken, is made known in order in the Holy Scriptures[c]. It will suffice at this time to explain the nature of their work. Their work is the overthrow of man. Thus hath spiritual wickedness begun to act from the first for the destruction of man. Wherefore they inflict upon the body both sicknesses and many severe accidents, and on the soul, perforce, sudden and strange extravagances. Their own wondrous[1] subtle, and slight nature furnisheth to them means of approaching either part of man. Much is permitted to the power of spirits, so that, being unseen and unperceived, they appear rather in their effects than in their acts: as when some lurking evil in the air blighteth the fruit or grain in the blossom, killeth it

[1] mira *al. l.*

commands and requitals of the sacrifices. But being in the midst between both, it fills up, so that the whole is mutually bound together." Theodoret, Orat. 4. de Nat. et Mund. "Plato calls them gods and dæmons, whom we entitle angels, and said that they were the ministers of the God of the universe." Minuc. F. p. 246. Cypr. de Idol. Van. c. 4. S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, ix. 9. quotes Labeo as affirming the same.

[b] Cypr. l. c. Arnob. 1. p. 35. Lact. ii. 15. Minuc. p. 245.

[c] Gen. 6, 2. It is so interpreted also by Justin M. Apol. i. 21. ii. 6. S. Irenæus, adv. Hær. iv. 36. 4. v. 29. 2. Athenag. c. 24. (followed by Methodius de Resurr. p. 307. ed. Paris from Photius.) Clem. Al. Pæd. iii. 2. fin. Strom. iii. 7. p. 193. v. 1. p. 235. S. Cyprian. de Hab. Virg. c. 9. de Patientia, c. 11. Lact. ii. 15. Euseb. Præp. Ev. v. 4. Ambr. de Noe, c. 4. §. 8. 9. de Virginib. i. 8. §. 53. Apol. David. c. 1. §. 4. in Ps. 118. v. 64. Serm. 8. §. 58. Naz. Carm. 3. p. 64. by Tert. again, de Idol. c. 9. de Cult. Fem. c. 10. de Hab. Mul. c. 2. de Vel. Virg. c. 7. c. Marc. v. 18. It occurs also in the Clement. Hom. 8. c. 13—15. and in Philo de Gigant. t. 1. p. 262. ed. Mang. Joseph. Antiq. i. 43. in the book of Enoch, Grab. Spicil. i. 347. and the Test. xii Patr. ib. 150. 213. Origen c. Cels. v. 55. mentions the spiritual interpretation which he adopts, as devised by one before him, and so, contrary to the received opinion. (καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τις ταῦτα ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὸν περὶ ψυχῶν λόγον.) It is not however a Catholic interpretation. (see on S. Cyprian, xi. 12. p. 261. n. a. ed. Oxf.) S. August. also, who (Quæstt. ad Gen. l. 1. qu. 3.) speaks doubtingly as on a point "difficult to be decided," maintains what is now the ordinary view, de Civ. D. xv. 23. (rejecting however in both places abstract arguments:) and S. Ambrose seems so to take it in Ps. 118, 25. Serm. 4. §. 8. S. Cyril Alex. c. Julian, l. ix. init. and adv. Anthrop. c. 17. Theodoret (Qu. 47. in Gen.) S. Chrysostome (Hom. 22. in Gen.) and S. Ephraem (Serm. 19. adv. Hær. Opp. Syr. t. 2. p. 478. add. ad loc. t. 1. where he gives that now received,) speak strongly against the other. S. Jerome (Quæstt. in Gen. ad loc.) seems to leave it doubtful, "Deos intelligens Sanctos sive Angelos." "Et angelis—et sanctorum liberis convenit nomen eadentium." The context would lead the one way, that those who called on God were called "the sons of God;" on the other hand בני אלהים is a title given to the Angels, Job 1, 6. 2, 1. 38, 7. no where in the O. T. to man.

in the blade, woundeth it in its full growth, and when the atmosphere tainted in some secret way poureth over the earth its pestilential vapours[d]. By the same unseen course of contagion therefore doth the blast of dæmons and of angels hurry onward the corruptions of the mind, through foul madness and foolishness, or[1] fierce lusts, with manifold delusions, of which that is the chief, by which it commendeth those gods to the captive and narrowed understandings of men, that they may procure for themselves as their own, the food of sweet savour and of blood offered to statues and images[e]; and what food is more cared for by them, than to turn aside man from the thoughts of the true Divinity by the delusions of a false divination[f]? touching which very delusions I will shew how they work. Every spirit is winged: in this both angels and dæmons agree: therefore in a moment they are every where: the whole world is one spot to them: whatever is done any where they know as easily as they report it. Their swiftness is believed to be divinity, because their substance is unknown[g]. So also they would sometimes be thought the authors of those things which they report; and manifestly of evil things they sometimes are so, but of good never. The counsels also of God they both snatched, at the times when the Prophets were proclaiming them[h], and now also they cull in the readings which echo them. And so taking from hence also certain of the allotted courses of the future, they ape the power, while they steal *the oracles, of God.* But in the oracles, with what

[1] aut

[d] Orig. c. Cels. viii. 31.

[e] See Cypr. de Id. Van. c. 4. The lurking of dæmons in images and their sensual delighting in the idol-sacrifices are mentioned by Athenag. Leg. c. 27. That they fed on the sacrifices is the opinion of Justin M. Apol. ii. §. 5. Tatian. c. 12. Tert. again, c. 23. de Idol. c. 7. ad Scap. c. 2. Orig. c. Cels. iii. 28. 37. iv. 32. vii. 5. 6. 35. 56. 64. viii. 18. Minut. F. p. 250. Chrys. de S. Babyla, c. 14. Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 4. Greg. Naz. Orat. 5. in Jul. 24. de S. Cypr. §. 10. The same was held by Celsus, ap. Orig. c. C. viii. 60—62. Proph. de Abstin. l. 2. (de Orac. ap. Theod. c. Græc. Disp. 3.) On their presence in statues, Bel and the Drag. c. 6. Lact. ii. 15. 16. Minuc. F. p. 248. Chrys. in Ps. 113. §. 4. 134. §. 7.

[f] Plato, Sympos. l. c. "Through this (the Dæmon-agency) doth the whole of divining art hold its course; and the skill of the priests, and of those engaged about the sacrifices and initiations and incantations, and the whole of divination, and sorcery. But God doth not mingle with man, but through this is all intercourse of the gods with men, whether waking or sleeping."

[g] Athanas. vit. Ant. §. 31. 32.

[h] Justin, Apol. i. 54. 64. 66. Dial. §. 70. 78. S. Cyril. Jer. xv. 11. speaks of Satan's spreading abroad semblances of the truth, to prevent the truth itself from being received.

Apol. I. 23.

cunning they shape their double meanings to events, witness the Crœsi[j], witness the Pyrrhi[k]. But it was in the manner in which I have before spoken of, that the Pythian god sent back the message that a tortoise was being stewed with the flesh of a sheep[l]. They[1] had been in a moment in Lydia. By dwelling in the air, and by being near the stars, and by dealing with the clouds, they are able to know the threatenings of the skies, so that they promise also the rains, which they already feel. They are sorcerers[2] also about the cures of sicknesses; for they first inflict the disease, and then prescribe remedies wonderfully new or of a contrary nature, after which they cease to afflict, and so are believed to have cured[m]. Why then should I speak at large touching the other subtleties or even the powers of spiritual delusion? the apparitions of Castor and Pollux[n], and the water carried in a sieve[o], and the ship drawn forward by a girdle[p], and the beard turned red by a touch[q], that both stones might be believed to be gods, and the true God not be sought after.

[1] fuerant

[2] venefici

XXIII. Moreover if magicians also produce apparitions and disgrace the souls of the departed; if they entrance children to make them utter oracles[r]; if, by means of juggling tricks, they play off a multitude of miracles; if they even send dreams to men, having, to assist them, the power of angels and dæmons, when once invoked, (through whom both goats[s] and tables[t] have been accustomed to

[j] Herod. i. 53. 55. 91.

[k] Ennius, ap. Cic. de Div. l. ii. 56.

[l] Herod. i. 46—48.

[m] Justin M. Apol. ii. 6. Dial. §. 30. and 76. Iren. ii. 32. Orig. c. Cels. vii. 4. p. 325. Tatian. c. 18. Cypr. l. c. c. 4. Minuc. F. p. 251. Lact. ii. 16. Jerome in Nah. c. 7. Aug. de Div. Dæm. c. 5. de Trin. iii. 9.

[n] Announcing victories, Plin. ii. 37. Florus, ii. 12. iii. 3. &c.

[o] By a Vestal Virgin, Val. Max. viii. 1. Plin. xxviii. 3. Lact. ii. 17.

[p] Claudia Quinta Liv. xxix. 14.

[q] Domitius Enobarbus, Suet. Ner. 1.

[r] Apuleius describes this, Apol. t. ii. p. 497, 8. ed. Elmenhorst. The first words of the returning soul (as it were) were regarded as oracular. See further Peucer de Div. p. 166. and Elmenh. ad loc. Justin M. Apol. i. c. 18 (whom Tert. apparently had here in view,) speaks of the "inspection of immaculate children," (*βριφομαντεία*,) in which the children were slain and their entrails inspected; and this, which is more frequently mentioned, (Eus. H. E. vii. 10. viii. 14. Socr. H. E. iii. 13. Recogn. ii. 13.) suits better with the more obvious meaning of "elidunt," "slay;" but the context is here of chicanery, not of cruelty. For this inspection *of* them, inspection *by* them in mirrors was afterwards substituted. Peucer de Mag. p. 155. The reading "eliciunt" is, probably, a comment on "elidunt," and as such, favours the sense given in the text.

[s] See Bulenger, l. 3. de Divin. c. 22. p. 215. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. ii. Clem. Protrept. p. 9. quoted by Fabr. Bibl. Antiq. p. 416. Amm. Marc. l. 29. Sozom. vi. 35. ap. Buleng. de Sort. l. ii. p. 30.

[t] The oracular Tripods, see Hofmann Lex. v. Tripus.

prophesy;) how much the rather would that power study with all its might to work of its own will, and for its own business, that service, which it rendereth to the business-making of another! Or if angels and dæmons do the same works as your gods, where then is the excellence of the Godhead? which we must surely believe to be higher than every power? Will it not then be a more worthy presumption that it is they who make themselves gods, since they shew forth the same works which cause the gods to be believed, than that the gods are on a level with angels and dæmons? A difference of places maketh, I suppose, a distinction, so that ye count those for gods from their temples, whom elsewhere ye call not gods: so that he who rusheth over sacred towers seemeth to be mad after another sort from him who leapeth across the roofs of neighbouring houses, and one kind of influence is declared to be in him who woundeth his secrets or his arms, another in him who cutteth his throat. The end of the madness is alike in both, and the manner of incitement is one. But hitherto it hath been all words: now shall follow a proof of the thing itself, whereby we will shew that the quality of both these classes is the same. Let some one be brought forward here at the foot of your judgment-seat, who, it is agreed, is possessed of a dæmon. When commanded by any Christian to speak, that spirit shall as truly declare itself a dæmon, as elsewhere falsely a god[u]. In like manner let some one

[u] It may be that Tertullian looked for some special intervention on such a trial, or he may not have meant his words "by any Christian" to be taken to the letter, but only to assert the frequency of the gift. The frequency and notoriety of these miraculous cures he asserts again, ad Scap. c. 2. 4. as peculiar to Christians, de Test. Anim. c. 3. Their commonness is implied also de Spect. c. 29. de Idol. c. 11. de Cor. c. 11. and below c. 37. 43. Justin M. speaks of many having been and being cured, generally and at Rome, Apol. ii. 6 and 8. add Dial. c. Tryph. §. 30. 76. 84. 121. Tatian, c. 16. Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 8. S. Irenæus, ii. 32. mentions (among other miracles) that many so healed were in the Church. Origen speaks of the vast number of such cures up to his time, c. Cels. i. 25. names them with other miracles, ib. 46. 67. viii. 58. which himself had seen, (add of these ii. 8. and generally iii. 24. 28.) and apparently as wrought by a certain class among Christians, (ib. i. 6.) but also that "no few among the Christians" still wrought them, (vii. 4.) and that, although for the most part holy, yet, through the might of the Name of Jesus even in "bad men," (according to Matt. 7, 22.) Ib. i. 6. Heraldus quotes from c. Cels. viii. a statement, corresponding to this of Tertullian, "ordinary individuals (ἰδιῶται) work somewhat of this kind, the grace which is in the word of Christ enabling them." They are named as frequent by Minut. Felix, p. 272, 254. by S. Cyprian, (Ep. 76. ad Magn. v. fin. add. ad Donat. 4. p. 4.

Apol. I. 23.

be brought forward of those who are believed to be acted upon by a god, who drawing their breath over the altar conceive the deity from its savour, who are relieved[1] by vomiting wind, and prelude their prayer with sobs[x]. That very virgin Cælestis[y] herself who promiseth rains, that very Æsculapius that discovereth medicines, that supplied life to Socordius, and Thanatius, and Asclepiodotus, doomed to die another day—unless these confess themselves to be dæmons, not daring to lie unto a Christian, then shed upon the spot the blood of that most impudent Christian. What can be plainer than this fact? what more to be trusted than this proof? The simplicity of Truth is before you: her own virtue supporteth her. Here will be no room for suspicion.

[1] curantur

ed. Oxf. de Idol. Van. 4. ib. p. 17. ad Demetrian, §. 8. ib. p. 208.) by Arnobius i. p. 27. by Lactantius, Instt. ii. 16. iv. 27. v. 22. init. 23 fin. by Eusebius (Dem. Ev. iii. 6. p. 132. 3. who says also, "our Lord is wont to display, even to this day, to those to whom He judgeth right, some little portions of His [miraculous] power by manifest and ascertained deeds," v. ib. c. 5. p. 109.) by Eustathius A. 320. in very large terms, ("all who sincerely mind the things of Christ," *πάντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φρονοῦντες εἰλικρινῶς*, de Engastrimytho, p. 308. ed. Leo Allat. add. p. 352.) Athanasius Orat. i. c. Arian. c. 50. Julius Firmicus, p. 29. 30. and v. lin. p. 61. Greg. Naz. Or. 2. §. 86. Epiphanius relates one such case Hær. 30. c. 10. as also, earlier, Firmilian Ep. 75. ad Cypr. S. Augustine again single cases, de Civ. D. l. xxii. c. 8. §. 7. 8. Paula and Eustochium, (ap. Jerome, Ep. 46. §. 8. at our Lord's sepulchre.) The fulness and confidence of these early statements, and the gradual limitation of these cures, (as Christianity was more established, and perhaps as love waxed cold,) is the more illustrated by the later explicit statements of the cessation of miracles; as by S. Chrysostom repeatedly, (in Ps. 112. §. 5 hom. 1. de S. Pentec §. 4. in inscript. Actt. hom. 2. §. 3. t. iii. in Joh. Hom. 21. (23.) §. 1. Hom. 72. (71.) §. 4. in 1 Cor. Hom. 29. init. Hom. 36. §. 4. 5. Theodoret in 1 Cor. xii. 7. 9. Junilius de part. Div. Leg. ii. 29. Op. Imp. in Matt. Hom. 49. p. ccix. ed. Ben. Greg. M. in Job. l. xxvii. c. 18. ("for the most part, except when the occasion required,") Damascene, (de Fid. Orthod. i. 3. in contrast with early successors of the Apostles, though chiefly of himself, see the passages ap. Lardner.) S. Chrys. speaks of the dread and shrinking of dæmons from the sepulchres of martyrs, not of their expulsion, (*ἀπιλάνιν* not *ἐκβάλλειν*, t. ii. 93. 623. 674. 680. 691.) or of the moral cures wrought by visiting them, (p. 555.) to which he, probably, again allludes, when he says, that many of the "wonders," *θαύματα*, of the Apostolic times had ceased, Hom. 14. in Rom. §. 7.) S. Hilary, (in Ps. 64. §. 10.) S. Athanasius, (de Incarn. §. 48.) of the silencing of oracles or soothsaying, as, earlier, S. Dionys. Alex. (ap. Eus. vii. 10.) of the bringing to nought Satanic assaults. Else, cures wrought at the sepulchres of martyrs, (Greg. Naz. de S. Cyprian. Or. 24. §. 18. p. 449. Ephr. S. Opp. Syr. t. ii. p. 349.) had been but a testimony the more, in that God still continued to honour "the death of His saints," even when He had withdrawn these gifts from the diminished faith of His Church militant. S. Cyprian, (de Idol. Van.) Minuc. F. and Lactantius, make the same statement as Tertullian, that the dæmons were thus put to shame "in the presence of their worshippers." The modern assumption then, that miraculous gifts ceased with the last disciple on whom the Apostles laid their hands, as it is an à priori theory, so it is contrary to all rules of evidence.

[x] Those possessed with a spirit of divination, Pythonissæ, as in Acts.

[y] See above, c. 12. below, c. 24.

Will ye say that it is done by magic, or some cheat of that sort? Aye! if your eyes and your ears will permit you! But what can be insinuated against that which is shewn forth in undisguised sincerity? If on the one hand they be truly gods, why feign they themselves dæmons? is it to humour us? Then is your deity at once made subject to the Christians, nor can that be accounted Deity, which is subjected to man, and (if this contribute aught to shame) to its own rivals. If on the other hand they be dæmons or angels, why do they take upon themselves elsewhere to act as gods? For as they, who are accounted gods, would not call themselves dæmons, if they were truly gods, lest forsooth they should put themselves down from their majesty, so they also, whom ye plainly acknowledge for dæmons, would not dare elsewhere to act for gods, if those whose names they use, were any gods at all; for they would fear to abase the majesty of beings, without doubt higher than themselves and to be feared. So utterly nought is that deity to which ye hold; for if it were aught, it would neither be affected by dæmons, nor denied by gods. Seeing then that both sides agree in one declaration, affirming that they are no gods, ye must allow that there is but one sort of such beings, namely dæmons. True on both sides. Now look for gods [1], for, whom ye took to be such, ye find to be dæmons. But by the same help from us, from these same gods of yours, who discover not this only, that neither they themselves nor any others are gods, ye immediately learn this also, Who is really God, and whether it be He, and He Alone, Whom we Christians confess, and whether He ought to be believed and worshipped according to the rule of the faith and discipline of the Christian. Here they will say, "And who [2] is this Christ with His tale of wonders? is He a man of common condition? is He a magician [a]? was He stolen away after His crucifixion [3] from the sepulchre by His disciples? is He even now in hell? is He not in Heaven? and to come quickly [4] from thence also with a quaking of the whole universe, with a shuddering of the world, amidst the wailings of all men save the Christians, as the Power of God,

[1] Verum, utrobique. Jam Deos quærite

[2] Dicent et quis

[3] crucem

[4] ocyus

[a] See above, c. 21.

Apol. 1. 23. and the Spirit of God, and the Word, and the Wisdom, and the Reason, and the Son of God?" In all your scoffings let them also scoff with you: let them deny that Christ shall judge every soul from the beginning, the body being restored to it. Let them say that Minos and Rhadamanthus (if it be so), as Plato and the poets have agreed, are appointed to fulfil this office from their seat of judgment. Let them at least contradict the stigma of their own disgrace and condemnation. Let them deny that they are unclean spirits, which ought to be concluded even from their food, blood and smoke, and putrifying burnt sacrifices of beasts, and the most filthy tongues of the prophets themselves. Let them deny that they are for their wickedness fore-ordained to condemnation at the same day of judgment, with all their worshippers and agents. But all this rule and power of ours over them standeth in naming the Name of Christ, and in making mention of those things which they look for as hanging over them from God through Christ the Judge[b]. Fearing Christ in God, and God in Christ, they are subjected unto the servants of God and Christ. From our touch therefore and our breath[c], seized by the thought and lively image of that fire, they even come forth from the bodies of men at our command, unwilling, and grieved, and ashamed, before your presence. Believe these, when they speak the truth of themselves, ye that believe them when they speak falsely. None lieth to abase, but rather to honour, himself. Credit is more readily given to those, who confess against themselves, than to those who deny for themselves. Finally, these testimonies of your own gods are wont to make men Christians, because by believing them to the utmost, we believe in Christ the Lord. They themselves kindle our faith in our Scriptures: they themselves build up the confidence of our hope. Ye worship them, as I know,

[b] In the Exorcisms in the Ancient Latin, Greek, and Syriac Liturgies, the evil spirit is adjured by the Name of the Holy Trinity, and mention made of his final sentence to everlasting fire at the Day of Judgment. See them in Assemani Cod. Liturg. t. i. ii. or collected in "Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism," Note M. at the end, p. 266. 7. ed. 1.

[c] The insufflation or exsufflation followed upon the exorcism, see Ass. l. c. Bingham, x. 2. 8. S. Cyril Introd. §. 9. p. 4. xvi. §. 19. p. 213. ed. Oxf. see also de Anima, c. 11. S. Iren. i. 9. Euseb. H. E. vii. 10. Prudentius Perist. Pass. Rom. 10. 920. Brisson. comm. ad tit. cod. Theod. de feriis.

even with the blood of Christians. If then it were possible for them to speak falsely under the hands of a Christian desiring to prove the truth unto you, they would be unwilling to lose you, so profitable and so serviceable to them, even from the fear of being driven out one day by yourselves perhaps, made Christians.

XXIV. All this confession of theirs whereby they deny themselves to be gods, and whereby they make answer that there is no other God, save this One, Whose servants we are, is quite suffieient to refute the eharge of sinning against the public, and [1] espeeially the Roman, Religion. For if they be eertainly no gods, neither certainly is the Religion aught; and if the Religion be nought, because the gods are nought, neither eertainly are we guilty of sinning against Religion. But on the contrary your reproach hath really [2] recoiled upon yourselves, who worshipping a lie, not only by neglecting, but moreover by warring against, the true Religion of the true God, eommit against the True One the erime of true irreligion. Now [3] then although it were allowed that these were gods, do ye not grant, aceording to the common belief, that there is some One higher and mightier, as the King of the universe, of perfeet power and majesty? For the most part of men also do so apportion the Divine Nature, that they will have the power of chief dominion to belong to One, its offiees to many: even as Plato [d] describeth the great Jupiter as aeeompanied in heaven by an army of gods as well as of dæmons, and therefore that his offieers, and his præfeets, and his governors, should be alike respected. And yet what erime doth he commit, who direeteth rather his labour and his hope to earn the favour of the king [4] himself, and alloweth not the name of god, as he doth not that of emperor, to belong to any save the prince alone? seeing that it is judged to be a eapital crime to eall any, or to suffer any to be called, Cæsar, save Cæsar himself. Let one worship God, another Jupiter: let one raise his suppliant hands to Heaven, another to the altar of Fides [e]: let one in his prayer, (if ye

[1] publicæ et *restored*

[2] re ista *added*

[3] Nunc

[4] Cæsarem

[d] In Phædro, §. 56. ed. Bekk. "Jupiter the great Lord and Guider (ἡγεμὼν) in heaven, driving a winged chariot, goeth first, fitly ordering and calling for all things; him followeth an army of gods and dæmons, fitly ordered in eleven parts. See Arnob. iii. p. 117. Athenag. Leg. c. 23.

[e] This was close to the Capitol, Plin. xxxv.

Apol. I. 24.

think this of us,) tell the clouds[f], another the ornaments of the ceiling: let one devote his own life to his God[g], another that of a goat[h]. For beware lest this also contribute to the charge of irreligion, to take away the liberty of religion and to forbid a choice of gods, so that I may not worship whom I will, but be constrained to worship whom I will not. No one, not even a mortal, will desire to be worshipped by any against his will; and therefore even to the Egyptians hath been allowed the free use of a superstition, vain as theirs, in consecrating birds and beasts, and in condemning to death those who slay any god of this sort[i]. Every province also and state hath its own god; as, Syria, Atargatis[k]; Arabia, Dusares[l]; the Norici, Belenus[m]; Africa, Cælestis[n]; Mauritania, her own Princes[o]. I have named, methinks, Roman provinces, and yet no Roman gods belonging to them, because they are not more worshipped at Rome than those, who, through Italy itself, are from municipal consecration ranked as gods, as Delventinus the god of the Casinienses; Visidianus, of the Narnienses; Ancharia, of the Æsculani; of the Volsinienses, Nortia[p]; of the Ocriculani, Valentia; of the Sutrini, Hostia[q], of the Falisci, Juno, who, in honour of her father Curis, hath also received her surname[r]. But we alone are forbidden to have a religion of our own[s]. We offend the Romans, and are not held to be Romans, because we worship not the god of the Romans. It is well that God is the God of all, Whose we all are, whether we will or no. But with you it is lawful to worship any thing except the

[f] Juv. xiv. 97. (of the Jews chiefly,) Nil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant. Cels. ap. Orig. c. Cels. v. 6. Diod. Sic. l. xi. Eclog. p. 217. ed. Wess. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 761. ed. Casaub. see Kortholt de Cal. Pag. c. 5. de nephelolatria.

[g] "And in truth whosoever will reflect, what he vows to God, and what vows he is to pay, let him vow himself, let him pay himself. This is demanded; this owed:—his own image is rendered to Cæsar; and he His own image rendered to God. Aug. in Ps. 115. ℣. 8.

[h] De Idol. c. 6.

[i] Herod. ii. 65.

[k] So F. Adargatis, ad Nat. ii. 8. Argatis. Strabo, l. xvi. fin. called by the Greeks "Derceto;" Plin. v. 23. it was half-female, half-fish. Diod. Sic. ii. 4. p. 14.: in other parts, it was the god, Dagon. אשתרות for עשתרות Gesen. Thes. v. דגון see, at length, Ouzeley on Minuc. F. p. 273. Others "Astarte."

[l] Euseb. Præp. Ev. i. 7. (ap. Pam.)

[m] The tutelary god of Aquileia; Capitolin. in Maximin. ap. Hav.

[n] Above, c. Cypr. de Idol. Van. lib. de Prom. et Præd. Dei (ap. Prosper.) iii. 38. ap. Hav.

[o] Lact. i. 15. Minuc. F. p. 214.

[p] Liv. vii. 3.

[q] So F. others Nortia again.

[r] Curitis.

[s] Athenag. c. 14.

true God, as though He were not rather the God of all, of Whom we all are.

XXV. Methinks I have proved enough concerning false and true Deity, when I have shewn how the proof consisteth not in discussions only and arguments, but in the testimony of those very beings, whom ye believe to be gods, so that there is now nothing in this question which needs to be treated of again. Yet since the authority of the Roman name specially cometh across us[1], I will not pass by the controversy which the presumption of those provoketh, who say that the Romans have been raised to such a height of greatness as to be masters of the world, for the merit of their very diligent devotion to Religion[t]; and that they are so fully gods, that those flourish above all others, who above all others render service to them. These forsooth are the wages paid in gratitude by the Roman gods. Sterculus[u], and Mutunus, and Larentina, have advanced the empire! For I cannot suppose that foreign gods would have wished that favour should be shewn to a foreign nation rather than to their own[x], and that they would have given up to men beyond the seas the land of their country, in which they were born, grew up, were ennobled, and buried. No matter for Cybele if she loved the Roman city as the memorial of the Trojan race,—her own native race forsooth, which she protected against the arms of the Greeks,—if she foresaw that it would pass to those avengers, who she knew would subdue Greece, the conqueror of Phrygia. A mighty proof hath she thereupon put forth, even in our age, of her majesty conferred upon the city, when, Marcus Aurelius having been, at Syrmium, removed from the state by death on the sixteenth day before the Calends of April, that most holy of arch-eunuchs, on the ninth day before the same Calends, on which he made a libation of impure blood by mutilating his arms also, issued, as before, his accustomed orders on behalf of the health of Marcus, who had been already cut off. O slothful messengers! O sleepy despatches! through

[1] intercedit auctoritas

[t] Cic. Orat. xxx. de Harusp. Resp. c. 19. Polyb. vi. 54. Valer. i. 1. 8. Prud. c. Symm. I. ii. 489. Minuc. F. p. 228. Macr. Sat. i. 7. Lact. i. 20. Aug. Civ. D. viii. 15.

[u] As though named from "manuring,"

[x] Prud. l. c. l. 532.

APOL. I. 25.

whose fault Cybele did not before learn the death of the Emperor! Verily the Christians would laugh at such a goddess. But neither would Jupiter at once have suffered his own Crete to be shaken by the Roman fasces, forgetting that cave of Ida, and the Corybantian cymbals, and the most pleasing odour of his own nurse[y] there. Would not he have preferred this his own tomb to all the Capitol, so that that land should rather be the first in the world, which covered the ashes of Jupiter? Would Juno too[1] be willing that the city of Carthage, which she loved even in preference to Samos[x], should be utterly destroyed, by the race of Æneas forsooth? Whereas I know,

[1] et *added*

> "Here were her arms,
> "Here was her chariot, here e'en now she cherished,
> "(So might Fate will,) the empire of the world."

This wretched wife and sister of Jupiter prevailed nothing against the Fates. Clearly,

> "by Fate e'en Jove himself doth stand[a]."

And yet the Romans have not offered to those Fates, which gave up Carthage to them contrary to the intent and vow of Juno, as much honour as to that most abandoned she-wolf Larentina. That many gods of yours have reigned, is certain. Wherefore if they hold the power of bestowing empire, from whom, when they reigned themselves, had they received that gift? whom had Saturn and Jupiter worshipped? Some Sterculus, I presume; but that, at Rome[b] afterwards, together with their own[2] native gods. Even if there were any that reigned not, yet was the kingdom ruled by others, not as yet their worshippers, because they were not as yet held to be gods. Wherefore it belongeth to others to bestow the kingdom, seeing that there were kings long before these

[2] suis *restored*

[y] The goat Amalthæa.

[x] Virg. Æn. i. 18.

[a] See Pythian oracle, Herod. i. 91. Lact. ii. 17. Æsch. Prom. v. 518.

[b] To be made gods, they must have worshipped the gods who made them such; and so, to be gods at Rome, Sterculus and the like; but they were gods before, and so must have worshipped, elsewhere, their native gods also. Others understand by "cum indigenis suis," "together with their native worshippers," these non-Italian gods being as it were foreigners, joining with the native worshippers. This interpretation has produced a reading, "cum indigenis *cultoribus* suis."

[c] Prud. I. c. l. 346.

were inscribed gods. But how vain is it to ascribe the eminence of the Roman name to the merit of their religious zeal! since it was after the establishment of the imperial, or call it still the regal, power, in an advanced state of prosperity, that Religion made progress. For although an exceeding nicety in superstition was adopted by Numa, yet the religious system among the Romans did not as yet consist in images or temples. Religion was thrifty, and her rites needy: and no Capitols were there, vying with the Heavens[c], but altars of turf thrown together as it chanced, and vessels still of Samian ware, and but scant savour[e], and the god himself no where[f]; for at that time the talents of the Greeks and Tuscans[g] in framing images had not as yet over-flooded the city. The Romans then were not religious before they were great, and therefore were not great for this cause, because religious. But how could they be great because of their religion, whose greatness proceeded from irreligion? For, if I mistake not, every empire or kingdom is gained by wars, and extended by conquests. Moreover wars and conquests consist for the most part in the taking and overthrow of cities. This business is not without injury to the gods. The same ruin embraceth walls and temples, like massacres citizens and priests, nor doth the plunder of sacred treasures differ from that of the profane[h]. As many therefore as are the trophies of the Romans, so many are their acts of sacrilege; as many as are their triumphs over nations, so many are they over the gods; as many have been their captures, as there yet remain images of captive gods. And therefore do they bear to be worshipped by their enemies, and decree to them an empire without end, whose insults, rather than their fawnings[1], they ought to have repaid. But they who have no sense of any thing, are as safely injured as they are uselessly worshipped.

[1] adolationes, i.q adulationes

[c] Id. l. 343.

[d] Martial x. 51.

[e] Exilis. Other Edd. and the ad Nat. ii. ult. ex illis, "and the savour all from these," but there some word is omitted. nidor . . . . . ex illis.

[f] Rome had no images for 170 years, Varro, ap. Aug. de C. D. iv. 9. Plutarch. Num. Clem. Al. Strom. i. 15. Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 3. They were of wood or clay until the conquest of Asia, Plin. xxxiv. 7.

[g] De Spect. c. 7. Plin. l. c.

[h] From the capture of Syracuse, foreign temples were despoiled to ornament Rome, Liv. xxv. 40. add Minuc. p. 229.

Apol. I. 26.

Surely it cannot consist with belief that they should be thought to have increased in greatness through the merits of their Religion, who, as we have suggested, have either grown great by injuring Religion, or have injured it by growing great. They too, whose kingdoms have together made up the sum of the Roman empire, were not, at the time when they lost those kingdoms, without religions.

XXVI. See then whether He be not the Disposer of kingdoms, Whose is both the world which is ruled, and man himself who ruleth; whether He have not ordered the changes of dominions with their times, in the course of the world, Who was before all time, and made that world, the universe of times. See whether it be not He Who exalteth and putteth down states, under Whom the race of men once lived without states. Why do ye err? Rome in her rude state is more ancient than certain of her own gods; she reigned before so large a compass of Capitol was erected[1]. The Babylonians[1] too reigned before the High Priests, and the Medes before the Fifteen[k], and the Egyptians before the Salii, and the Assyrians before the Luperci, and the Amazons before the Vestal Virgins. Finally, if the religions rites of Rome procure kingdoms, never would Judæa have reigned aforetime, that despiser of those common deities, whose God too ye Romans[2] for some time honoured with sacrifices, and her temple with offerings[l], and her people with treaties[m]: nor would ye ever have ruled over her, had she not at the last sinned against Christ.

[1] ambitum (neut.) extrueretur

[2] Romani *restored*

XXVII. A sufficient answer this to the charge of sinning against the gods, because we cannot be thought to sin against that, which we shew does not exist. Wherefore when we are called upon to sacrifice, we take our stand against it on the strength of our conscience, whereby we are assured who those be, to whom these services are paid, under

[i] Minuc. p. 238.

[k] Who had the charge of the Sybilline books.

[l] Joseph. Ant. xvii. 2. (of Agrippa.)

[m] "Macc. i. 8. ii. 11. Jos. Ant. xii. 17. under Judas Maccab.; Macc. i. 12. Jos. A. xiii. 8. or 9. under Jonathan; Macc. i. 15. Jos. A. xiii. 12 or 9. under Simon. Again, Jos. A. xiv. 16 or 17, 17 or 19, are decrees of the Roman senate as to amity with the Jews, under J. Cæsar, and John Hyrcanus, (comp. c. App. l. ii.) and ibid. and c. 22 or 20, are Epistles of M. Antony, and P. Dolabella to Hyrcanus." Pam.

the images which ye publicly expose[n], and the human names which ye consecrate. But some think it madness that, when we are able at once to sacrifice for the moment and to escape unhurt, our fixed purpose remaining stedfast in our own mind, we prefer to our safety a perverse resistance[o]. Ye give us forsooth counsel whereby we may cheat yourselves! But we know whence such counsels are suggested, who it is that setteth all this in motion, and how at one time by cunning persuasion[p], at another by harsh violence, he worketh for the overthrowing of our constancy. It is in truth that spirit of dæmoniac and angelic properties, who rivalling us because of our separation from him[q], and envying us because of the grace of God bestowed upon us, maketh war against us out of your minds[r], which, by the secret influence of his spirit, are disposed and prompted to all that perverseness in your judgments, and that injustice in your wrath, to which we began at the first to speak[s]. For although all the power of dæmons and spirits[t] of that sort were made subject to us, yet, like naughty servants, they sometimes mingle contumacy with their fear, and delight to injure those, whom at other times they reverence[t]: for even fear inspireth hatred. Besides, also, their desperate state, arising from their previous condemnation, counteth on the comfort of enjoying meantime

[t] spirituum

[n] Above, on c. 13.

[o] The refusal to abandon their faith was sometimes called "obstinacy." (Plin. Ep. to Trajan, Diocletian, ap. Hermogen. l. vii. in Collat. legg. Jud. et Rom. tit. xiv. Tert. ad Nat. i. 17. 18. Lact. v. 2. Prud. Hymn. ii. 17. de Agon. Rom. xiv. 63. 581. "a rash desperateness." below, c. 50. Arnob. vi. init. Lact. v. 9. Cæcil. ap. Minuc. p. 71. edict of Maximin. ap. Eus. H. E. ix. 1. quoted by Kortholt, in Plin. et Traj. Epp. p. 57—59. or madness, Plin. l. c. edict of Maxim. ap. Eus. viii. 17. Just. Apol. ii. Cypr. ad Demetr. Minuc. F. l. c. &c. Lact. l. c. (see Kortholt in Plin. et Traj. Epp. p. 74. who observes that the Christians with reason retorted the charge of madness. See Authorities, ih.)

[p] Aug. Hom. 309. in Nat. Cypr. M. i. §. 5. "Thus--the most faithful Martyr consulted for himself, not as the deceitful tongue of the devil through the mouth of the ungodly judge possessed by him seemed to advise, saying, 'Consult for thyself.'" The like forms "Consule tibi," "Miserere tui," &c. were used; in Agon. Macr. V., Vincentii; comp. the persuasions in Eus. H. E. iv. 15. bis (Germanicus and Polycarp), viii. 7. (Philoromus, Phileas) de Mart. Pal. c. x. (Pet. Apselamus) Tert. Scorp. c. xi. Her.

[q] Justin, Apol. i. 14.

[r] Above, c. 2.

[s] c. 1. see Justin, Ap. i. 5. 57. ii. 1. 8. 12. Dial. c. 39. 131. Cypr. de Idol. Van. Orig. c. Cels. iii. iv. viii. Euseb. iv. 15. of the martyrdom of Polycarp, v. 1. Martyrs of Lyons, v. 21. Martyrdom of Apollonius, Lact. iv. 27. v. 21. Prud. Perist. ii. 76. Hymn. x. 22. de Agon. Rom. xiv. 36. c. Symm. ii. 665. Chrys. Hom. 44. de 7. Macc. Hom. 46. in S. Lucian, &c. (Kortholt, l. c. p. 49—57.

[t] Orig. c. Cels. viii. 44.

Apol. I. 28. their malice, while their punishment is yet delayed. And yet, when seized, they are subdued, and submit to their own condition, and entreat, when near at hand, those whom they attack, when afar off. Therefore when, like rebels from the workhouses, or the prisons, or the mines, or any penal service of that sort, they break out against us, in whose power they are, being well assured that they are unequal to us, and thereby the more undone, we are forced to resist them as equals[u], and we fight against them by persevering in that which they attack; and never do we triumph over them more, than when we are condemned for stedfastness in our faith.

XXVIII. But as it would readily seem unjust for free men to be forced against their will to sacrifice, (for elsewhere also, in doing religious service, a willing mind is enjoined[x],) assuredly, for any one to be compelled by another to honour gods, whom, for his own sake, he ought of his own accord to appease, would be thought absurd, lest (in the right of free choice) he have his answer ready; "I will not have Jupiter propitious to me[y]: who art thou? let Janus meet me in wrath with whichever of his faces he will: what have I to do with thee?" Ye are framed, of course by these same spirits to compel us to do sacrifice for the health of the Emperor; and the necessity of compelling us is as much forced on you, as is the duty of perilling ourselves[z] on us. We come then to the second count in the charge of offending against more august majesty, if indeed ye respect Cæsar with greater dread and with a more trembling ardour[a] than Jupiter of Olympus himself. And with good cause, if ye know why. For who[1] is he? is not any one among the living better than any[2] dead? But neither do ye this on the score of reason so much as from respect to a presentaneous[b] power, and thus

[1] quis

[2] omni *added* Eccl. 9, 4.

[u] ingratis (= ingratiis) resistimus ut æquales i. e. as he had said, "they are in fact our slaves, but if they break out in rebellion against us, they leave us no choice, but force us to take up arms against them as equals, though we know and they know too, that they fight on most unequal terms." Tr. Laeerda lays down that ingratis is = gratuito, but without authority.

[x] In the formula used in heathen sacrifice, "Favete linguis."

[y] De Idol. c. 21.

[z] De Idol. c. 13. de Cor. c. 12.

[a] Calidiore timiditate Hav. from F. and Ald. others, callidiore, "a more cunning fear."

[b] repræsentaneæ potestatis. Casaubon ad Suet. v. p. 179. explains this in an active sense, "exacting at once," sc.

in this also ye are found to be irreligious towards your gods, seeing that ye shew more of awe towards a human power. Finally, among you, men more readily swear falsely by all the gods than against the single Genius of Cæsar [c].

XXIX. Let it then first appear whether those, to whom sacrifice is offered are able to impart health to the Emperor [1], or to any human being, and so adjudge us guilty of high treason [2]. If angels or dæmons, in substance the worst of spirits, work any good deed, if the lost save, if the condemned deliver, if finally, as is within your own knowledge, the dead defend the living, then assuredly would each first defend his own statues, and images, and temples, which, as I think, the soldiers of the Cæsars keep in safety through their watches [d]. But methinks these very materials too [3] come from the mines of the Cæsars, and the entire temples stand according to the nod of Cæsar [e]. Finally many gods have had Cæsar in wrath with them; it maketh for my argument if some too have found him propitious, when he conferreth any bounty or privilege upon them. How then shall they, who are in Cæsar's power [f], whose also they wholly are, have the health of Cæsar within their power, so that they may be thought to bestow that which they more readily themselves obtain from Cæsar? For [4] therefore do we sin against the majesty of the Emperors, because we subject them not to their own creatures! because we make not a mockery of our services for their health's sake, not thinking it to be in hands soldered with lead! But ye are religious [g], who seek it where it is not, ask it of those by whom it cannot be given, passing Him by, in Whose power it is! moreover ye put down by force those who know how to ask it, and, in that they know how to ask it, are able also to obtain it.

[1] Imperatori

[2] majestatis *restored*

[3] et *added*

[4] enim

XXX. For we pray for the health of the Emperors to the

punishment; as in Val. Max. viii. 5. pœnam repræsentare maluit; and Suetonius l. c. pœnasque parricidarum repræsentabat. So also Hav. ad loc.; and words in aneus are mostly neuters, only because derived from neuters. Here, punishment not being expressed, a middle term has been adopted.

[c] The one were left unpunished, the other beaten with staves. Dig. 13. §. 5. de Jurej. Harmenop. Prompt. J. C. l. 7. tit. 1. ap. Elmenh. ad Minuc. p. 284. Ulpian, de Jurejur. l. 13.

[d] Ep. ad Diogn. c. 2. Cypr. ad Demetrian. c. 8. Ambros. de Virg. l. 2. (ap. Lac.) Lact. ii. 4. Jul. Firm. p. 31. (of the Palladium) ap. Hav.

[e] As in the impieties of Caligula, Suet. Cal. c. 22.

[f] Ad Scap. c. 2.

[g] Above, c. 6.

Apol. 1. 30.

eternal God, the true God, the living God, Whom even the Emperors themselves would rather have propitious to them than all the rest. They know Who hath given them their kingdom[h]: they know, as human beings, Who hath given them also their life. They feel that this is the only God, in Whose power alone they are, to Whom they are the second in power, after Whom they are the first, before all, and above all gods. And why not? since they are above all men, who, as living, surely stand before the dead. They reflect how far the powers of their empire avail, and thus they understand God[i]. They acknowledge that they prevail through Him, against Whom they cannot prevail. In a word let the Emperor conquer Heaven, carry Heaven captive in his triumph, send his guards to Heaven, lay on Heaven his taxes. He cannot. Therefore is he great because he is less than Heaven; for he himself is of Him, of Whom is both Heaven and every creature. Thence is he an Emperor, whence he was also a man, before he was an Emperor; thence cometh his power, whence also came his breath. Thither we Christians, looking up with hands spread open[j], because without guilt, with head uncovered[k], because we are not ashamed, finally without a prompter[l], because we pray from the heart; are ever praying[l] for all kings, that they may have a long

[l] Precantes sumus semper *restored*

[h] Plin. Paneg. Traj. i. init. lii. init.

[i] i. e. how He can rule afar off, whole lands, and unseen: in part also, from his own power being limited though so great, he feels that there is one unlimited.

[j] Expansis, (not merely, as the Heathen, *tendens* ad sidera palmas) the attitude betokening openness; also as the figure of the Cross, de Orat. c. 11. Minuc. F. p. 288. Aster ap. Phot. cod. 271. Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 12. Prudent. Perist. Hymn 6 in Fructuos. l. 106. Chrys. quod Christus sit Deus, c. 8. fin. t. i. p. 569. ap. Bingh. 13. 8. 10. (as Moses, S. Barnab. Ep. c. 12. Maximus Hom. 2. de Pass. Dom. Justin M. Dial. §. 90. 111. Tert. c. Jud. c. 10. Cypr. Test. ii. 21. Chrys. Synops. S. Script. in Exod. t. vi. p. 320.)

[k] As the heathen did, and then only.

[l] As the heathen had, to remind them of the names of their gods, (alius nomina Deo subjicit," Senec. ap. Aug. de superst.) lest they should ask any thing of the wrong god, (Arnob. ii. p. 89. as their great men had a prompter to recall the names of those whom they were to salute, Nomenclator,) and to rehearse the words which they were to repeat, (de scripto præire,) lest any word should be missed, or their order transposed, (Plin. xxxviii. 2.) which had been ill-omened. Tertullian is obviously contrasting the free glowing devotion of the Christians with this mechanical service; it "comes from the heart," as exh. ad cast. c. 10. "it comes forth from the conscience." It was plainly a mistake of Tertullian's style, that the words were ever pressed as an argument that prayer was extempore only; and the more, since T. recognizes forms of prayer, besides other contemporary evidence. See Bingham 13. 5. 5. It is, like the preceding, an ironical argumentum ad hominem; the heathen claimed, alone to pray for the emperors, while their very attitude and garb were emblems of their guilt, their rites of their indifference. The following words of Tertullian have very much the character of a form of prayer.

life, a secure dominion, a safe home, valiant armies, a faithful senate, a righteous people, a world at peace, and whatever be the desire both of the man and of the king. These things I cannot ask of any other than Him, from Whom I know that I shall obtain them; since it is He Who alone giveth them, and it is I to whom the obtaining of them is due, I His servant who alone give Him reverence, who for His Religion am put to death, who offer to Him a sacrifice rich and of the highest rank[m], which He Himself hath commanded, the prayer that proceedeth from a chaste body, from a soul that sinneth not, from the Holy Spirit; not a single penny's worth[n] of grains of frankincense, [1]the droppings of an Arabian tree, nor two drops of wine, nor the blood of a discarded beast that longeth to die, and after all these foul things a filthy conscience also, so that I marvel, when the victims are being tried before you by the most wicked priests, why the heart of the beasts rather than of the sacrificers themselves are examined. Whilst then we are thus spread forth before God, let your claws of iron pierce us, your crosses hang us up, your fires play about us, your swords cut off our necks, your beasts trample on us; the very posture of the praying Christian is prepared for every punishment[o]. This do[p], ye worthy rulers, tear from us that breath which is praying to God for your Emperor. Here will be the crime, where is truth and devotion to God[q].

[1] non *omitted*

XXXI. Now (ye will say) we have been flattering the Emperor, and have feigned these prayers, of which we have spoken, that we may escape forsooth your violence. Much profit clearly doth the deceit bring us! for ye allow us to prove whatsoever we maintain. Thou therefore, that thinkest that we care nothing for the health of Cæsar, look into the oracles of God, our writings, which we do not ourselves suppress, and which very many accidents transfer to the hands of strangers. Learn from them, that it is commanded us, in the overflowing of kindness, to entreat God even for our

[m] De idol. c. 6.

[n] Lact. i. 20. v. 19. Jerome, Ep. 28. ad Heliod. §. 5. Lucian. in Jov. Trag. c. 15. v. 2. p. 659. Asin. c. 12. p. 580. Hemsterh.

[o] In that it represented the Cross of his Lord.

[p] A proclamation appointed by Numa at religious rites.

[q] Hic erit crimen, ubi veritas et Dei devotio est, omitted by Rig.

Apol. I. 32.

Mat. 5, 44. 1 Cor. 4, 12. 13. 1 Pet. 3, 9. 1 Tim. 2, 2.

enemies[s], and to pray for blessings on our persecutors. And who more the enemies and persecutors of us Christians, than those, concerning whose majesty we are charged with guilt? But even by name, and in plain words: *Pray*, saith the Scripture, *for kings*, and for princes, and for powers, that ye may have all things in quietness[t]. For when the kingdom is shaken, all its other members being shaken with it, surely we also, although we stand aloof from tumults, are found to have some place in the misfortune.

XXXII. We have also another and a greater need to pray for the Emperors, and moreover for the whole estate of the Empire, and the fortunes of Rome, knowing, as we do, that the mighty shock which hangeth over the whole world, and the end of time itself, threatening terrible and grievous things, is delayed because of the time allowed to the Roman Empire[u]. We would not therefore experience these things, and while we pray that they may be put off, we favour the long continuance of Rome. But moreover as we swear not by the Genii of the Cæsars[x], so we do swear by their health[y],

[s] Just. Apol. i. 14. Dial. c. 133. Athenag. Leg. c. 11.

[t] See Arnob. iv. fin. Cypr. ad Demetr. §. 11. p. 211. ed. Oxf. Orig. c. Cels. viii. Dionysius ap. Eus. H. E. vii. 11. Maximin's edict. viii. 17. App. ad viii. 8. de vit. Const. i. 15, 17. Prudent. in Roman. xiv. 426. ap. Kortholt, Comm. in Plin. et Traj. Epp. p. 149. Athenag. Leg. fin. ad Scap. 2. Chrys. Hom. 6. in 1 Tim. Constt. Ap. viii. 12, 13.

[u] The belief that the Roman Empire was "that which letteth," 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7. that which delayed the coming of Anti-Christ, occurs in S. Cyrill. (Cat. xv. 11, 12.) Jerome (Ep. 121. ad Algas. qu. 11.) Chrysostome and Ambrosiaster ad loc. Lactantius vii. 25. Damasc. iv. 28. Theodoret ad loc. says, "some say the Roman Empire, some the grace of the Spirit," "but this last," he argues, "will not cease." S. Augustine speaks doubtfully, Ep. 199. §. 11. "We who know not what they [the Thess.] knew, desire to attain laboriously to the Apostle's meaning, and are unable;" somewhat more confidently in the de Civ. D. xx. 19. "it is not without reason [non absurdè] believed to be spoken of the Roman Empire itself." Tertullian repeats this statement, below c. 39. and ad Scap. c. 2. he views the subject on the opposite side, De Orat. c. 5. de Res. Carn. c. 24. that the end of the world should be longed for; both are consistent, though belonging to different frames of mind; the Christian should long for the coming of his Lord, and the consummation of all things, and yet may shrink from the terrible period which is to precede it. So Lactantius, l. c. "She, she is the city, which yet upholds all things, and the God of Heaven is to be prayed by us, (if so be that His purposes and decrees may be delayed,) that that hateful tyrant should not come sooner than we think, who shall essay so great an offence, and extinguish that light, through whose destruction the world itself shall fall to pieces."

[x] See c. 28. fin. It was refused as idolatry, Eus. H. E. iv. 15. (martyrdom of Polycarp.) See ad Nat. i. 17. ad Scap. 2. Orig. c. Cels. viii. 65. Act. Mart. Seillit. ap. Baron A. 202. n. 2.

[y] Perhaps in conformity with Gen. 42, 15. See Basil in Ps. 14. and Rescr. Arcad. et Honor. Impp. l. 41. in fin. cod. in transact. ap. Westhen. ad Orig. Exh. Mart. 7. Athanas. Ep. ad Monach. t. i. p. 866. Veget. de re Milit. i. 5. ap. Bingham, 16. 7. 4.

which is of greater dignity than all Genii. Ye know not that Genii are called "Dæmones," and hence by a diminutive title, "dæmonia." We in the Emperors reverence the judgment of God, Who hath set them over the nations. We know that in them is that which God hath willed, and therefore we would have that safe which God hath willed, and this we hold to be a great oath; but as to the dæmons, that is, the genii, we are wont to adjure them that we may cast them out of men, not to swear by them, so as to confer on them the honour pertaining to God.

XXXIII. But why should I say more of the Religion and the reverential affection of the Christians towards the Emperor, whom we needs must look up to as the man whom our Lord hath chosen? I might even say with good cause, Cæsar is rather ours, being appointed by our God. Wherefore in this also I do him more service towards his welfare, not only because I ask it from Him, Who is able to grant it, nor because I that ask it am such an one as to deserve to obtain it[z], but also because, by keeping down the majesty of Cæsar beneath God, I commend him the more unto God to Whom alone I subject him. But I subject him to one to whom I make him not equal. For I will not call the Emperor a god, both because I cannot speak falsely, and because I dare not mock him, and because he himself will not desire to be called a god. If he be a man, it concerneth a man to yield to a god. He hath enough in being called an Emperor: this also is a great name which is given him of God. He who calleth him a god, denieth that he is an Emperor. Unless he be a man, he is not an Emperor. Even when triumphing in that most lofty chariot, he is warned that he is a man, for he is prompted from behind, "Look behind thee—remember that thou art a man[a]." And, in truth, his joy is on this very account the greater, for that he glittereth with so much glory, as to need reminding of his proper nature. He were not so great, if he were then called a god, because he would not be truly called so; he is greater, in that he is reminded not to think himself a god.

XXXIV. Augustus, the founder of the Empire, would not

[z] in that, as a Christian, I worship Him, see above, c. 29, 30.

[a] Juv. x. 42. Plin. 33. 1. Jerome Ep. ad Paulam de ob. Blesillæ.

Apol. I. 35. even have himself called Lord[b]; for this also is a name o God[c]. I will by all means call the Emperor lord, but only when I am not compelled to call him lord in the stead of God Nevertheless to him I am a freeman, for there is One that i my Lord, the Almighty and eternal God, the Same who i his Lord also. He that is the father of his country, how i he its lord? But a title of natural affection is more pleasing also than one of power. Even of a family men are rathe called the fathers than the lords[d]. So far is it from being due to the Emperor to be called a god, (which cannot be believed[1],) with a flattery not only most disgraceful, bu dangerous also, as though when thou hast one Emperor thou wert to call another so. Wilt thou not incur th highest and most implacable displeasure of him whom thou hadst for thine Emperor, a displeasure to be feared even by him to whom thou gavest the title? Be religious toward God, thou that wouldest have Him propitious to th Emperor. Cease to believe any other to be God, and s likewise to call him god who hath need of God. If flatter of such sort blusheth not for its falsehood in calling a man a god, let it at least fear for its evil omen: it is ill-augured t call Cæsar a god before he be deified[e].

[1] quod non potest credi *restored*

XXXV. It is on this account then that the Christians ar public enemies, because they offer to the Emperors neithe vain, nor lying, nor unconsidered honours; because, being men of true religion, they celebrate even their solemn days with honest hearts rather than wanton acts. A mighty service truly! to drag out into public view fireplaces and couches[f], to feast from street to street, to bury the whole city under the disguise of a tavern[g], to make mud with wine, t

[b] Suet. Aug. c. 53. Tertullian gives a further interpretation to Augustus' act, which was in itself political; as Orosius points out another bearing, which it had; "he allows himself not to be called Lord, in whose reign the true Lord of the whole human race was born among men."

[c] Martial, x. 72. uses them as equivalent, of Nerva, "I will not call him Lord and God," and Philo ad Caium, of Augustus, "he willed not to be called Lord or God."

[d] Pater-familias.

[e] "For divine honours are not give to the prince, before he ceases to liv among men." Tac. Ann. xv. 74. ad Minuc. F. p. 216. Vespasian in hi last sickness, "I am about to be god." Suet. Vesp. 23.

[f] Lectisternia, see below, c. 42. Tac Ann. xv. 37. tota urbe quasi domo ut ib. 44. sellisternia.

[g] Mart. vii. 60. Nunc Roma est nuper magna taberna fuit.

run about in companies[h] to violent and shameless deeds, to the enticements of lust. Is it thus that public joy is expressed by public disgrace? do these things become the holydays of princes, which become not other days? shall they who observe the right rules of life out of respect for Cæsar, abandon them for Cæsar's sake, and shall piety be a licence for immorality? shall Religion be deemed an occasion of wantonness[i]? and how justly do we deserve condemnation! for why do we discharge our vows and our rejoicings for the Cæsars, in chastity and sobriety and righteousness? Why do we not on the festal day overshadow our door-posts with laurels[k], and encroach on the day with our candlelight[l]? It is a righteous act, when a public solemnity requireth it, to dress up your house in the guise of some new brothel[m]!

I would, however, touching this reverencing a secondary[n] majesty also, concerning which we Christians are called to answer a second charge of sacrilege, for not celebrating with you the holydays of the Cæsars in a manner in which neither modesty, nor shame, nor decency permit, but the opportunity of pleasure rather than any fitting reason hath advised[o], I would give proof of your own faithfulness and truth, in case they should in this instance also perchance be found worse than the Christians, who would not that we should be accounted Romans, but enemies of the kings of Rome. I call on the Romans themselves, on the native populace of the seven hills themselves, to answer whether that Roman tongue of theirs spareth one of their own Cæsars[p]. The Tiber is my witness and the theatre of the beasts. Now if nature had covered the breasts of men[1] with some transparent material, so that they might shine through, whose heart would not be found graven with the picture of another and another new Cæsar presiding over the division

[1] humanis *added*

[h] Below, c. 39. Juv. iii. 278. Suet. Nerv. c. 26.

[i] De Idol. init.

[k] Tac. Ann. xv. 17.

[l] De Idol. c. 15. Greg. Naz. Orat. 2. in Julian. prop. fin.

[m] Ad Uxor. ii. 6. de Idol. c. 15.

[n] Above, c. 28. ad Nat. i. 17. Treason to the Emperors was accounted impiety, as towards a sort of god. "The crime next to sacrilege is that designated as against the majesty" [of the Emperor]. Ulp. l. c. ad leg. Jul. majest. ap. Her.

[o] "Sed occasio voluptatis magis quam digna ratio persuasit," omitted by Rig.

[p] Ad Nat. i. 17. De Spect. c. 16. On their petulance, see Tac. Hist. ii. 88. iii. 32.

Apol. I. 35. of the royal donative[q]? even in that hour in which they cry

"Jove, multiply thy years by lessening ours."

These words a Christian is as incapable of pronouncing as of wishing for a new emperor. "But these be mobs," sayest thou? Mobs let them be; they are Romans notwithstanding, and none are more noisy clamourers for the punishment of the Christians than the mob. The other classes no doubt are, in proportion to their authority, sincere in their pious reverence; no hostile spirit is breathed from the senate itself, from the knighthood, from the camp, from the very palace! Whence pr'ythee came your Cassii, and your Nigers, and your Albini[r]? whence come they, who beset a Cæsar between two laurels[s]? whence they, who exercise their art of wrestling in strangling him[t]? whence they, who break into the palace in arms[u] with more boldness than all the Sigerii and Parthenii[x]? From the Romans, if I mistake not, that is from men not-Christians. And so all these, even when their wickedness was on the point of bursting forth, were both offering their sacrifices for the health of the Emperor, and swearing by his Genius, one kind of men without, another within, and doubtless were giving to the Christians the name of public enemies. But even they who are every day[y] detected as accomplices or abettors of wicked parties, the gleaning that still remaineth after the gathering in of the vintage of parricides[z], how did they face their doors with the freshest and the most luxuriant laurels! how did they overcast their porches with vapour of candles, the tallest and the brightest! how did they portion out the forum among them, filling it with the richest and most superb couches! not that they might solemnize the public rejoicings, but that they might even now utter their own private vows in another's solemnity,

[q] at their accession.

[r] Ad Scap. 2. and (in general terms) ad Nat. i. 17. ad Mart. c. 6. Cassius conspired against Antoninus, Niger and Albinus against Severus.

[s] Commodus was nearly surprised by the populace in the suburbs, whither he had retired on account of the healthiness of the laurel-groves. Herodian. l. i. ap. Her.

[t] Murder of Commodus by a wrestler. Aur. Victor. Lamprid. in vit.

[u] Murder of Pertinax, Capitolin. in vit. Herodian. l. 2.

[x] benefitted by, and murderers of Domitian. Xiphilin. p. 237. C. 239. B.

[y] The remains of the conspiracy of Niger. Spartianus ap. Gotofred. Prol. ad lib. ad Nat. p. 11.

[z] The Emperor being entitled "Father of his country."

and, by changing mentally the name of the prince, might enthrone a proxy and a representative of him for whom they hoped. The same services do they also pay, who consult astrologers, and soothsayers, and augurs, and magicians, touching the life of Cæsar[q]; which arts, as being put forth by rebel angels, and forbidden by God, the Christians do not employ, even in their own behalf. But who hath need of such curious enquiry about the life of Cæsar, unless it be one, who is plotting or desiring something against it, or is hoping and waiting for something after it? For men consult not with the same feelings about their friends and their masters: the anxiety of the kinsman is busy on other grounds than that of the slave.

XXXVI. If these things be so, that those are proved to be enemies, who were wont to be called Romans, why are we who are but thought to be enemies denied to be Romans? May we not both be Romans and not be enemies, when those are found to be enemies, who were accounted Romans? The piety then, and religious reverence, and faith due to the Emperors standeth not in such services as these, which even enmity may more zealously perform as a cloak for itself, but in that moral course of life, by which a kindly feeling must needs be as truly shewn towards the Emperor as towards all mankind. For these works of good-will are not due from us to Emperors alone. In doing good to others we make no exception of persons, for we do it at the same time to ourselves, seeking our measure of praise or reward not from man, but from God, Who requireth and recompenseth an impartial charity. We are the same to the Emperors that we are to our neighbours, for we are equally forbidden with respect to every one, to wish ill, to do ill, to speak ill, to think ill. That which we may not do to an Emperor, neither may we do to any man: that which we may do to no man, the less, perhaps, may we to him, who, through God, is so great a man.

XXXVII. If, as we have said above, we are commanded

q "He (Severus) put to death many, as having consulted Chaldæans and Magi about his life." Spartianus ap. Gotofr. l. c. The practice was a frequent ground of punishment. Tac. Ann. xii. 52. xvi. 30. Severus himself had been falsely charged with it. Spartianus.

Apol. I. 37. to love our enemies, whom have we to hate? And if again[1] when injured we are forbidden to repay the injury, lest we ourselves be equally guilty, whom have we power to hurt? For reflect, yourselves, on this matter. How often do ye spend your fury on the Christians, partly from your own proper inclinations, partly in obedience to the laws[r]! How often also, passing you by, doth the hostile mob attack us[s], on its own score, with stones and fire! With the very phrenzy of Bacchanals, they spare not the Christians even when dead; but they must needs drag them out from the repose of the grave, the sanctuary in some sort of death, and cut and tear them in pieces, no longer what they were, no longer even entire[t]. And yet what retaliation for injury have ye ever marked in men so banded together, so bold in spirit even unto death? though a single night might with a few torches work out an ample vengeance, if it were lawful, with us that evil should be balanced by evil. But God forbid that the divine character of the sect[2] should be vindicated by human fire, or should grudge to suffer that wherein it is tried. For if we wished to act the avowed enemy, not the secret avenger only, would strength of numbers and forces be wanting to us? The Moors and the Marcomans[u], and the Parthians themselves, or any other people, however great, yet a people nevertheless of one spot, and of their own boundaries, are, I suppose, more numerous than one of the whole world! We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you, cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum[x]! We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies: our numbers in a single province will be greater[y]. For what war should we not be sufficient and ready, even

[1] iidem *added*

[2] divinitas sectæ

[r] Above, c. 1. 4.

[s] Eusebius speaks of many local persecutions being raised by the populace, even when there was no general persecution, H. E. iii. 32. (under Trajan) v. 1. (under M. Antonius) vi. 32. (under Decius, at Alexandria.)

[t] Partly out of savageness, partly in contumely of the doctrine of the Resurrection, Eus. v. 1. fin. (Martyrs of Vienne.)

[u] These had harassed the Empire under M. Antoninus; and with the Parthians Severus was then at war. Gotof. Prol. ad Lib. ad Nat. p. 11.

[x] See above on c. 1. p. 3. n. g.

[y] Possumus dinumerare exercitus vestros; unius provinciæ plures erunt. omitted by Rig.

though unequal in numbers, who so willingly are put to death, if it were not in this Religion of ours more lawful to be slain than to slay? We could fight against you even unarmed and without rebelling, but only disagreeing with you, by the mere odium of separation. For if so large a body of men as we, were to break away from you into some remote corner of the globe, surely the loss of so many citizens, of whatever sort they might be, would cover your kingdom with shame, yea, and would punish you by their very desertion of you. Doubtless ye would tremble at your own desolation, at the silence of all things, at the death-like stupor of the whole world. Ye would have to seek whom to govern. More enemies would remain to you than citizens: for now ye have fewer enemies by reason of the multitude of Christians, almost all, citizens, yea having almost all your citizens Christians. But ye have preferred to call us enemies of the human race[z]. And who would snatch you from those hidden foes, who are every where making havoc of your minds and your bodily health, from the inroads, I mean, of dæmons, which we drive away from you without reward, without pay? This alone would be enough, for our vengeance, that ye should henceforth lie open[1], a vacant tenement for unclean spirits[a]. And now not even thinking of compensation for so great a protection, ye have preferred judging as enemies a race not only harmless, but even necessary to you, who are in truth enemies, yet not of men but of their errors.

[1] patetis

XXXVIII. Wherefore it were meet that this sect should be accounted (and that with much more kindly feelings) among lawful factions[b], a sect, by which no such thing is done, as is wont to be apprehended from unlawful factions. For, if I mistake not, the cause of prohibiting factions is to

[z] (Christianorum) pæne omnium civium, pæne omnes cives Christianos habendo; sed hostes maluistis vocare generis humani, omitted by Rig. By the first clause, Tert. seems to mean that almost all the Christians were citizens, (i. e. not slaves or foreigners only,) in the second, that almost all the citizens were Christians, and if not, would be their enemies.

[a] Above on c. 23. Orig. c. Cels. viii. 73. "But we, moreover, removing by our prayers all dæmons, who stir up wars, and break oaths, and disturb peace, aid those who rule, more than such as seem to war."

[b] T. adopts the word "factio" used as a term of reproach by the Heathen, Minuc. F. p. 70.

Apol. I. 39.

be found in a provident care for the temperate condition of the public, lest the state be divided into parties, a thing which might easily disquiet your assemblies, your councils, your courts, your public meetings, even your public shows, by the rival conflicts of party zeal, when men had already begun to make a trade of selling and hiring out their services for acts of violence. But we who are insensible to all that burning for glory and greatness, have no need of banding together, nor is any thing more foreign to our taste than public affairs. We acknowledge one commonwealth of all mankind, the world[c]. Equally do we renounce your spectacles, as much as the matters which gave rise to them, which we know to be conceived of superstition, in that[1] we have got clear of the very things about which these performances are concerned. We have no concern, in speaking, seeing, hearing[2], with the madness of the circus[d], with the immodesty of the theatre[e], with the cruelty of the arena, with the folly of the wrestling gallery[f]. The Epicureans were permitted to determine for themselves certain pleasures to be real. Wherein do we offend you if we take other than yours to be pleasures? If we will not know how to be pleased, the loss, if it be one, is our's not your's. But we reject those things which please you, nor are ye delighted with our pleasures[g].

[1] cum

[2] dictu, visu, auditu, *restored*

XXXIX. I will now set forth on my own part the employments of the Christian society, that since I have disproved that which is evil, I may shew somewhat that is good, if so be I have also unfolded the truth[3]. We are a body formed by our joint cognizance of Religion, by the unity[h] of discipline, by the bond of hope. We come together in a meeting and a congregation as before God[i], as though we would in one body sue Him by our prayers. This violence is pleasing unto God. We pray also for Emperors, for their ministers and the powers, for the condition of the world, for the quiet of all things, for the delaying of the end[j]. We

[3] si etiam veritatem revelaverim *added*

[c] Philo de Joscpho ap. Her.
[d] De Spect. c. 16. Prudent. Hamartig. l. 362. Hieron. in vit. Hilar. Cyr. Cat. xix. 4.
[e] Adv. Marc. i. 28. Lact. vi. 20.
[f] De Pudic. c. 7. de Spect. c. 18.
[g] De Spectac. c. 28.
[h] The Divinity of our Religion, F.
[i] (Coimus) in cætum et congregationem, ut (ad D.) omitted by Rig.
[j] Above on c. 32.

come together to call the sacred writings to remembrance, if so be that the character of the present times compel us either to use admonition or recollection in any thing. In any case, by these holy words we feed our faith, raise our hopes, establish our confidence, nor do we the less strengthen our discipline by inculcating precepts. Here too are exercised exhortations, corrections, and godly censure. For our judgment also cometh with great weight, as of men well assured that they are under the eye of God; and it is a very grave forestalling of the judgment to come, if any shall have so offended as to be put out of the communion of prayer, of the solemn assembly, and of all holy fellowship. The most approved elders[k] preside over us, having obtained this honour not by money, but by character; for with money is nothing pertaining unto God purchased. Even if there be with us a sort of treasury, no sum is therein collected, discreditable to Religion as though she were bought. Every man placeth there a small gift on one day in each month[l], or whensoever he will, so he do but will, and so he be but able; for no man is constrained, but contributeth willingly. These are as it were the deposits of piety; for afterwards they are not disbursed in feasting and in drinking, and in disgusting haunts of gluttony, but for feeding[m] and burying the poor, for boys and girls without money and without parents, and for old men now house-ridden, for the shipwrecked also, and for any who in the mines[n], or in the islands, or in the prisons, become their Creed's pensioners[o], so that it be only for the sake of the way of God. But it is the exercise

[k] T. here probably speaks of the Bishops under the title of "Elders," "præsides" being for the most part a term appropriated to Bishops, de Pudic. c. 21. Cypr. de Eccl. Unit. c. 4. Ep. 72. ad Steph. Tert. uses it de Jejun. e. ult. de Pudic. c. 14. de Præscr. c. 42. Præsidentes, de Cor. c. 3. includes the presbyters. He mentions the three orders, de Bapt. c. 17. de Fug. in Pers. c. 11. and de Præscr. c. 41. The corresponding προϊδρος is used in the Conc. Chalc. Act. 4. Ep. ad Impp. Val. et Marcian. ap. Lac.

[l] If T. is speaking of a fact, this is different from the Eucharistic collections, which were weekly; Justin, Apol. i. 67. Perhaps however (as Her. suggests) he is only alluding to the monthly meetings of other societies, (as his manner is to blend his own statements with his allusions to others' customs,) "on the monthly day (of meeting) or when he wills, each," &c. Monthly allowances are mentioned, ap. Eus. H. E. v. ult.

[m] Cypr. Ep. 2. Fell. (61. Pam.) ad Eucrat. Ep. 5. ad clerum suum.

[n] Dionys. Cor. ap. Eus. iv. 23. mentions this as a characteristic liberality of the Roman Church. The Emperor Licinius forbad it, Eus. H. E. x. 8.

[o] Ad Mart. c. 1. Cypr. Ep. 5.

Apol. I. 39. of this sort of love which doth, with some, chiefly brand us with a mark of evil. 'See,' say they, 'how they love each other[p];' for they themselves hate each other: and 'see how ready they are to die for each other;' for they themselves are more ready to slay each other. But whereas we are denoted by the title of 'The Brethren,' on no other ground, as I think, do they brand this name, than because among themselves every title of consanguinity is, from affectation[1], falsely assumed. But brethren we are even of your own, by the law of Nature, our one mother, although ye have but little of the man in you because ye are ill brethren. Now[2] how much more worthily are they both called and esteemed brethren, who acknowledge one Father, that is God, who have drunk of One Spirit of holiness, who from the one womb of their common ignorance have started at the one light[q] of Truth! But perchance we are on this account thought to be not true-born brothers, because no tragedy noiseth abroad our brotherhood, or because we are brethren in our family property, which with you mostly dissolveth brotherhood[r]. We therefore, who are united in mind and soul, doubt not about having our possessions in common. With us all things are shared promiscuously, except our wives[s]. In that alone do we part fellowship, in which alone others exercise fellowship; who not only use the wives of their friends, but most patiently also lend to their friends their own, according, I suppose, to the rule of those ancient and exceeding wise men, Socrates the Greek, and Cato the Roman, who shared with their friends the wives whom they had married, for the sake of having children, even elsewhere begotten: whether indeed against the will of the wives, I know not; for what could they care for that chastity, which their husbands had so readily resigned? O example

[1] affectatione

[2] Nunc

1 Cor. 12, 13.

[p] It is ridiculed by Lucian in Peregrino, and ap. Prudent. in Agon. Vincent. Perist. ii. 73. The heathen abused the names, "brother, sister," to a bad sense, and then cast the reproach on the Christians, Minuc. F. p. 81. The title is explained, Minuc. F. p. 312. Athenag. c. 32. Lact. v. 16. Jerome, adv. Helvid. c. 8.

[q] φωτισμός, illumination, as a title of Baptism, see also Cypr. ad Donat. §. 3. p. 3. ed. Oxf. Clem. Strom. ii. 9. p. 163. "We call brethren those re born by the same Word," and that "for our mutual love and good will's sake," Opt. l. i. p. 34. "Let no one wonder that I call them brethren, who cannot but be brethren. We and they have one spiritual birth."

[r] Pet. Chrysol. Serm. 1. ap. Lac.

[s] Justin M. Apol. i. 14. Athenag. c. 33.

of Attic wisdom and of Roman steadiness! A Philosopher and a Censor[t] turned pimp[1]! What wonder then if such our love be social? for even our little suppers ye revile as extravagant also[2], besides being disgraced by vice. It was of us, I suppose, that the saying of Diogenes[u] was spoken, "The Megarians feast, as though they were to die to-morrow, and build, as though they were never to die." But each *beholdeth the mote in another's eye*, rather than *the beam in his own*. The whole air is turned sour with the crude breathings of so many tribes, and curiæ, and decuriæ. When the Salii are about to feast, one must needs lend money for it. Your accomptants will calculate the expenses of the tithes and the feasts dedicated to Hercules. For the Apaturian and Bacchanal festivals, and for the Athenian mysteries, a levy of cooks is ordered; at the smoke of the feast of Serapis the firemen will be aroused. It is the supping-room of the Christians alone that men carp at. Our feast sheweth its nature in its name. It is named by the word by which 'love[x]' is among the Greeks. Whatever expense it costeth, expense incurred in the name of piety is a gain; if we aid every poor man by this refreshment, not, according as the parasites among you, aspire to the glory of enslaving their liberty, and, for their hire, filling their bellies in the midst of insults, but, according as with God, more thought is taken for men of low degree. If the cause of the feast be good, judge ye what the rest of the course of our rules is, according to the duties of Religion. It alloweth nothing vile, nothing immodest. Men sit not down to meat before tasting, in the first place, of prayer to God[y]. They eat as much as hungry men desire; they drink as much as is profitable for chaste men; they are so filled, as men who remember that during the night also they must pray[z] to God; they so discourse, as

[1] lenon est

[2] quoque *added*

Matt. 7, 3.

[t] T. joins together the two Cato's, the great-grandfather the Censor, with the Philosopher, whose the act was.

[u] The same was said by Stratonicus of the Rhodians, Plut. de Amore Divit. Casaub. in Athen. iv. 10.

[x] Orig. c. Cels. i. 1. Minuc. F. p. 308. Chrys. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. et Serm. de Verb. Ap. 1 Cor. xi. 19. [§. 3. t. iii. p. 244.] Aug. c. Faust. xx. 20. Constt. Ap. ii. 28. Conc. Gangr. Can. xi. (against those who despised and would not partake of them,) Jerome [Pelag.] ad 1 Cor. xi. (Kortholt.)

[y] Jerome, Ep. 22. ad Eustoch.

[z] On the practice of nightly prayer, public and private, besides the vigils, see ad Uxor. ii. 4. 5. Chrys. Hom. 49. in Matt. 14. Cyprian, de Orat. Dom. §. 19. p. 193. and §. ult. p. 198. ed. Oxf. Orig. c. Cels. vi. de Orat. c. 12. fin. Cæcil. ap. Minuc. F.

Apol. I. 39.

those who know that God heareth. After that water for the hands and lights[z] are brought, according as each is able, out of the Holy Scriptures, or of his own mind, he is called upon to sing publicly to God[a]. Hence it is proved in what degree he hath drunken! In like manner prayer breaks up the feast[b]. Thence they separate, not into bands for violence[c], nor into groups for running to and fro, nor for the outbreakings of lasciviousness, but to be as chary as before of modesty and chastity, as men who have fed not so much upon meats as upon instruction in righteousness. This coming together of Christians would deservedly be unlawful, if it were like those things which are unlawful; deservedly to be condemned, if it were not at variance with those things which are to be condemned[d]. If any complain of it on the ground that factious parties are complained of, for whose hurt have we at any time assembled? We are the same when gathered together as when scattered, the same in the mass as single, offending no one, vexing no one. When the honest, when the good come together, when the pious, when the chaste meet, it must not be called a faction, but a court.

p. 72. Ambr. de Virg. iii. 4. Serm. 7. in Ps. 118, 55 and 62. Hil. in Ps. 118, Tr. 7. §. 6. Hieron. Ep. 107. ad Læt. §. 9. Ep. 108. ad Eustoch. de Paulæ Epitaph. §. 15. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. de Custod. Virg. §. 17. 18. 37. Pelag. ad Demetriad., c. 23. Cassian. de Instt. Cœnob. ii. 3. 4. 6. 13. iii. 2. other prayers in the evening are mentioned, Basil de Sp. S. c. 29. Soer. v. 22. Hieron. Ep. 107. ad Læt. §. 9. Cassian. de Instt. Cœnob. ii. 3. 5. 6. iii. 2. others before day-break, Plin. Ep. ad Traj. Basil, Ep. 63. ad Cler. Eccl. Neo-Cæs. Cassian. de Instt. Cœnob. iii. 5. Sidon. Ep. 1. 2. The grounds chiefly alleged are, the authority of Holy Scripture mentioning prayer at such times, (Auct. de Virgin. ap. Athanas. c. 2. Basil Regg. fus. Explic. qu. 37. Ambros. in Ps. 119, l. c. Hieron. in Matt. 25. Ep. ad Riparium, adv. Vigilant. Cassian. de Instt. Cœnob. iii. 3.) our Lord's example, (Cypr. de Orat. Dom. §. 19. Ambr. l. c. Jerome, l. c.) and others in the N. T.; also that of the Holy Angels, (Clem. Al. Pædag. ii. 9. Jerome ad Dan. iv. 10.:) that it was the hour of the Resurrection of our Lord, (Ath. de Virginit. Prudent. Hymn. ad Gallic.) and of His coming to judgment, (Prud. l. c.) and as a time of spiritual danger, (Ambr. ad Ps. 119, l. c.) Celsus, ap. Orig. c. Cels. i. init. mentions also the outward ground, of persecution; to which Origen also refers, ibid. and Tertullian, de fug. in Pers. fin. see texts and passages, ap. Kortholt de Cal. Pag. c. 16.

[z] Hence certain prayers were called lucernariæ, Justinian ad 1 Cor. xi. 21. p. 562. quoting Jerome, Cassiodorus, Socrates, Epiphanius, Cassian, &c.

[a] Cypr. ad Donat. fin. p. 12. ed. Oxf. Auct. Lib. de Spectac. ap. Cypr. fin. Jerome, Ep. 31. ad Eustoch. fin. "So must thou ever eat, as that prayer and reading [H. Scripture] may follow food," also Ep. 107. ad Læt. §. 9. and Ep. 51. ad Furiam, §. 11.

[b] Clem. Al. Pædag. ii. 9. Ambr. de Virg. iii. 4. Jerome, Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. §. 37. Chrys. Orat. de Bapt. Christi, t. ii. p. 375. ed. Montf. Amphiloch. in vit. Basilii, c. 3.

[c] Above, c. 35.

[d] Interpunction altered, "merito damnanda, si non dissimilis damnandis. Si quis de ea queritur eo titulo, &c. in cujus pernicicm, &c."

XL. But on the contrary the name of faction must be applied to those, who are banded together in enmity against the good and the honest, who join together their cry against the blood of the innocent, pretending forsooth, in defence of their enmity, that vain excuse also, that they think the Christians to be the cause of every public calamity, of every national ill[e]. If the Tiber cometh up to the walls, if the Nile cometh not up to the fields, if the heaven hath stood still[f], if the earth hath been moved, if there be any famine, if any pestilence, "The Christians to the lion," is forthwith the word. What! so many to one? Before the age of Tiberius, that is before the coming of Christ, how many calamities, I pray you, afflicted the world and the City[g]? We read that Hiera, Anaphe[h], and the islands Delos, and Rhodes, and Cos, were with many thousand men utterly destroyed. Even Plato[i] relateth that a land larger than Asia and Africa was snatched away by the Atlantic ocean. An earthquake moreover hath drained the Corinthian sea[k]; and the force of the waves hath separated Lucania from Italy, and banished it, to bear the name of Sicily[l]. Surely these things could not happen without harm to the inhabitants. But where were, I will not say the Christians the despisers of your gods, but your gods themselves at that time, when the flood overwhelmed the whole world, or, as Plato supposed[m], the plain country[n] only; for that they were of later date than the catastrophe of the deluge the very cities bear witness, in which they were born and died, and those also which they

[e] See Cypr. ad Demetr. and others, ib. p. 200. not. a. ed. Oxf. also Firmilian, Ep. 75. ad Cypr. Edict. Anton. ap. Justin M. Aug. in Ps. 80. Serm. 59. and Ep. 5. ad Marcell. ap. Kortholt. de Calumn. Pag. c. 22. ad Scap. c. 2. de Pall. c. 2. ad Nat. i. 9. Martyrol. in vit. Porphyr. ap. Elmenh. ad Arnob. p. 3.

[f] Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 3. "From whose ignorance hath arisen also that common proverb, 'The rain hath failed; the Christians the cause.'"

[g] urbem, Rome.

[h] Gothofred's correction, ad Nat. i. 9. from Plin. ii. 87. who mentions these islands as having reappeared, Ammian. Marc. xvii. The name is variously corrupted in the MSS., Hierennape, &c.

[i] Atlantis. Plin. ii. 90. Plato in Timæo, §. 6. p. 24. Steph.

[k] Ad Nat. i. 9. "cum terræ motu mare C. *ereptum est*," determines the meaning; else Hav.'s explanation were good, "drank in, i. e. drew in the sea to what is now called the C. sea." Strab. viii. fin. Ovid. Met. xv. Plin. ii. 94. mention the overthrow of Helice by that sea through an earthquake. See Authorities at length in Gataker ad Antonin. iv. 48.

[l] Plin. iii. 8.

[m] De Legg. iii. p. 677.

[n] De Pall. c. 2.

Apol. I. 40.

founded; for they would not otherwise have remained unto this day, if they themselves also had not been of later date than that catastrophe. Palestine had not yet received that swarm of Jews from Egypt, nor had that seminary of the Christian sect, as yet settled there, when the shower of fire burnt up Sodom and Gomorrah, places on its borders. The land still smelleth of the burning; and, if any fruits of the trees there struggle into life, so as to be seen by the eyes, nevertheless, when touched, they crumble into ashes[o]. But neither did Tuscany nor Campania complain of the Christians, at that early day, when fire was poured over Vulsinii from Heaven, and over Tarpeii[p] from its own mountain. No one at Rome as yet worshipped the true God, when Hannibal at Cannæ, in the slaughter which himself had made, measured out by the bushel the rings of the Romans. All your gods were worshipped by all, when the Senones seized upon the Capitol itself[q]. And it is well, that when any adverse accident befalleth cities, there hath been the same overthrow of the temples as of the walls[r], so that I may at once prove against you that the evil cometh not from the gods, because it cometh upon themselves as well as others. Mankind hath even deserved ill of God, first in that they were undutiful towards Him, Whom though they knew in part, they not only sought not after Him to fear Him[t], but devised for themselves others besides, to worship them; next because, by not seeking after the Teacher of good, and the Judge and Avenger of evil, they grew in all trespasses and sins. But if they had sought after Him, it followed of necessity, that Whom they sought[u], they should know, and Whom they knew, honour, and Whom they honoured, find rather propitious than wrathful. They ought therefore to know that the same God is now also angry with them, Who was ever so in times past, before that any bore the name of Christians. He, Whose good gifts, produced before they

[t] non solum timendum *added* Rom. 1, 21.

[u] requisitum

[o] Tac. Hist. v. 7. and itineraries ap. Hav.

[p] So Gothofr. from the ad Nat. i. 9. observing that the Eclog. Stephani mentions, "Tarpe a city of Italy and a mons Tarpeius." The MSS. here have Pompeii, which would be an oversight, since Pompeii was destroyed under Nero, A.D. 64 or 65. In the de Pallio, c. 2. (as it now stands) Vulsinii and Pompeii are again joined; yet transcribers are more likely to have substituted the better known, Pompeii, for the less known, than the reverse.

[q] Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 22.

[r] Above, c. 25.

devised gods for themselves, they enjoyed, why can they not understand that evils also come from Him, Whose they perceived not that the good things were? To Him they are amenable, to Whom also they are ungrateful. And yet if we compare the former catastrophes, lighter evils[s] now occur since the world hath received the Christians from God. For from that time, their innocence hath tempered the wickednesses of the age, and they have begun to be intercessors with God. Finally, when summer hindereth winter of its showers[t], and the year is in anxious plight, ye indeed, daily fed to the full and about forthwith to dine[u], with your baths, and your taverns, and your brothels, all at work, offer to Jupiter sacrifices for rain, order your people to go barefoot[x], seek Heaven in the Capitol, look for clouds from your ceilings[y], turning yourselves away from God Himself and from Heaven. But we, dried up with fasting, and pinched by every sort of abstinence[z], kept from every enjoyment of life, prostrating ourselves in sackcloth and ashes[a], put Heaven to shame by our importunity, touch God[1], and when we have painfully obtained mercy, Jupiter is honoured by you, God neglected[2]!

Ps. 109, 24.

[1] Deum tangimus *restored*

[2] (honoratur) a vobis, Deus negligitur *added*

XLI. Ye therefore are they that trouble the world[b], ye are guilty of the national calamities, ye that are ever inviting evils[3], among whom God is despised, images worshipped. For surely[4] it must be thought more credible that He should be angry Who is neglected, than they who are worshipped[c]; or else they must indeed be most unjust, if, on account of the Christians, they injure their own worshippers also, whom

[3] vos malorum *restored*

[4] Utique enim

[s] Arnob. l. i. p. 5.

[t] i.e. summer upon winter withholdeth showers; summer cometh ere yet the winter have discharged its showers, and itself has none, Cypr. ad Demetr. c. 1. de Mortal. c. 5.

[u] Quotidie pransi, statimque pransuri, omitted by Rig.

[x] De Jejun. c. 16.

[y] Above, c. 24.

[z] Greg. Naz. Orat. in Julian (Or. iv. §. 71.) speaks of Christians generally, as being "well-nigh without flesh and blood;" and again, Orat. 33. c. Arianu. et de se ipso, §. 5. of S. Athanasius; whose "disembodiedness, as it were, and immateriality in fasting and prayer," he praises, Or. 21. in S. Athanas. §. 10. He speaks of Christians again as seeking to be "not even flesh." Or. in Jul. iv. §. 123. (see Hav.)

[a] De Pœnit. c. 9. de Patient. c. 13. of penitents, and, of public intercessions, Conc. Mog. [A.D. 813.] c. 4. ap. Lac. "It hath seemed good to us that the greater Intercession (Litania) be observed by all Christians for three days, as we find from reading, and as our holy fathers have instituted; not riding, nor clothed with rich garments, but barefoot and clothed in sackcloth and ashes, unless weakness of health prevent."

[b] Lact. v. 8. Arnob. l. i. p. 2.

[c] Cypr. ad Demetr. c. 3.

Apol. I. 41. they ought to except from the deserts of the Christians. This, say ye, is to make the argument recoil upon your own God also, seeing that He also suffereth His own worshippers to be harmed on account of the wicked. Learn first His counsels, and ye will not thus retort. For He, Who hath once ordained an everlasting judgment after the end of the world, hasteneth not the separation, which is a necessary part of that judgment, before the end of the world. Meanwhile He is without partiality towards the whole human race, both in blessing and in chastening them; He hath willed that good things should be shared by the wicked, and evil things by His own people, that by an equal participation we all might know both His kindness and His severity. Because we have been thus taught by Himself, we love kindness, we fear severity. Ye on the other hand despise both, and it followeth therefore that all the afflictions of the age come from God upon us (if they do so) for our admonition, upon you for your punishment. But in truth we are in no wise harmed; for we have in this world no concern but to depart out of it as quickly as we may. Next because if any evil be inflicted, it is ascribed to your deservings. But although some evils slightly touch us also, as being joined together with you, we rather rejoice in acknowledging therein the divine prophecies, as confirming our assurance and the confidence of our hope [d]. But if all your misfortunes come upon you from those whom ye worship, for our faults, why persist ye in worshipping beings so ungrateful, so unjust, who ought rather to assist and abet you in afflicting the Christians?

Mat. 13, 29. 30.

XLII. But we are called to account on another charge of wrong, and are said to be unprofitable in the common concerns of life [e]. How can this be said of men who live with you, have the same food, dress [f], furniture, the same wants of daily life? For we are not Brachmans, or the

[d] Clem. Strom. iv. 11. p. 216. ed. Sylb. The argument from the sufferings of Christians is answered by Justin M. Apol. 1. 34. Gallican Churches, (Eus. v. 1.) Cypr. ad Demetr. c. 11. Arnob. l. 2. fin. Lact. v. 21. 22. Minuc. F. p. 337 sqq. v. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. i. 29. Kortholt de Cal. Pag. c. 23.

[e] Thus Suetonius calls Clemens, the Christian nephew of Vespasian, a person "of the most contemptible inaction," Domit. c. 15.

[f] Cypr. de Pat. c. 2. p. 251. Oxf.

naked philosophers of the Indians, dwelling in the woods, and outcasts from life. We remember that we owe gratitude to God our Lord and our Maker. We put not away from us any enjoyment of His works; certainly we refrain from using them immoderately[g] or wrongfully. Wherefore we live with you in this world[h], not without a forum, not without shambles, not without your baths, taverns, shops, inns, markets, and other places of traffic. We voyage moreover with you, serve in your armies, labour with you in the fields, and trade with you. Besides this, we join our crafts with yours. Our acquirements, our services, we lend to the public for your profit. How we can be thought to be unprofitable to you in your concerns, you with whom and by whom we live, I know not. But if I attend not the solemnities of your holyday, I am nevertheless on that day also a man. I do not wash at nightfall[i], or at the Saturnalian festival, lest I should waste both night and day[k]; yet I wash at a proper and a wholesome hour, such as may save both my warmth and my colour; cold and pale after bathing I can be, when dead. On the feast of Bacchus I sit not down to meat in public, as is the custom of those who are condemned to the beasts, when they take their last meal[l]: but wheresoever I do eat, I eat of your abundance. I buy no garland for my head[m]: nevertheless, since I do buy flowers, how doth it concern you in what manner I use them? I use them, as I think, more agreeably when free, and loose, and straying out of all order. But if we must have them gathered together in a wreath, we have our wreath for the nose. Let those please themselves who smell with their hair! We come not together to your public shows; but if I need any things that are sold at those meetings, I would procure them more freely at their proper places. We buy certainly no frankincense: if the Arabias complain of this, the Sabæans will witness that more, and more costly, merchandise of theirs is

liberius

[g] Above, c. 39.

[h] See de Idol. c. 14. 16. The refusal of all intercourse is made a charge against the Jews, Euphrat. ap. Philostr. de Vit. Apollon. v. 11.

[i] As heathen did, that they might feast the earlier.

[k] By serving an idol.

[l] Apuleius, Miles. iv. p. 72. ap. Her. and of other malefactors, Suid. v. ὑπὸ τὰ τρία ap. Hav.

[m] de Cor. c. 5. Clem. Al. Pæd. ii. 8. It is blamed by Cæcil. ap. Minuc. F. (p. 107.) who follows T. in his answer, p. 346.

Apol. I. 43.

lavished in the burials of Christians[n] than in burning incense to the gods. 'Without doubt,' say ye, 'they are daily melting away the revenues of our temples: how few now throw in their offering[o]! Why! we cannot afford to relieve men and your begging[p] gods too, nor do we think that we ought to give, save to those that ask: briefly, let Jupiter put out his hand and take of us, while mean time our compassion expendeth more in each street[q] than your religion doth in each temple. But your other taxes will be grateful to the Christians[r], who pay their dues with that faithfulness with which we abstain from defrauding others, so that if an account were taken, how much is lost to the taxes through the deceitfulness and falsehood of your declarations, the reckoning might easily be made, the complaint under one head being compensated by the profit gained to the other accounts.

XLIII. I will fully admit that there are some, who may, if any may, justly complain of the unfruitfulness of the Christians. First then will be the pimps, the procurers, and their bath-furnishers. Next, the assassins, the poisoners, the magicians; after them, the soothsayers, the diviners, the astrologers[s]. To be unprofitable to these, is a great profit. And yet whatever loss to your finances come from this our sect, may be balanced by at least some protection from them. At what price do ye value, I do not now say those who cast out devils from you[t], I do not say those who fall down

[n] The Romans anointed as well as burnt their dead; the Christians embalmed exclusively, as more in harmony with the doctrine of the resurrection and natural piety. It is mentioned, de Res. Carn. c. 27. de Idol. c. 11. Lact. ii. 4. Cassian. Collat. xv. 3. Greg. Nyss. in Fun. Melet. ap. Lac. It is ridiculed by Cæcil. ap. Minuc. F. p. 107. "Ye reserve unguents for funerals," add Prud. de Exeq. Def. x. 51. 2. Acta Pharaci, ap. Bar. A. 209. n. 21. Acta Euplii, ib. A. 303. n. 129.

[o] Plin. Ep. ad Traj. "Certainly it is very plain, that the temples *which were almost left desolate* have begun [since the persecution] to be frequented, and the sacred rites, of a long time intermitted, to be renewed, and the victims to be commonly sold, for which hitherto very seldom was found a purchaser." Arnob. l. i. p. 13. "The augurs, diviners, &c.—lest their arts should come to an end, and they now extract but petty fees from the now-seldom enquirers,—cry aloud, 'the gods are neglected,' and now there is the extremest thinness in the temples. The ancient rites exist but for scorn, &c." See also on the decay of Heathenism, Lact. v. 9. Firm. de err. Prof. Rel. p. 43. Prud. de Mart. Cæsar-aug. vii. 65. in pass. Lamr. iii. 497.

[p] Above, c. 13.

[q] "The Galilæans, in addition to their own, support our people too," Julian. Ep. ad Arsac.

[r] Justin. Apol. i. 17. Tatian c. 4.

[s] Arnob. l. 1.

[t] Above, on c. 23.

before the true God in prayer for you as well as for themselves, but those of whom ye can have no fear?

XLIV. Yet here there is a loss to the state, great as it is real, which no one turneth to look upon; here is an injury to the citizens, which no one weigheth, when in our persons so many righteous men are expended, when so many innocent men are squandered away. For now we call to witness your own acts, you who preside daily at the trials of prisoners, and dispose of the charges by your sentences. So many criminals are reckoned up by you under various charges of guilt. What assassin among them, what cut-purse, what sacrilegious person, or seducer, or plunderer of bathers, is entitled also a Christian? In like manner[1] when the Christians are brought to trial under their own head, who even of these is such as all these criminals are? It is ever from your own people that the prison is steaming: it is ever from your own people that the mines are breathing sighs; it is ever on your own people that the beasts are fattened; it is ever of your own people that the masters of the shows find flocks of criminals to feed. No Christian is there, unless it be only as a Christian; or if he be any thing else, he is forthwith no longer a Christian[u].

[1] Proinde

XLV. We alone then are innocent? What wonder if this be so of necessity? and truly of necessity it is so. Taught innocence by God, we both know it perfectly, as being revealed by a perfect Master; and we keep it faithfully, as being committed to us by an Observer that may not be despised. But to you human opinion hath handed down the rule of innocence, and human authority hath commanded it. Hence ye belong to a discipline which for the attaining of true innocence is neither perfect nor so greatly to be feared. What is the wisdom of man in shewing what is really good? What his authority in exacting it? The one is as readily deceived, as the other disregarded. And hence, which is the more full commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," or, "Be not even angry?" Which the more perfect, to forbid adultery, or to keep men even from the secret lust of

[u] Above, c. 46. ad Scap. 2. Justin M. Apol. i. §. 44. Athenag. §. 2. Minuc. F. p. 333. Theodoret. de cur. Græc. aff. Disp. xii. circ. med. p. 1021 sqq. ed. Schutz. Lact. v. 9

Apol. I. 46.

the eyes? which the more refined, to forbid evil doing, or even evil speaking? which the more complete, not to permit an injury, or not to suffer even the requital of an injury? Meanwhile, however, know that even your own laws, which seem to tend to innocence, are borrowed from the law of God, as the more ancient. I have already spoken of the age of Moses[x]. But what is the authority of human laws, when it is in the power of man both to evade them, being generally undiscovered in his misdoings, and sometimes to set them at nought, as sinning from chance or necessity? Consider it also in respect of the shortness of the punishment inflicted, which, whatever it be, nevertheless continueth not after death. So also Epicurus holdeth cheap all torment and pain, by pronouncing slight ones despicable, and great ones shortlived[y]. But we of whom an account is taken by the God Who looketh upon all, and who see before us an eternal punishment at His hands[z], we are with good cause the only men who attain unto innocence, both from the fulness of our knowledge, and the difficulty of concealment, and the greatness of the punishment, which continueth, not for a long time, but for ever; fearing Him Whom even that man, who judgeth those that fear, will himself be obliged to fear—fearing God and not the Proconsul.

XLVI. We have maintained our ground, methinks, against all that criminal charge, which calleth for the blood of the Christians. We have shewn you, our whole condition, and by what means we can prove it to be such as we have shewn—by the truth[a], that is, and the antiquity[b] of the Divine Scriptures, and moreover by the confession[c] of the spiritual powers. Let him come forth who[1] shall venture to refute us. He will be bound to strive against us on the ground of truth, not by skill of words, but in the same form in which we have established our proof. But while our truth is made manifest to every man[d], unbelief meantime, confounded as it is by the goodness of this sect, (which hath now become well known to experience[2] of it, and by inter-

[1] Existat qui

[2] usu

[x] Above, c. 19.
[y] Senec. Ep. 94.
[z] Athenag. c. 12.
[a] c. 20.
[b] c. 19.
[c] c. 23.
[d] Dum unicuique manifestatur veritas nostra, omitted by Rig.

course with it,) regardeth it forsooth not as a work of God, but rather as a kind of philosophy[e]. 'The philosophers,' it saith, 'advise and profess the same things, innocence, justice, patience, sobriety, chastity.' Why then, when we are likened to them in discipline, are we not made equal to them in the freedom and impunity of their discipline? Or why are not they also, as being our equals, forced to the same offices, which we, not fulfilling, are put in peril? For who compelleth a philosopher to sacrifice, or to take an oath[f], or at noon-day to parade abroad useless candles[g]? Nay they even openly demolish your gods, and in treatises accuse your superstitions, with your own approbation[h]: most of them likewise bark against your princes[i], and ye suffer it, and they are more readily rewarded by statues[k] and pensions[l], than sentenced to the beasts. And with good cause, for they bear the name of philosophers, not of Christians. This name of philosophers putteth not the dæmons to flight: why should it, seeing that the philosophers rank the dæmons next to the gods[m]? It is the saying of Socrates, "If the dæmon so please." And he also, even when he savoured somewhat of truth in denying the gods, yet just at the close of life ordered a cock to be sacrificed to Æsculapius[n], I suppose in honour of his father, because Apollo declared Socrates to be the wisest of all men[o]. O ill-advised Apollo! he hath borne testimony to the wisdom of that man, who denied the being of the gods! Whatever hatred the truth kindleth against itself, so much doth he incur, who faithfully setteth it forth, while he who corrupteth and affecteth it, gaineth favour on this account[l] et affectat *restored* especially, from those that attack the truth. Philosophers affect, inasmuch as they are both its mockers and despisers[p], the truth in mimicry, and, in affecting, corrupt it, as men who catch at praise. The Christians both seek

[e] Cels. ap. Orig. c. Cels. i. 4.
[f] Above, c. 32 end.
[g] Above, c. 35.
[h] Above, c. 12. Justin M. Apol. i. 20. 24. Tatian. c. 27. Athenag. c. 7. 24.
[i] Sueton. in Vesp. (de Demetr. Cynico.) Neron. (de Isidor. Cyn.)
[k] Juv. 2. 4.
[l] Tatian c. 25. Capitolin. de Anton. Pio. Lucian. in Eunuch. (ap. Hav.)
[m] Above, c. 24. de Anim. c. 1.
[n] Plat. Phæd. §. 155. p. 118. Steph. Socrates meant probably that life was a long illness, death the cure, (Hav.)
[o] Val. Max. iii. 4. Plin. vii. 34.
[p] Qua et illusores, et contemptores. Mimice (philosophi) omitted by Rig.

Apol. I. 46. it as of necessity, and fulfil it entirely, as men who care for their own salvation. Wherefore neither in respect of knowledge, nor, as ye imagine, in respect of discipline, are we on a level. For what certain report did Thales, that earliest of natural philosophers[q], give to Crœsus, when he questioned him concerning the nature of the gods, after being oft allowed in vain farther time for deliberation[r]? Jer. 31, 34. Every Christian labourer both findeth out God and sheweth Him, and hence really ascribeth to God all that in God is looked for, notwithstanding that Plato[s] affirmeth that the Maker of the world is both hard to be found out, and, when found out, hard[t] to be declared unto all. But if we be challenged[u] on the ground of chastity, I read a part of the sentence given at Athens against Socrates; he is declared to be a corrupter of young men[x]: the Christian doth not even Rom. 1, 26. *change the natural use of the woman.* I know also that the harlot Phryne ministered to the lustful embraces of Diogenes. I hear too that a certain Speusippus of the school of Plato died in the act of adultery[y]. The Christian is by nature a lover to his wife alone. Democritus by putting out his eyes because he could not look upon women without desire, and was pained if he possessed them not, doth, by this very self-correction, make confession of incontinence. But the Christian, still keeping his eyes, looketh not at all upon women. It is in his heart that he is blinded against lust. If I must defend our cause as touching righteous dealing, behold Diogenes, his feet soiled with mud, trampling with a pride of his own on the proud couches of Plato[z]. The Christian doth not vaunt himself against even a poor man. If I am to contend as touching modesty, behold Pythagoras at Thurium, and Zeno at Priene, aspiring to the tyranny. But the Christian doth not aspire even to the ædileship[a]. If I am to join issue as touching evenness of mind,

[q] Cic. Quæstt. Acad. iv. 118. Lact. iii. 14.

[r] Ad Nat. ii. 2. Cicero de Nat. D. i. 22. relates this of Hiero and Simonides; and so Minut. F. p. 114.

[s] In Timæo, §. 9. p. 28. Steph.

[t] "Impossible," Plat.

[u] Above, beg. of c. p. 93.

[x] Lucian. in Vit. Auct.; Eunuch.; Dial. Meretr. x. ap. Hav. Senec. de Tranq. c. 15. Cassian. Coll. xiii. 5. ap. Lac.

[y] Sp. presided over the school for eight years. The character, not the fact, is true, according to Laert. in vit. l. iv. and see generally Senec. Ep. 59. Minuc. F. v. fin.

[z] Laert. in vit.

[a] As an office open to the lower people.

Lycurgus chose obstinately to starve himself to death because the Lacedæmonians had amended his laws[z]. The Christian, even when condemned, giveth thanks. If I am to make a comparison as touching good faith, Anaxagoras refused to restore a pledge to his guests; the Christian is called faithful even to strangers[a]. If I am to take my stand on the ground of simplicity, Aristotle basely displaced his own familiar friend Hermias; the Christian doth not hurt even his enemy. The same Aristotle flattereth[b] Alexander, who ought rather to have been directed by him, as unbecomingly[1] as Plato was sold by Dionysius[c] for his belly's sake. Aristippus in his purple[d], under a vast surface of outward gravity, liveth the life of a profligate; and Hippias is put to death while laying a snare for the state. This hath no Christian ever attempted on behalf of his own friends, though scattered abroad with every sort of cruelty. But some men will say that certain even of our own people depart from our rule of discipline. Then do they cease to be accounted Christians amongst us[e]. But these philosophers, with such deeds upon their hands, continue to hold among you the name and the honour of wisdom. What likeness then is there between the philosopher and the Christian? the disciple of Greece and of Heaven? the trafficker for fame and for salvation? the doer of words and of works? the builder and the destroyer of things? the foister in of error, and the restorer of truth? its plunderer and its guardian?

[1] indecore

XLVII. For the antiquity of the Holy Scriptures, already established[f], yet again serveth me in making it very credible that this was the store-house of all the wisdom of later times. And were it not that I now desire to moderate the bulk of my book, I would go at large into the proof of this also. Which of the poets, which of the sophists is there, who have not drunk from the fountain of the Prophets[g]? Hence, there-

[z] Above, c. 4.

[a] Ad Scap. c. 4. Plin. Ep. ad Traj.

[b] Lucian. in Parasit.

[c] Dionysio. MSS. and Edd. Tertullian must then mean that Plato put himself in Dionysius's power for the sake of the luxuries of the court, and so was sold by him. Lucian. in Parasit. brings the same charge. Rig. strikes out the "a," "selleth himself to Dionysius."

[d] Lucian. in vit. Auct. Parasit. Bis accusat. Lact. iii. 8. ap. Hav.

[e] See above, on c. 44. fin.

[f] c. 19.

[g] De Test. An. c. 5. Justin M. Coh. ad Græc. 14 sqq. Apol. i. 54. Theoph. ad Aut. i. 14. Tatian. c. Græc. c. 40.

Apol. I. 47.

fore, have the philosophers also watered the dryness of their own understanding. For because they have certain things of ours, therefore they liken us to them[h]. Hence also methinks[1] hath philosophy been by law[2] cast out by some, the Thebans, for example, the Spartans, and the Argives[i]. While they strive to come at what is ours, being men, who (as we have said) lust after fame and eloquence only, if they have met with any thing in the sacred writings, they have straightway re-written it according to the bent of their nice research, and have perverted it to their own purpose, neither sufficiently believing them to be divine, not to corrupt them, nor sufficiently understanding them, as being, even then, somewhat obscure, and seen darkly even by the Jews themselves, whose own they seemed to be. For even where the truth was in simple form, the more on that account did that cavilling spirit of men, which despiseth faith, waver, whence they confounded in uncertainty even that which they had found certain. For having found only that there was a God, they questioned of Him not as they had found Him, but so as to dispute about His character, and His nature, and His dwelling-place[k]. Some affirm that He is without body, some that He hath a body, as do the Platonists and the Stoics; some that He cometh of atoms, some of numbers, as Epicurus and Pythagoras; some of fire, as was thought by Heraclitus. Again the Platonists hold that He careth for the world, the Epicureans on the other hand that He is inactive, unemployed, and, if I may say so, a non-entity as respecteth the affairs of men; the Stoics[m] again, that He is placed without the universe,

[1] opinor *restored*
[2] legibus *added*

Clem. Al. Strom. i. 16. p. 366. ed. Pott. ii. init. Euseb. Præp. Ev. x. 1. xi. xii. Aug. de Doct. Christ. ii. 28. de Civ. D. viii. 11. Theod. Or. 2. c. Græc. p. 736 sqq. ed. Schutz. ap. Elmenh. et Wouw. ad Minuc. F. p. 323. Ambr. Ep. 37. ad Simplic. Cyrill. in Julian. l. x. Chrys. [Cyrill] in Joann. [v. p. 733.] ap. Lac.

[h] Nam quia quædam de nostris habent, eapropter nos comparant illis. The sentence, slightly varied in Edd. and MSS., is omitted by Rig.

[i] Interpunction altered with Hav. Argivis. Dum ad nostra conantur, (contaminantur Rig.)

[k] Civ. de Nat. Deor. i. 103, 104. (of the Epicureans.)

[l] "Whether God sitting beholdeth his work or handleth it? whether he be, from without, spread around it, or infused into the whole? whether the world be immortal, or to be accounted among things perishable and born for a time." Senec. de vit. Beat. c. 31. ap. Hav.

[m] The Stoics placed their god *within* the world, as the anima mundi; the Epicureans, *without*, but inactive.

turning about, like a potter, this mass of matter from without; the Platonists, that he is placed within the universe, abiding like a pilot within that which he directeth. So also concerning the world itself, they are not agreed, whether it had or had not a beginning, whether it shall have an end, or abide for ever. So also of the state of the soul, which some contend is divine and eternal, others that it can be dissolved: each hath, according to his own sentiment, brought in a new doctrine, or reformed the old. And no wonder if the wit of philosophers hath perverted the ancient document[n]. Some of their race have by their own opinions corrupted this our novel body of writings[o] also, after the views of the philosophers, and from the one way have cut out[1] many devious and inextricable mazes. Which remark I have offered for this reason, lest the notorious variety of opinions in this our sect should seem to any one to place us in this respect also on a level with the philosophers, and condemn truth, because variously defended. But for those who corrupt our doctrines we briefly rule, that the canon of truth is that which cometh from Christ, handed down through those who have companied with Him, long after whom these different commentators will be proved to have existed[p]. All contradictions to the truth have been framed out of the truth itself, the spirits of error thus exercising their rivalry. By them have the corruptions of this wholesome kind of discipline been privily introduced[q]; by them also have certain fables been let in, which, from their likeness to it, might weaken the credit of the truth, or rather gain it over to their own side; so that a man may think that he must put no faith in the Christians, because he can put none in poets or philosophers; or suppose that he ought to put the more faith in poets and philosophers, because he can put none in the Christians. Therefore we are laughed at, when we preach that God shall judge the world, for so do the poets also, and the philosophers feign a judgment-seat in the shades below; and if we threaten men with Hell, which is a store-house of

[1] excide-runt

[n] The Old Testament.

[o] Novitiola paratura. The expression is ironical, embodying at once the Christian title, "the New Testament," and the imputation of novelty on the part of the Heathen.

[p] De Præscr. Hæret. c. 31.

[q] Above, on c. 22.

Apol. I. 48.

hidden fire beneath the earth, for the punishing of men, we are forthwith borne down by jeers, for so is there also a river among the dead called Pyriphlegethon. And if we speak of Paradise[r], a place of heavenly pleasantness appointed to receive the spirits of the saints, separated from the knowledge of the world in general by a sort of wall formed by the zone of fire[s], the Elysian plains have preoccupied their belief. Whence, I pray you, have your poets and philosophers these doctrines so like to ours? it can only be from our mysteries. If it be from our mysteries, as being older than their own, then are ours more to be trusted and believed than theirs, seeing that even the copies of them gain belief. If it be from their own minds, then must our mysteries be regarded as the copies of things later than themselves, which the law of nature suffereth not, for never doth the shadow go before the substance, or the image before the reality.

XLVIII. Come now, if any philosopher affirmeth (as doth Laberius[t] after the opinion of Pythagoras) that a man is made out of a mule, a serpent out of a woman, and shall, by the force of eloquence, wrest every argument to this opinion, will he not gain the consent of men, and fixedly persuade them ever to abstain from animal food? and will not each on this account be persuaded, lest in supping on ox-flesh he eat one of his own ancestors? But the Christian, if he promiseth that man shall be made again of man, and that of Caius the very same Caius shall be refashioned, will be driven out by the people, not merely by blows, but rather by stones, as though[u] whatever be the governing argument for the restoration of human souls to material bodies, do not itself require, that they return to the same bodies, seeing that this it is to be restored, to become what it was before. For if they be not what they were, endued, that is, with a human, and that the self-same, body, then

[r] See note C at the end of this Book.

[s] The fiery sword of the Cherubim.

[t] See in Crinit. de Honest. Discipl. ii. 3.

[u] Quasi non quæcunque ratio præst animarum humanarum in corpora reciprocandarum, ipsa exigat illas in eadem corpora revocari, cum hoc sit restitui, id esse quod fuerat. Nam si non id sunt quod fuerant, id est humanum et id ipsum corpus indutæ, jam non ipsæ erunt quæ fuerant, quia non potuerunt esse quod non erant, nisi desinant esse quod fuerant. Porro quæ jam non erunt ipsæ, quomodo redisse dicentur? Aut aliud factæ non erunt ipsæ, aut manentes ipsæ non erunt aliunde. added for the most part from F.

will they not be the very same which they were, because they could not be what they were not, without ceasing to be what they had been. Moreover, how shall they be said to be restored, which are no longer to be the same? Either, being made another thing, they will not be themselves, or, remaining themselves, will not be from another source. We should need many jests and much leisure, if we chose to sport with this question, into what beast each man may be thought to have been changed. But let us rather keep to the defence of ourselves, who lay it down as a thing certainly more worthy of belief, that a man should be refashioned from a man, (who you will coming in place of whom you will, so it be only a man,) so that the same sort of soul may be restored to the same rank of beings, though not to the same likeness[w]. Surely, since the cause of the restoration is the appointed future judgment, each will of necessity be presented the very same man that he was before, that he may receive judgment from God for his good deservings or the contrary. And therefore will the bodies also be again presented, both because the soul can suffer nothing by itself without connection with a material substance, that is the flesh[x], and because what thing soever souls are doomed to suffer from the judgment of God, they have deserved it, not without the flesh, within which they have done all things[y]. But, thou sayest, how can matter, which hath been dissolved, be made to appear? Consider thyself, O man, and thou wilt find how to believe this thing. Think what thou wast before thou hadst a being: simply nothing: for hadst thou been any

[w] Because "after the image of the Heavenly." 1 Cor. 15, 49.

[x] De Testim. An. c. 4. beg. (so also Arnob. ii. p. 52.) T. modifies this statement in the de Res. Carn. c. 17. stating that the soul can suffer as well as act, alone, but both partially, and infers from the history of Dives, (de Anima, c. 7.) that the soul of the wicked shall suffer before the day of judgment, alone, as it devises its deeds alone, and then more fully with the body with which it completed them. And this seems his meaning here, as he goes on to use the same argument, that sinning with the flesh, they shall be punished with the flesh. He held the soul moreover to be, in a degree corporeal, (see on de Res. C. l. c.) though apparently not enough so, to be capable of corporeal torments. In the de Res. C,. T. attests incidentally that the immateriality of the soul was the general belief. S. Aug. (de Civ. D. xxi. 10.) adduces the case of Dives in illustration of the suffering of dæmons, supposing that they be not, though of aerial, yet of corporeal substance, as learned men had thought.

[y] This argument is used by Tatian, c. 6. Athenag. 18—22. de Res. 14, 5. Ambros. de Fid. Res. [§. 88.] ap. Pearson on the Creed, Art. xi. "The laws," Athen. argues, (c. 23.) "were not given to the soul alone, so neither the rewards." Add Cyril. Jer. xviii. 19. Ambr. Exh. Virg. c. 9. §. 59.

Apol. I. 48.

thing thou wouldest have remembered it. Thou therefore that wast nothing before thou didst exist, and that becomest also nothing when thou ceasest to exist, why canst thou not begin to exist again from nothing, by the Will of that self-same Creator Who hath willed that thou shouldest come into being out of nothing. What new thing will happen unto thee? thou that wast not, wast made: when again thou shalt not be, thou shalt be made. Declare, if thou canst, the manner in which thou wast made, and then seek to know how thou shalt be made. And yet surely thou shalt be more easily made that which thou once hast been, seeing that thou wast made, equally without difficulty, that which thou never hadst at any time been[z]. There will be a doubt, I suppose, as to the power of God, Who hath framed out of that which was not before, not less than out of a death-like void and nothingness, this vast body of the universe, animated by that Spirit which animateth all souls[1], stamped[a] too by Himself as an emblem of the resurrection of man, for a testimony unto you. The light which is extinct every day, shineth forth again, and the darkness in like manner departeth and succeedeth in its turn[b]; the stars that have died away, revive again; the seasons when they end, begin anew; the fruits are consumed and again return; the seeds assuredly spring not up with new fruitfulness, except they be first corrupted and dissolved[c]; all things are by dying preserved; all things are formed again from death. Shalt thou a man, (a name so great,) thou who (if thou knowest thyself, as

[1] animarum *restored*

1 Cor. 15, 36.

[z] The same argument is urged by Tert. de Res. Carn. c. 11. Justin M. Apol. i. §. 19. Iren. v. 3. Tatian. c. 6. Theophil. ad Aut. i. 8. Athenag. de Res. §. 3. Hil. in Ps. 63. Ambr. de Fid. Res. §. 64. Apost. Constt. v. 7. p. 308. Lact. vii. 23. Cyril Jer. iv. §. 30. xviii. §. 9. Prudent. adv. Symm. ii. 194. Greg. Nyss. de Opif. Hom. c. 26 sqq. Aug. in Ps. 62. de Catech. Rud. c. 25, 27. Minuc. F. p. 326. Ruffin. in Expos. Symb. Art. de Res. v. fin. Chrys. Hom. de Res. §. 7. Zeno de Res. l. 1. 2. tr. 16. §. 7.

[a] Interpunction changed, animatore; signatum et per Ipsum, &c.

[b] De Res. Carn. c. 12. Theoph. ad Aut. i. 13. Epiph. in Ancor. §. 84. (ap. Pears. l. c. whose own language is eloquent.) Minuc. F. p. 328. Chrysol. in Symb. Ap. Serm. 59. Athenag. Leg. p. 43. Theodoret. Orat. 9. de Prov. p. 216 sq. Prudent. l. 2. c. Symm. Macarius, Hom. 5. Ambr. Hexaem. iii. 8. Nilus ap. Phot. fol. 836. Chrys. Hom. 4. in 1 Cor. xv. ap. Elmenhorst. ib. Ambr. de Fid. Res. §. 53. Zeno l. c. §. 8.

[c] Greg. Nyss. de Anim. et Res. v. fin. Ambr. de Fid. Res. l. c. Minuc. l. c. Chrysost. Hom. de Res. l. c. Chrysol. l. c. Cyril. l. c. Max. in Tradit. Symb. Epiph. Hær. lxiv. 37. Prud. c. Symm. l. 2. l. 196. Zeno l. c. §. 10. Ruffin. l. c. Theoph. l. c. and of the monthly resurrection of the moon, ib. and ii. 15. Cyril. Jer. xviii. §. 10. Zeno l. c. §. 8. of the yearly resurrection of nature. Cyril. iv. 30. xviii. §. 6, 7.

thou mayest learn to do even from the Pythian inscription[d]) art the lord of all things that die and rise again, shalt thou die to perish for ever? Wheresoever thy elements shall be scattered, whatsoever matter shall destroy, absorb, abolish, waste thee to nothing, it shall restore thee again[e]. "Nothing" itself is in the hands of Him, in Whose hands is "The Whole." 'Then,' say ye, 'we must be ever dying and ever rising again!' If the Lord of all things had so determined, thou wouldest experience, even against thy will, this law of thy creation. But now He hath not determined otherwise than He hath declared unto us. The same Mind which from diversity of parts hath framed one whole, so that all things consist of rival substances in unity, of the void and the solid, of the animate and the inanimate, of the comprehensible and the incomprehensible, of light and darkness, yea even of life and death, hath made time also to consist of two states so determinate and distinct, that the first part of it, measured from the beginning of all things, in which we now live, runneth out to its end in this mortal life, but the next, which we wait for, is continued to a never-ending eternity. When therefore the end, and that middle space of time, which lieth open between[f], shall have come, so that the visible face of the universe itself is removed, which is equally temporal, and hath been spread like a curtain before that eternal dispensation, then shall the whole human race be restored, to determine the account of their good or evil deservings in this world, and then to pay the debt through the boundless series of everlasting ages. Therefore, there shall neither be an absolute death, nor another and another resurrection, but we shall be the same that we now are, and no other thereafter; the worshippers of God ever with God, *clothed upon* with their proper substance of eternity, but the wicked, and they who live not entirely unto God, for the punishment of an equally eternal fire, receiving from the very nature of that fire, being, as it is, divine, the supply of

2 Cor. 5, 4.

[d] "Know thyself."

[e] "Though I be consumed in rivers, in seas, or be torn by wild beasts, I am laid up in the stores of a rich Lord." Tatian. c. 6. Athenag. de Res. c. 2 and 8. Minuc. F. p. 326, 7. Aug. in Ps. 62. §. 6. de Civ. D. xxii. 20. ap. Pearson, l. c. Ambr. de Hom. Opif. c. 26. Constt. Ap. v. 7. Ruffin. l. c.

[f] Probably the Millennium, see Note D at the end of this book.

Apol. I. 49. Mark 9, 49.

their own incorruption[g]. The philosophers also know the difference between the hidden and the common fire. So that which ministereth to the uses of men is widely different from that which ministereth to the judgment of God, whether drawn out in lightning from Heaven, or bursting up from the earth through the tops of mountains[h]; for it consumeth not that which it burneth, but reneweth while it destroyeth. Wherefore the mountains, though ever burning, still remain, and he who is stricken by fire from Heaven, is thenceforth safe from being consumed by any other fire[i]. And this will be a witness of the eternal fire, this an example of that everlasting judgment, which feedeth its own pains. Mountains are burned and yet endure. What shall we say of wicked men and the enemies of God?

XLIX. These are the things which in us alone are called vain presumptions[k], in the poets and philosophers consummate knowledge and notable genius. They are wise, we foolish[l]; they to be honoured, we derided, yea more than this, to be punished likewise. Let now the doctrines which we maintain be false, and justly styled presumptions, yet are they necessary; let them be foolish, yet are they profitable, if those who believe them are constrained to become better men[m], by the fear of eternal punishment, and the hope of eternal refreshment. It is not therefore expedient that those things should be called false, or accounted foolish, which it is expedient should be presumed to be true. In like manner[1], on no ground whatsoever may those things be condemned, which are profitable. In you then is this very presumption, which condemneth things useful. Wherefore neither can they be foolish. Assuredly, though they be both false and foolish, yet they are hurtful to none; for they are like many other things, to which ye award no

[1] Proinde

[g] Minuc. F. p. 331. Lact. vii. 21. Ambrosiast. in Thess. c. 2. Auct. de Rect. Cath. Conv. f. 798. cited ib. Cassiod. in Ps. ap. Lac.

[h] Minuc. l. c. Greg. Naz. in Julian. Or. 1. p. 291. Cyril. περὶ ἐξόδου ψυχῆς. Isid. Hisp. de Nat. Rer. c. 46. cited ib. Pacian. de pœnit. et conf. ap. Lac.

[i] It was forbidden by the laws of Numa to give funeral rites to, and so to burn, those struck by lightning, (see ap. Hav.) T. may have looked on this as a sort of image; Minucius however, l. c. simply interprets it, that the lightning itself destroyed without consuming, "as the fires of lightnings touch bodies, but consume not."

[k] See on de Testim. Anim. c. 4.

[l] Arn. l. i. p. 15. ii. p. 45. Celsus ap. Orig. iii. c. 24 and 49. Lact. iv. 13.

[m] Athenag. c. 31. Chrys. Hom. de Pœs. init.

punishments, things vain and fabulous, unaccused and unpunished, because harmless. But in things of this sort, if ye must needs punish, ye ought to punish by derision, not by swords, and fires, and crosses, and wild beasts; in the iniquity of which cruelty, not only doth this blind mob exult and insult, but even some of yourselves, who through iniquity catch at the favour of the mob[n], boast of it. As if all that ye can do against us were not of our own free choice! Assuredly I am, only if I will, a Christian. Thou wilt therefore only condemn me, if I will to be condemned. But since whatever thou canst do to me, thou canst not do unless I will, that which thou canst do is necessarily of my own will, not of thy power. Wherefore also the mob vainly rejoiceth in our hurt, for the joy, which they claim to themselves, is ours, who would rather be condemned than fall away from God. On the contrary, they who hate us ought to grieve, and not to rejoice, at our gaining that which we have ourselves chosen.

L. 'Why then,' ye say, 'do ye complain that we persecute you, if it be your own will to suffer, seeing that ye ought to love us, through whom ye suffer that which ye will?' Certainly it is our will to suffer, but in the same manner in which, though no one willingly suffereth the ills of war, (since he must needs be harassed and endangered,) yet he fighteth with all his strength, and he who complained of the battle, rejoiceth, when he conquereth in the battle, because he gaineth both the glory and the spoils. We have a battle, in that we are summoned to the tribunals, that we may then, at the hazard of our life, contend for the truth. But to obtain that for which thou hast contended, is victory. This victory hath both the glory of pleasing God, and the spoils of eternal life. Yet still we are crushed! yea, after that we have won the battle. Therefore when we are slain, we conquer, and in fine when we are crushed we escape[o]. Ye may now call us faggot-men and half-axle-men, because being bound to the wood of half-an-axle we are burnt by a circle of faggots enclosing us[p]. This is the garb of our conquest, this our robe of victory; in such a chariot do we

[n] Above, c. 1. 42. below, c. 50.
[o] Comp. Lucif. Calar. ad Constant. ap. Lac. ad c. 37.
[p] De Pudic. c. ult.

Apol. I. 50.

triumph. With good cause therefore are we displeasing to the conquered, for therefore are we worthily thought desperate and reckless men[q]! But this desperation and recklessness in the cause of glory and fame doth, even in your own eyes, exalt the standard of virtue. Mucius of his own act left his right hand upon the altar. Oh! loftiness of spirit! Empedocles freely gave his whole body to the flames of Ætna at Catana. Oh! strength of mind! Some woman, who founded Carthage, gave herself to the funeral pile, her second marriage. Oh! proclamation of chastity! Regulus, that he might not save his life,—a single man exchanged for many enemies,—suffereth crucifixion in every part of his body. Oh! brave man, and a conqueror even in captivity! Anaxarchus, when he was brayed with a pestle like barley, said[s], 'Pound, pound the shell of Anaxarchus, for thou poundest not Anaxarchus himself.' O the greatness of the philosopher's soul, who even jested on his own death, and such a death! I pass over those, who with their own sword, or some other milder kind of death, have bartered life for glory; for, lo! even those who overcome in the trial of tortures are crowned by you. A certain[1] Athenian harlot, when the torturer was now wearied, at last spit out her tongue, which she had bitten off, into the face of the furious tyrant, that she might spit out her voice too, and be unable to betray the conspirators, even though, at length overcome, she should wish it[t]. Zeno of Elea being asked by Dionysius[u] what philosophy could give him, and having answered, "to become insensible to suffering[2] through contempt of death," being put under the lash of the tyrant, sealed his doctrine even by his death. Assuredly the scourgings of the Lacedæmonians, embittered even under the eyes of their encouraging friends, confer on their house as much honour for endurance[3] as they shed blood. Oh! glory, licensed because of earthly mould! to which no reckless presumption, no desperate determination is attributed, in despising death and every sort of cruelty; which

[1] quædam

[2] impassibilem fieri

[3] tolerantiæ domui *restored*

[q] Above, on c. 27.
[r] Ad Mart. c. 4. de Monogam. fin.
[s] Laert. l. ix. in vit.
[t] Ambros. de Virginit. i. 4. Val. Max. iii. 3. relates the story of Anaxarchus.
[u] Nearchus or Diomedon, Laert. l. ix.

hath a privilege for men to suffer for country, for lands[1], for empire, for friendship, that which they may not for God! And yet for all these ye cast statues, and inscribe images, and carve titles to continue for ever. As far as ye can by means of monuments, ye yourselves in some sort grant a resurrection to the dead[x], while he, who hopeth for the true resurrection from God, if he suffer for God, is mad. But go on, ye righteous rulers,—much more righteous in the eyes of the people[y] if ye sacrifice the Christians to them—rack, torment, condemn, grind us to powder: for your injustice is the proof of our innocence. It is for this that God permitteth us to suffer these things. For, in condemning just now a Christian woman to the bawd[z] rather than the lion, ye have confessed that the stain of chastity upon us is accounted more dreadful than any punishment, and any death. Nor yet doth your cruelty, though each act be more refined than the last, profit you any thing. It is rather the allurement to our sect. We grow up in greater number as often as we are cut down by you. The blood of the Christians is their harvest seed[a]. Many among yourselves

[1] pro agro *added*

[x] The statues exhibiting the figure, as though alive:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem ducibus.

Hor. Od. iv. 8. add Plin. xxxv. 2. Eus. de Vit. Const. i. 2. ap. Hav.

[y] Above, c. i. 42. 49.

[z] This also was a cry of the populace, Ferrar. de vet. acclam. vii. 18 ap. Hav.

[a] See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 7. "The Christian faith, amid the terrors and opposition of so many and so great persecutions, sent out the more abundant shoots throughout the whole world, as being sown in the blood of martyrs." Serm. 22. in Ps. 67, 3. §. 4. t. v. p. 118. "The seed of blood was scattered; arose the harvest of the Church." Leo, Serm. 1. in Nat. App. Pet. et Paul. "The Church is not diminished by persecutions, but increased, and the field of the Lord is even clothed with the richer harvest, in that the seeds, which fall singly, arise multiplied." Prud. in Mart. Cæsar. Aug. vii. 85. "The numbers of martyrs even groweth under every hail-storm." Add S. Aug. in Ps. 70. S. 2. §. 4. Serm. 286. in Nat. Mart. Prot. et Gerv. §. 3. The growth under persecution is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Cur. Gr. Aff. l. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to watering; (Theod. l. c. Chrys. Hom. in Juvent. et Max. init. t. i. p. 579. Aug. in Ps. 39. init. Ps. 58. §. 1. §. 5. Ps. 134. §. 24. Ps. 141. §. 21. Serm. 301. in Solemn. S. Marc. ii. init. in Nat. Mart. Perp. et Fel. i. fin.;) persecution to pouring oil on a flame. (Theod. l. c.) add Justin Ep. ad Diogn. c. 7. Auct. Quæstt. et Resp. ad Orthod. qu. 74. Clem. Al. Strom. vi. fin. Arnob. l. 2. p. 45. Anton. in Vit. ej. ap. Athan. c. 79. "We the servants of Christ, the more we are pressed down, the more we rise up and flourish, &c. Aug. Ep. 137. ad Volus. §. 16. Expos. Ps. 90. p. 1. "The more suffered, the more believed in Christ;" de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Christians "were bound, imprisoned, scourged, tortured, burnt, mangled, slain, and were multiplied," and de Ag. Christ. c. 12. "The Church, shivering the assaults of the Pagans, was more and more strengthened, not by resisting but by enduring." Lact. v. 19. "Our side groweth daily—For the religion of God is increased, the

Apol. I. 50. exhort men to endure pain and death, as Cicero in his Tusculans, Seneca in his treatise "on chances," Diogenes, Pyrrho, Callinicus; and yet their words do not gain as many disciples, as the Christians do in teaching by their acts. That very obstinacy, with which ye upbraid us, is the teacher. For who is not stirred up by the contemplation of it to enquire what there is in the core of the matter? who, when he hath enquired, doth not join us? when he hath joined us, doth not desire to suffer, that he may purchase the whole grace of God, that he may gain from Him perfect forgiveness at the price of his own blood? for all crimes are pardoned for the sake of the work[b]. Therefore is it that we, at the same time that we are judged, thank you for your judgment. Such enmity is there between the things of God and the things of men; when we are condemned by you, we are absolved by God.

more it is oppressed." Add c. 23. Orig. de Princ. iv. 1. "You may see how in a brief time the religion itself grew, advancing through the deaths and sufferings of many," c. Cels. iv. 32. "The Word of God, more powerful than all, and when hindered, making this hindering as it were the very nourishment to its growth, advancing, took possession of yet more minds," and l. vii. 26. "The more that kings, and rulers of nations, and people, every where laid them low, the more were they increased and prevailed exceedingly," whence he says, l. iii. 8. p. 452. "Inasmuch as having been taught not to resist, they kept this gentle and loving law, therefore they accomplished, what they had not, had they, mighty as they were, received permission to war." See the passages ap. Kortholt in Plin. et Traj. Epp. p. 173—186. Jerom. in vit. Malchi. "By persecutions the Church grew, was crowned by martyrdoms." ad Is. viii. 9, 10. that the heathen were conquered in the martyrs. add Aug. de C. D. xviii. 53. xxii. 9. Chrys. S. de Drosid. §. 2. Hom. 33. (ol. 34.) in S. Matt. Hom. 4. in 1 Cor. §. 10. ad eos qui scandaliz. l. i. c. 23. (quoted ib.)

[b] On martyrdom, as a second Baptism, see de Bapt. c. 16. de Patient. c. 13. Scorp. c. 6. Cyprian Exhort. ad Mart. Præf. de Orat. Dom. c. 16. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. Auct. de rebapt. ap. Cypr. p. 364. Hil. in Ps. 118. lit. 3. §. 5. Greg. Naz. Or. 39. in S. Lum. §. 17. and Pelag. in Rom. 6. (in connection with Luk. xii. 50.) Cypr. ap. Aug. de Bapt. iv. 22. (with the penitent Thief.) Cyril Jer. iii. 10. (coll. Mark x. 38.) Origen Tr. 12. in Matt. p. 85. and Aug. de Civ. D. xiii. 7. (coll. Matt. x. 32.) Orig. ap. Eus. H. E. vi. 4. (as "baptism of fire.") S. Chrys. Serm. de S. Lucian. (Bapt. with the Holy Ghost.) Constt. Ap. v. 6. and Basil de Sp. S. c. 15. (dies really with his Lord, coll. Rom. vi. 3.) Jerome Ep. 69. ad Ocean. §. 6. t. i. p. 418. Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. c. 74. (with other grounds.) (as sanctified by the Blood from His Side.) Ambros. de Virginit. iii. 7. 34. Jerome Ep. 84. ad Pamm. et Ocean. v. fin.

NOTES TO THE APOLOGY.

Note A, p. 23. chap. ix.

THE use of blood as food, is spoken of as prohibited to Christians, in all Churches, from the earliest to the latest times. The early authorities are, Ep. Lugd. et Vienn. l. c. Clem. Pædag. iii. 3. fin. Strom. iv. 15. Tert. here and de Monogam. c. 5. Orig. c. Cels. viii. 30. p. 763. ed. de la Rue in Num. Hom. 16. v. fin. p. 334. Can. Ap. 63. Minut. F. p. 300. Cyril Jer. iv. 28. xvii. 29. S. Ambrose, (apparently) in Ps. 118. Serm. 13. §. 6. Gaudentius (de Maccab. Tr. 15. Bibl. Patr. Max. t. v. p. 967.) Ambrosiaster (ad Gal. ii. 3.) even while arguing against the Greeks, as if τῶν πνικτῶν had been interpolated by them, "it having," he says, "been already expressed," [i. e. things strangled were virtually comprised in the prohibition of blood; quia jam supra dictum erat, quod addiderunt.] Jerome (in Ezek. xliv. 31. which, he says, "according to the letter, is properly referred to all Christians, as being a royal priesthood," and that "the letter of the Apostles from Jerusalem directs" that these things "are of necessity to be observed," et quæ necessario observanda....monet) the Author of the Quæstt. et Respons. ad Orthod. qu. 145. Vigilius Taps. (A. D. 484.) employs the text (Acts xv.) as a proof of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, "the Holy Spirit having promulgated these things, all the Churches of Christ have kept them," whereas "no created thing had been allowed to give law to the world," (de Trin. l. xii. fin.) S. Chrysostom (Hom. 33. in Acts. §. 3.) says the Apostles "shew that it was no matter of condescension to infirmity (συγκαταβάσεως), nor because they spared them as weak, but the contrary; for these had a great reverence for their teachers; but that that [i. e. all beside] was a superfluous [as opposed to a necessary] burthen."

Of Councils, that of Gangra (A. D. 364.) seems to assume that it is not used, Can. 2. "If any condemn one who with reverence and faith eats flesh, save blood and things offered to idols and strangled," (Conc. t. ii. p. 496. ed. Reg.) In the second Council of Orleans (A. D. 533.) Catholics are excommunicated, "who should use food offered to idols, or feed on what had been slain by beasts, or died of any disease or accident." Can. 20. (Conc. t. xi. p. 164.) The Council of Trullo, (Quini-Sext.) A. D. 692. Can. 67. rehearses, "Divine Scripture hath commanded to abstain from blood, and strangled, and fornication, wherefore we punish proportionably

NOTES ON APOL.

those who for appetite's sake, by any act prepare the blood of any animal whatsoever, so as to be eatable. If then henceforth any essay to eat the blood of an animal in any way soever, if a clerk, let him be deposed, if lay, excommunicated." Balsamon (ad Can. 67. p.444.) notes that this Canon was directed against such as maintained that they observed the injunction of Holy Scripture in that they did not eat mere blood, but food prepared of other things with it; against which he says the Novell. 58. of the Emperor Leo, the philosopher, (A.D. 886.) was also directed, severely punishing all such.

"Things strangled" are either mentioned with blood, (as in Clem. Strom. l. c. Orig. c. Cels. l. c. Minut. F. l. c. Cyril J. l. c. &c. or are counted as included in it, as in Ambrosiaster l. c. and Aug. c. Faust. 32. 13. "'and from blood,' i. e. that they should not eat any flesh, the blood whereof was not poured out." There would however be the difference, that blood was forbidden by a law antecedent to the Mosaic (which ground is given in the Const. Ap. vi. 22.) and it may have an inherent sacredness, or there may be an inherent impropriety in eating it. Some distinction, accordingly, seems to be made; as when S. Augustine, controverting Faustus, maintains the Apostolic decree to be temporary only, and appeals to the practice of Christians, he instances "things strangled" only, and of these the smaller animals, in which the blood would not be perceptible. "Who among Christians now observes this, as not to touch thrushes, or *other birds however small*, (*minutiores aviculas*,) unless their blood had been poured out, or a hare, had it been struck on the back of the neck with the hand, not killed so as to let out blood?" (l. c.) S. Augustine's principles go further, but he seems to have been restrained by a sort of instinct: the instances, which he gives of the violation of the Apostolic decree, are such as scarcely touch upon the use of "blood;" in which there would be the least possible blood, and that unknown to those who used the food.

In like way, Balsamon (l. c. A.D. 1124.) speaking of the Latin practice as opposed to the Greek, names "things strangled" only. "The Latins eat things strangled as being a matter indifferent."

As to the later practice, in the Eastern Churches, Balsamon notes, "the Adrianopolitans, as I hear, use the blood of animals with some food; else they uniformly abstain." The Canonists, Zonaras, Alexius Aristenus, (A.D. 1166.) Matt. Blastarius, (A.D. 1335.) ap. Beveridg. Pandectæ, Canon. i. 41. 237. agree with Balsamon: Leo Allatius, de Eccl. Or. et Occ. consensu, iii. 14. p. 1167. adds Macarius Hieromonachus, and cites Leo Abp. of Bulgaria, Ep. 1. (A.D. 1051.) Joann. Citrius, (A.D. 1203.): Curcellæus de esu Sang. c. 13. quotes, "as to the Greeks, Nilus, Abp. of Thessalonica (A.D. 1360.) de primatu papæ; on the Muscovites and Russians, Herberstein; on the Abyssinians, a Gorr. de Mor. Æth.; on the Maronites of Syria, Brerewood de divers. Ling. et Relig. The practice of the Æthiopians is attested by Scaliger, de Emend. Temp. l. vii. p. 683. (quoted by Bev.)

In the West, it is noticed that Zacharia, Bishop of Rome, (A.D. 741.) in a letter to Boniface, the Abp. of Germany, (Conc. t. xvii. p. 413.) forbids several animals, probably on the ground of their being things strangled.

Humbert, Cardinal under Leo IX. (A. D. 1054.) in answering the charge of the Greeks, that they ate "things strangled," limits the defence to cases of necessity. "Nor, so saying, do we claim to ourselves, against you, the use of blood and things strangled. For, diligently following the ancient practice or tradition of our ancestors, we also abhor these things, so that a heavy penance is, among us, from time to time, imposed upon such as, without extreme risk of this life, eat blood, or any thing which hath died of itself, or been strangled in water, or by any carelessness of man; chiefly, because, in things not against the faith, we deem ancient customs, and the traditions of ancestors, to be Apostolic rules. For as to the rest, which die either by hawking, or by dogs or snares, [smaller animals, according to S. Augustine's distinction,] we follow the Apostle's precept, 1 Cor. x. (cont. Græc. Calumn. Bibl. P. t. xviii. p. 403.) In A. D. 1124, Otto, with the sanction of Callistus II. among other rules delivered to the newly converted Pomeranians, ordains "that they should not eat any thing unclean, or which died of itself, or was strangled, or sacrificed to idols, or the blood of animals," (Urspergensis Abbas ap. Baron. A. E. t. xii. p. 156. who adds, "more after the Greek, than the Roman, practice.") The imposition of penance is mentioned in Greg. 3. Can. pœnit. c. 30. Bede de Remed. Pecc. 4. (ap. Bev. Vindic. Can. Ap. 63. p. 342. ed Cotel.) the Capitula Theodori, xv-xix. and others there quoted, Pœnitentiale Theodori, t. i. p. 26. Richard Wormaciensis, Ep. Decret. l. 19. cap. 85. &c. (ap. Elmenhorst. ad Minut. F. l. c.) and the Concil. Wormac. c. 64, 65. (though not accounted genuine). Beveridge sums up the account, "so that what is sanctioned by this Canon, the Western Church also very long observed, the Eastern ever," (Cod. Can. Vind. ii. 6.) see further his notes on the Ap. Can.; Curcellæus, l. c. Leo Allat. l. c. Natalis Alex. H. E. t. i. Diss. xi. Suicer, v. αἷμα Elmenhorst l. c.

The application of this Apostolic injunction, which S. Augustine mentions, to designate the three heaviest sins, murder, adultery, and idolatry, does not exclude the literal sense, as appears from a trace of it in Tertullian himself. (de Pudicit. c. 32.) It occurs also in S. Cyprian Testim. iii. 119. Pacian. Paræn. ad Pœnit. init; perhaps in Theophilus Ant. quoted by Mill, ad loc. and in some ap. Pseudo-Eucherium ad loc.

Note B, p. 37.

The same distinct statement of the entire absence of images among the early Christians, and that, as a reproach made against them by the heathen, occurs in Origen, (c. Cels. viii. 17.) "after this, Celsus says that we abstain from setting up altars, images, temples." Cæcilius ap. Minuc. F. p. 91. "Why have they no altars, no temples, no known images?" Arnobius, l. vi. "Ye are wont to charge us, as with the greatest impiety, that we neither erect sacred buildings for the offices of worship, or set up the images or likeness of any of the gods, or make altars, &c." Lact. de Mortib. Persec. 12. "an image of God is sought for," (as it is implied,

NOTES ON APOL.

in vain; for had *any* image been found, the heathen would have thought it to be of God.) The assertions in Tertullian, Origen, and Minucius especially, are too distinct to be evaded; they attest a state of the Church very different from that of modern Rome; so could not men have spoken, had the use of images been such as the Deutero-Nicene Council would have it. The modern Romanist excuse (e. g. Feuardent, ad Iren. Pamel. ad loc.) that the ancient Christians were denying that they employed latria, though they did shew reverence, or that they had images of the *dead*, inasmuch as the saints were alive, certainly cannot in any way be made to fit to the passages which speak of their having *no* statues.

Over and above these positive statements of facts, the Benedictine editor of Origen thus sums up the principles of the early Christians. 1. "They held that no image of God was to be made." Clem. Al. Strom. vi. [vii. 5.] Orig. c. Cels. l. c. Minuc. F. p. 313. "Why should I form an image to God, when, if thou thinkest rightly, man himself is the image of God?" Lactantius ii. 2., who also argues like Tertullian, "what avail, lastly, images, which are the monuments either of the dead or the absent? images are superfluous, they [the Gods] being every where present; because they are the images of the dead: they are like the dead; for they are devoid of all sensation." This was continued, as to The Father, Conc. Nic. ii. Acts. 4. 5. 6. and Greg. 2 Ep. ad Leon. Isaur. ap. Petav. 15. 14. 1. add Aug. de Fid. et Symb. c. 7. 2. The second commandment extends to Christians. Clem. Al. Strom. vi. [v. 5.] Orig. c. Cels. iv. [v. 6.] vi. [14. vii. 64.] Tert. de Spect. 23. de Idol. 3, 4. [add Cypr. Test. iii. 59.] S. Augustine says, that all the decalogue is binding except as to the sabbath, c. Faust. xv. 4. 7. xix. 18. c. 2 Epp. Pelag. iii. 4.] 3. Painting and sculpture are forbidden to Christians as to Jews. Clem. Al. Protr. [§. 4. p. 18. ed. Sylb.] Orig. c. Cels. iv. [31.] Tertull. de Idol. l. c. c. Hermog. [init.] 4. They blamed the Encratites for having images of Christ, which they venerated after the manner of the Gentiles. Iren. l. 25. 6. and from him Epiph. Hær. 27. c. 6. Romanists answer, (e. g. Bellarm. de Eccl. Triumph. l. ii. c. 16. t. i. p. 2143,) that what S. Irenæus is here blaming, is the using heathenish rites, towards these images and those of the philosophers which they set up with them, as sacrificing, burning incense: (which S. Augustine adds, de Hær. c. 7. "worshipping and burning incense,") S. Irenæus, however, says nothing of this, but only, "And they crown them, and set them up with the images of the philosophers of the world, and shew other signs of reverence to them, in like way as the Gentiles," and S. Epiphanius expressly singles out for censure, the outward act of reverence, "with whom (the philosophers) they place other images of Jesus, and having set them up, they fall down before them (worship, προσκυνοῦσι) and in other ways do after the customs of the heathen." Epiph. (if it be not a gloss) adds "sacrifices" to the account of Irenæus, but it seems, on a conjecture only; "what are customs of the heathen, but sacrifices and the rest?"

To this statement, however, he subjoins that there was some allowed use of images in the three first centuries, alleging Euseb. vii. 18. Philost.

vii. 3. Niceph. vi. 15. Sozom. v. 21. Aug. de Cons. Ev. i. §. 16. Tertull. de Pudic. §. 7. Photius, cod. 271. and the amount of this supposed testimony in favour of their use confirms the argument against it. For that of Eusebius, (followed by the other Greek historians,) and Photius, relates chiefly to the fact of the statue at Paneas, which Eus. supposes to have been that of our Lord, and set up in gratitude by the Syro-Phœnician woman, "after the *heathen* manner of honouring deliverers," (ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ σωτῆρας τιμᾶν) so that this has no relation to Christians at all. Modern Romanists, however, (as Bellarm. l. c. c. Petav. de Incarn. 15. 13. 4.) lay stress on the fact mentioned by Sozomen, (l. c.) that "when the heathen had insulted it and broken it in pieces, the Christians gathered up the fragments and laid them up in a Church, where they remain to this day." "Whence," Petavius infers, "we see that Christians at that time, so far from disliking images, prized and honoured their very fragments, when broken in pieces by the heathen." Yet since they were persuaded that this statue, though the work of a heathen, was a likeness of their Lord, how could they but lay up the fragments safe from further insult? This is very different from setting it up in a place of worship as an object of reverence. 2. Eusebius mentions that he had *learnt* (ἱστορήσαμεν) that paintings of Paul, Peter, nay, of Christ himself, had been preserved. (The expression implies their rareness and obscurity.) S. Augustine speaks of them, as commonly existing, but with disapprobation; "so did they deserve to err," he says of those imposed upon by Apocryphal books, "who sought for Christ and His Apostles, not in the sacred volumes, but on painted walls." Tertullian speaks of the symbol of the good shepherd on the Eucharistic cup, (c. 7. coll. c. 10.) not of images or statues; but the use of *symbols* has ever been recognized among us. This last is the only instance of any sacred use, or any recognized by the Church; and in it there is no question even of the human figure, much less of worship, or of outward obeisance.

The instances adduced by Pamelius on this place, Feuardent on Irenæus, Bellarmine, l. ii. c. 10. t. i. p. 2113, are also instructive, as evincing the absence of any genuine testimony. They adduce the story of the image at Paneas, the later fables of the picture of Christ sent to Abgarus, that made by Nicodemus, the picture sent to the king of Persia, the picture of S. Mary, and again of S. Peter and S. Paul, by S. Luke. Their other authorities are not even said to belong to these times. Paulinus in speaking of those with which he had adorned the oratory of S. Felix, finds it necessary to account for having so done, by an unusual practice [raro more] in order to withdraw the rude multitude who assembled thither on the festival, from excess. The introduction of *any* paintings into Churches may date about his time, the close of the fourth century. The prohibition of them, however, by the Council of Eliberis, at the beginning of the same century, (Can. 38.) implies a disposition to introduce them. That Council prohibits all pictures; "We will not have pictures placed in Churches;" although the reason which they assign only extends (as Romanists argue) to those representing the Holy Trinity, "lest That to which our worship

NOTES ON APOL.

is paid, be seen on the walls." A little earlier than Paullinus, Epiphanius in Palestine, in a Church, which he had entered to pray, with John, Bishop of Jerusalem, destroyed a hanging representing "Christ or some saint;" "abhorring, that contrary to the authority of the Scriptures, the image of a man should be suspended in the Church of Christ." He gave it for a winding sheet for some poor, himself replacing the hanging by one from Cyprus; the only objection made to the action was the loss of the hanging. (Ep. ad Joann. Ep. Hieros. translated by S. Jerome[a], Ep. 51.) Contemporary with Paullinus, S. Augustine denies that Christians had any images in their Churches, (in Ps. 113. §. 6. see below, p. 116.)

Coming then to later times, we find the first sacred use in Churches, not of statues but of pictures, and those not of Martyrs, but of Martyrdoms[b]. They are not memorials of individuals, but painted histories of sufferings for Christ's sake, to animate Christians; such as the martyrdom of S. Cassianus, (Prudentius, Perist. ix. 5 sqq. where he says expressly Historiam pictura refert, v. 19.) of S. Hippolytus, (ib. xi. 126.) of S. Felix, (Paullinus Poem. 25. v. 20 sqq.) Barlaam the Martyr, (S. Basil, S. in Barlaam v. fin. if indeed there be any reference of actual painting at all. S. Basil seems rather to be speaking of the hymns of others, who could paint more vividly what he had depicted faintly.) S. Theodorus, (Greg. Nyss. Orat. in Theod. t. iii. p. 579.) S. Euphemia (Asterius ep. 7. Syn. Act. 4, p. 617. quoted by Petav. l. c.) This is the more illustrated by the account of other pictures in Churches; the most common was Abraham sacrificing Isaac, (again a history.) Greg. Nyss. Orat. 11. de Fil. et Sp. Div. t. iii. p. 476, [he is quoted as proving the existence of images of the Passion of Christ, whereas he only says he had seen εἰκόνα τοῦ πάθους, either a *picture* of the sufferings of Isaac, or if it relates to the Passion, then it means that offering of Isaac, as a type of the Passion; in neither case, any direct representation of the Passion.] Aug. c. Faust. xxii. 73. ("tot locis pictum.") Or again, the histories of Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, mentioned by Paullinus, l. c. together with those of the Martyrdoms, and (if genuine) recommended by Nilus, a disciple of S. Chrysostom, 7 Syn. Act. 4. p. 628. ap. Petav. l. c. This difference is important. 1. As shewing the object to be not to set forth the individual, but to instruct by the history. 2. The risk of idolatry is towards the individual saints; a history could not be the object of worship[c].

[a] Bellarmine (l. c.) argues the paragraph to be suppositious, but it is in all MSS.

[b] S. Gregory of Nazianzum Ep. 49. ad Olymp. is manifestly speaking of statues, wherewith the cities, not Churches, were adorned. He contrasts the destruction of the statues with the destruction of the whole city, "for if the statues shall be cast down, (κατενεχθήσονται,) this is not so grievous though it is otherwise grievous—but if *with them* an ancient city shall be cast down." (συνκατενεχθήσεται.) They were then the statues on the buildings of the city, which would be overthrown with it. Besides since the Greeks to this day do not set up statues, how much less then! Bellarmine, l. c. alleges the passage; Petav. de Inc. 15. 14. 3. gives it up.

[c] It is remarkable, on the same ground, that even where pictures were used, statues were avoided, as the Greek Church continues to do, though forgetting

3. The martyrdoms were depicted in no other way, than histories of the O. T. which were never the objects of outward reverence. 4. Pictures also of the living, as well as of the departed, were placed in the Churches, as that of Paulliuus himself, with S. Martin, (Epist. 32. ad Severum,) yet since the pictures of the living were not placed to have any sort of worship paid them, so neither those of the departed.

Though it makes uo difference in principle, whether there be more or fewer of such instances, it is worth noticiug, how eagerly proof has been grasped at, even where there is none, so that we may be the more satisfied that no real proof has been neglected. Thus S. Augustine, (quoted by Petav. l. c. §. 6.) Serm. 2. de S. Steph. is not referring to a picture of S. Stephen, but to his own discourse, in which he tells his hearers, that they had seen, i. e. had set before their eyes, his martyrdom. S. Chrysostom in Encom. Melet. is speaking of engravings on rings, cups, &c. not of Churches; Theodoret, in vit. Symeon, mentions only a *report* that in Italy the picture of that saint was set over workshops as a safeguard. This fact (strangely enough) is seriously alleged by Bellarm. l. c. ii. 9.

Other mistakes have been more serious, as when Eusebius, de vit. Const. iii. 40, is quoted in proof that images of Christ were set up in Churches, whereas he only says, "that the symbol of the Saving Passion [the Cross] was set up, formed of precious stones, (ἐμπεπῆχθαι τὸ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους σύμβολον.) Or iii. 3, that there were a number of gold and silver *images* in Constantiue's Churches, (Bellarm. l. c. ii. 9.) while he only mentions treasures [sacred utensils] (τοῖς ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κειμηλίοις): or Paullinus of the use of the *crucifix*, where he is distinctly speaking of the *cross* only,—the ancient symbol of the cross with the crown of thorns over, (coronatam, vers. in Ep. 32. [ol. 12.] ad Sev. §. 12. *crucibus* minio superpictis, §. 14

It is remarkable also to contrast the distinct statements of later works, now acknowledged to be spurious, with the absence of such statements in the genuine works. Thus in the spurious Ep. to Julian attributed, in the Deutero-Nicene Council, to S. Basil, [Ep. 360,] "whence I honour also and reverence [b] exceedingly the likenesses of their images [the Blessed Virgin's, Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs,] these having been delivered down from the holy Apostles, and not forbidden, but painted in all our Churches." In the de Visit. Infirm. ii. 3, in S. Augustine's works, is an account of a crucifix; the treatise is spurious, and its author wholly unknown. In the spurious Epistle of S. Ambrose, (de Invent. Gerv. et Protas,) (quoted by Damasc. p. 755, and Petav. l. c.) he is made to speak of a vision of S. Paul, whom he recognized by the likeness to a picture of the Apostle

the reason. Thus the author of the Quæsit. et Resp. ad Antioch. (ap. Athan.) qu. 39, says, "Whence [to prevent idolatry] frequently taking off the surface, wherein the likeness consists (τοῦ χαρακτῆρος λιανθέντος) we burn what was formerly the image, as useless wood." The editions, before the Benedictine, omitted this clause.

[b] προσκυνῶ. It is not here to be used of outward reverence, nor is it so understood by the Benedictine editors, who render "honoro et osculor eximie." They acknowledge the spuriousness of the Epistle.

NOTES ON APOL.

which he had by him; in the genuine Epistle, (Ep. xxii. ad Sororem,) he speaks of a certain presaging glow. In the celebrated passage alleged from S. Gregory, (Ep. ix. 52.) mention is made of a picture of Christ, and of reverence paid to it, and the principle is laid down, "we prostrate not ourselves before it, as before the Divinity, but we worship Him Who is represented in the picture." The passage is certainly spurious, for the letter had already been brought to a close, and, according to the admission of the Benedictine Editor, it is absent from all MSS. The modern Romanist plea for image worship is strikingly at variance with S. Gregory's sentiments in his genuine works, as in his Epp. to Serenus, Bp. of Marseilles, Epp. ix. 105. xi. 13. He says he had heard that "his brother Serenus, seeing certain worshippers of images, had broken those same images in the Church, and cast them out;—and I praise this, that you were zealous, that nothing made with hands should be worshipped." He then draws the distinction between the use of pictures as means of instructing the unlettered, and the abuse of worshipping them; advises that they be retained to the former end, and care be taken "that the people sin not in worshipping a picture." Gussanville admits candidly that this is somewhat harshly (duriuscule) spoken; another commentator explains it away by reference to the distinction of absolute and relative worship of the images of the saints, (Thom. 2. 2. qu. 94. art. 2. ad 1^mum^). Yet the same person would never have used both sorts of language.

On such authorities however, and the then received practice, was the Deutero-Nicene Council determined, in which unhappily the two distinct questions of the lawfulness of pictures in Churches, (which we fully admit,) and the outward reverence to them, were blended together.

Still weaker, if possible, is the evidence of outward reverence; on the cross, see above, p. 37. n. c. but besides this, no one genuine document is quoted in behalf of any sort of outward reverence; the quotations from the genuine works of the Fathers on the head of worship in the Deutero-Nicene Council, relate only to the principle of the honour paid to the type being referred to the prototype, where they are *not* speaking of images made with hands. Thus S. Ambrose in Ps. 118. Serm. x. §. 25. "God is honoured in good men, His image, as the emperor in his statue; the Gentiles worship wood as the image of God; the image of the invisible God is in that which is unseen," [i. e. the spirits of good men]. In like way S. Augustine de Doctr. Christ. iii. 9. "he who reverences any sign [signum] divinely instituted, venerates not what is seen and transitory, but that whereto they are all referred;" add S. Athanas. l. iii. c. Arianm. c. 5. where to illustrate how "the Divinity of the Father is seen in the Son," [the Image of the invisible God] he uses the likeness of an Emperor being seen in the image, so that he who sees the image, in it sees the Emperor. "So then he who worships the image, in it worships the king *also;* for the image is his form and likeness. Since then the Son is the Image of the Father, we must needs understand that the Divinity and Property of the Father is the Being of the Son. And this is the meaning of 'Who being in the Form of God,' and, 'the Father is in Me.' In like way, S. Basil, de Sp. S. c. 18.

answers the question, " If the Father be God and the Son God, how are there not two Gods?" " because the image of the king is also called the king, for the power is not severed, nor the glory divided. For as the rule and power which controlleth us is one, so is our glorifying one, and not many. Wherefore the honour to the image passeth to the prototype. What then in the one case the image is by imitation, the Son is in the other by Nature." add Hom. 14. c. Sabell. §. 4. Now it is observable that the very object of these illustrations implies that the reverence is not *merely* relative, but is paid to the image in itself, only not distinct; as the reverence paid to the Son is not simply relative to the Father. The inversion then of these comparisons proves nothing, unless it could be shewn that as the Son is worshipped in Himself, although with the Father as being One with the Father, so the image made with hands may be worshipped in itself. This also the language of S. Athanasius implies; he says, "worships the king *also*," the worship then of the image is again nothing *merely* relative; for had it been so, it had been an unfit illustration. Lastly, to justify the application of these illustrations, used in the Ancient Church, to image-worship, it ought to have been shewn that the Fathers so applied them; for they sanction only the application which they themselves make. But, so applied to a subject wholly foreign to what they had in view, these illustrations would become the very excuses of the Heathen, against which the early Christians argued, and against which they could not have argued, as they did, had they, with the modern Romanists, had an image-worship which they excused in the same way. The heathen excuse in Lactantius, (ii. 2. see also Athenag. §. 18.) " they say, we do not fear them, (the images,) but those (the gods) after whose likeness they are formed and in whose names they are consecrated," is exactly the same as the distinction of the Pseudo-Gregory (see above), or S. Thomas l. c. " the images of saints may not be worshipped with an absolute though but inferior adoration, but with a relative only may they and ought they to be worshipped." In like way, it is inconceivable that S. Augustine should argue in the way he does (in Ps. 113.) against the images of the heathen, had they been used in Christian worship. He could not have thus nakedly censured arguments so like what Romanists now use. " Holy Scripture guards in other places, that no one, when images were mocked, should say, I worship not this visible thing, but the Deity which invisibly dwelleth there," [S. 2. §. 3.] if the Heathen should have retorted, that so " Christians worshipped not that visible thing, but the Deity, God and man, thereby represented:" or again, (§. 4.) " They deem themselves of a purer religion who say, ' I worship neither image nor dæmon; but I gaze on the bodily image of that which I ought to worship.' " Again, both here (§. 5.) and Ep. 102. ad Deogratias, (qu. 3. §. 18.) he speaks of thee special danger of images, when the mind in prayer was directed towards them, " Who worships or prays, *looking upon an image*, and does not become so affected as to think that he is heard by it, as to hope that what he longs for will be granted him by it?—Against this feeling, whereby human and carnal infirmity may easily be ensnared, the Scripture of God utters things well

NOTES ON APOL.

known, whereby it reminds and rouses as it were the minds of men, slumbering in the accustomed things of the body; 'The images of the heathen,' it says, 'are silver and gold.'" He then (§. 6.) meets the objection, that the Christians too had *vessels* of silver and gold, the works of men's hands, for the service of the Sacraments. "But," he asks, "have they mouths, and speak not? have they eyes, and see not? dowe pray to them, in that through them, we pray to God? This is the chief cause of that frantic ungodliness, that a form, like one living, has more power over the feelings of the unhappy beings, causing itself to be worshipped, than the plain fact that it is not living, so that it ought to be despised by the living. For images are of more avail to bow down the unhappy mind (in that they have mouth, have eyes, have ears, have nostrils, have hands, have feet,) than it hath to correct it that they speak not, see not, hear not, smell not, touch not, walk not." It seems impossible that S. Augustine could so have written, had the Church in his day permitted the use of images, whereon Christians might gaze while they prayed.

To sum up the historical statement; 1. in the three first centuries it is positively stated that the Christians had no images. 2. Private individuals had pictures, but it was discouraged. (Aug.) 3. The Cross, not the Crucifix, was used; the first mention of the Cross in a Church is in the time of Constantine. 4. The first mention of pictures in Churches (except to forbid them) is at the end of the fourth century; and these, historical pictures from the O. T. or of martyrdoms, not of individuals. 5. No account of any picture of our Lord being publicly used occurs in the six first centuries, (the first is in Leontius Neap. l. v. Apol. pro Christian. A.D. 600.) 6. Outward reverence to pictures is condemned. (Greg.)

Note C. on c. xlvii. p. 98.

The ancient Fathers[c] uniformly speak of the intermediate state under the Scriptural name of "Paradise," (Tert. de Paradiso, in Lib. de Anima, c. 55. Orig. de Princ. l. ii. v. fin. Chrys. Hom. i. and ii. de Cruc. et Latron. §. 2. Prudent. pro Exeq. def. Catbem. x. 151.) or "Abraham's bosom," (Tert. adv. Marc. iii. 24. iv. 34. de Anima, c. 7. 55.) [in the "refreshment of awaiting the Resurrection," de An. c. 55. distinguishing it from Paradise, or the dwelling beneath the Altar, as open to Martyrs (de Res. Carn. c. 43.) only, and the Patriarchs, (de An. c. 55. Scorp. c. 12.)] Auct. Carm. de Judic. Dom. ap. Tert. Orig. de Princ. l. iv. 23. Quæstt. et Resp. ap. Just. M. q. 75. 76. Greg. Naz. Orat. in S. Cæsar. Greg. Nyss. Orat. 2. in 40. Mart. fin. t. i. p. 513. (even of Martyrs) Chrys. Hom. 7. in Heb. iv. Hom. ii. de Lazaro, t. i. p. 726. ed. Ben.; Hom. 53. in Matt.; Hom. 40. in Gen.; Pseudo-Dionys. Eccl. Hier. vii. 4. Athanas. Expos. Fid. §. 1. Auct. Quæstt. ad Antioch. q. 19. Hil. in Ps. 2. fin. and Ps. 120. fin. Ambrosiast. in Phil. 1. Prudent. l. c. Aug. in

[c] Most of these passages are collected by Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. S. l. vi. Adn. 264. and 345. Huet Origenian. l. ii. qu. xi. §. 15. Bellarm. de Sanct. Beat. i. 4. Pearson Expos. of Creed, Art. v.

Ps. 36, 10. (see on Conf. ix. §. 6. ed. Oxf.) Arethas. in Apoc. vi. 10. Theoph. ad Heb. xi. add Liturg of S. James. They speak of those gone before, as "at rest in a hidden receptacle," Aug. Ench. c. 108. de Civ. D. xii. 9. "in eternal rest," Hil. in Ps. 57. §. 6. "in the keeping of the Lord," Id. in Ps. 53. §. 10. 120. §. 16. "in an invisible place appointed them by God," S. Iren. v. 31. "somewhere in a better place, as the bad in a worse, awaiting the day of Judgment," Justin M. Dial. §. 5. "cherished in peaceful abodes," Zeno de Res. l. i. Tr. 6. §. 2. of the Martyrs as being "under the altar," Prud. Hymn. de 18. Mart. Cæsaraug. Perist iv. 190. Pseudo-Victorinus in Apoc. c. 6. of a "place where the souls of the righteous and the ungodly are carried, feeling the anticipations of the judgment to come." Novatian de Trin. c. 1. They say mostly, that the very Apostles and Patriarchs are not yet crowned, Chrys. Hom. 28. in Heb. xi. Hom. 39. in 1 Cor. §. 4. Theodoret in Heb. xi. Orig. in Lev. Hom. vii. Euthym. in Luc. 23.; they teach that they "wait for us," (Heb. xi. 40.) Orig. in Lev. l. c. Ambros. de Bono Mort. c. 10. Greg. Nyss. de Hom. Opif. c. 22. Theod. and Theoph. ad loc. Arethas. l. c. that the reward is not before the resurrection; Tert. de An. c. 55. adv. Marc. iv. 34. that "they now, beholding their *way to* immortality more clearly, as being near it, praise the gifts of the Godhead, and exult with a Divine joy; not now fearing that they should turn aside to evil, but well knowing that they *shall have* safely and for ever the good things laid up," Pseudo-Dionys. Eccl. Hier. i. 7. that "the judgment is not at once after death," Ambr. de Cain et Abel, ii. 2. Tert. de An. c. ult. Hil. in Ps. 2. fin. Lact. vii. 21; Novat. de Trin. c. 2. that "the heavens are not open, until the earth pass away," Tert. de An. c. 55 that they "see not the unchangeable Good, as the holy Angels see Him," Aug. de Gen. ad lit. xii. 35. "that they see the good things" [laid up for them] "only through faith and hope," Greg. Nyss. l. c. S. Aug. assumes, as known to all, that they are not in heaven; "after this life, thou wilt not yet be there, where the saints will be, to whom it will be said, Come ye blessed of My Father, &c.; thou will not yet be there, who knows not? but thou mayest already be there where that proud rich man in the midst of torments saw the poor, once full of sores, resting afar off. In that rest assuredly thou wilt, without anxiety, await the day of judgment," in Ps. 36. (comp. Hil. in Ps. 62. §. 7. Retr. i 14.) that they will not see the face of God until after the resurrection, Jerome, ap. Aug. 148. ad Fortunian. §. 8. Yet they say also that they "see Christ face to face," Chrys. Hom. 4. ad Phil. Quæstt et Resp. ap. Justin M. q. 75. "are with Christ," S. Chrys. Hom. 16. in Rom. And thus S. Hilary distinguishes between the "kingdom of the Lord," in which the saints shall be with the Lord until the Resurrection, and the "kingdom of God," "the eternal kingdom," (in Ps. 144. §. 16. Ps. 148. §. 8.) "the heavenly kingdom," "kingdom of heaven," "the eternal and blessed kingdom," in (Ps. 120. §. 16.) into which they are to enter after the Resurrection, advancing to the kingdom of God the Father by the kingdom of the Son, (Prol. in Ps. §. 11. in Ps. 119. Lit. 12. §. 14. and more fully in Ps. 148. §. 7. 8.) so that then shall they see God. (see Benedict.

NOTES ON APOL.

Pref. to St. Hil. §. vi. p. lxi sqq.) Even as late as S. Bernard, it was held that, in the intermediate state, the saints see the Humanity of our Lord, not His Divinity until after the Resurrection: (Serm. 3. in Fest. Omn. Sanct.) Again since it seems probable that S. Paul (2 Cor. xii. 2. 4.) speaks of "Paradise," and "the third heaven," as the same, they speak of this "place of rest," as being in heaven, without implying that the saints are in heaven, in the same way, as they shall be after the Resurrection; thus S. Basil, l. c. speaks in the same sentence of Heaven and Paradise; S. Cyprian, (de Mort. §. ult.) and S. Ambrose, (de Bono Mort. c. 12.) of "paradise and the heavenly kingdom." S. Chrys. (de Cruc. et Latr ii. 3. t. ii. p. 416.) of the thief "mounting instantly from the Cross to heaven;" S. Antony sees the soul of Amus borne through the air, [not heaven, as Bell. de Sanct. Beat. i. 4.] Athanas. de Vit. Ant. §. 60. S. Greg. Nyss. Orat. in S. Ephrem. (v. fin t. 3. p. 614.) speaks of S. Ephrem's being "in the heavenly tabernacles, where are the orders of Angels, and choirs of the Patriarchs," &c. and (fin. p. 616.) of his "standing by the Divine altar, and together with the Angels, offering oblations to the life-giving and All-holy Trinity" The Angels, however, may be in Paradise whither they conduct souls, and of this S. Jerome speaks, Ep. 23. ad Marcell. de Ob. Leæ; "she is received by the choirs of Angels, is cherished in Abraham's bosom," and also of their enjoying the intercourse of Angels, Ep. 39. ad Paulam de Ob. Blæs. Epiphanius, Hær. 78. fin. of their being at rest in glory, exulting with the Angels, living in heaven; S. Augustine of their being "able *in that heaven* ineffably to see and hear the very Substance of God, and God the Word, by Whom all things were made, in the Love of the Holy Spirit," de Gen. ad Litt. xii. 34. §. 67. where he thinks it likely that Abraham's bosom, Paradise, the third heaven, are different names for the one place where are the souls of the blessed, ib. §. 66. With this passage of S. Augustine agrees S. Gregory of Nazianzum, who supposes that departed saints contemplate the Blessed Trinity wholly, Orat. 43. in Basil. fin. Or. 8. in Gorgoniam, fin.: to this, however, S. Augustine held that they were admitted in Paradise. More commonly, however, the Fathers confine themselves to the words of Holy Scripture, and speak of "being with Christ," and in Him seeing God.

Another difference of language arises from our uncertainty, where Paradise is. Hence S. Ambrose says, that the Latins used "infernum," the "place below," for the Greek, "Ades," as the place of departed spirits, de Bono Mortis, c. 10.; and S. Jerome, l. 3. in Os. 13, 14. The infernus "is a place in which souls are laid up, either in a state of refreshment, or in punishment, according to their deserts." The Author of the Ancient work, de universi natura, says that the souls of all are contained in the same place, until the time which God shall appoint; that "the righteous are contained in Ades, but not in the same place as the unrighteous, but in Abraham's bosom," Galland. Bibl. PP. t. 2. p. 451. add Novatian, l. c. Pseudo-Victorin. in Apoc. 6. S. Greg. Nyss. de An. et Res. t. iii. p. 209. attests that "*all* think that the souls are removed hence

to Ades as a receptacle," (although he himself thinks that "Ades designates not any place so called, but a certain unseen and incorporeal state of life," ib. p. 219, 20. yet will he not contend with those who hold a definite place under the earth to be extended by St. Paul, Phil. 2, 10. as the receptacle of departed souls;) as the author of the Definitt. ap. Athan. t. ii. c. 9. says that "Christ rose from Ades, in like way as we also shall rise at the second Advent;" then we must be there. (To the same end, Colomesius (Κειμ. lit. c. 28.) cites Theodoret as saying that "there was one Ades to all, but light to some, dark to others;" and an author in Suidas, that "in Ades it must needs be well with some, worse with others." Olympiodorus in Eccl. 3. speaks of both opinions, that Paradise was in inferno and in heaven, as being held by previous writers.) Others speak of Paradise as above, and distinct, and say that the spirits of the righteous, Abraham and the Patriarchs, were removed thither by our Lord. Thus S. Chrysostom, that the penitent thief was admitted to Paradise "before Abraham, before the whole human race," (de Cruce et Latr. ii. §. 2.) and S. Cyril Jer. says, "The faithful Abraham had not yet entered, but the robber enters," (xiii. 15. §. 31.) and S. Jerome in another place (Ep. 39. ad Paul. de Ob. Blæs. §. 3.) says that the Patriarchs were in a state of refreshment in the "inferi," because Christ had not yet opened the gate of Paradise; (whence he explains the parable of Lazarus.) So that he must have thought that they were no longer there; (comp. S. Aug. de Civ. D. xx. 15;) but they do not speak, as though they knew where Paradise was, nor (as the modern Romanists,) as though the Patriarchs were in heaven, as they shall be after the resurrection. On the contrary, S. Aug. says he knows not where Paradise is. Tertullian, on the other hand, (de Anima, c. 55. de Res. Carn. c. 43.) supposes the Martyrs only to be admitted to Paradise, (see below,) the rest to be kept safe in a place of refreshment (Abraham's bosom) or of torment, as in the parable of Dives, (adv. Marc. iii. 24. de An. c. 7. de Res. Carn. c. 17.) Tertullian, however, infers from the words "lift up his eyes and saw Abraham afar off," that "Abraham's bosom" was, relatively to the place where the wicked awaited their doom, far on high; so that he comes to much the same as S. Ambrose. S. Aug. again says, that if the promise to the dying thief, "To-day thou shalt be with *Me* in Paradise," related to our Lord's human nature, then Paradise must be the same as "Abraham's bosom" in the Inferi, since His soul was there, not in heaven, but he thinks it more easily explained of His Divine Nature, since the Inferi, he thinks, are not used in Scripture in a good sense. He concludes "wherever then Paradise may be, whoever of the blessed is there, is with Him, Who is every where," Ep. 187. ad Dard. §. 5. 7. add Ep. 164. ad Euod. §. 7. 8.

In the main, then, all this harmonizes together; that they are at rest; with the Lord; in His keeping; seeing Him; (though we know not the place which Scripture designates as "Paradise," or "Abraham's bosom," or "the Altar,") yet not seeing God as they shall see Him after the Resurrection, nor having as yet their full reward. The Council of Florence, however, defined, that the "souls which have either contracted no spot of sin after Baptism, or which after contracting it, have been,

NOTES ON APOL.

either in or out of the body, cleansed, are received presently into heaven, and clearly behold the Triune Lord, differently according to their merits; those, who die in actual mortal sin, or in original sin, descend presently into hell, yet are differently punished." It places departed souls then either in Heaven, Purgatory, or Hell, and has no room for this teaching of the Fathers, which Romanists accordingly reject[d].

Whether the Martyrs had a special privilege of being at once admitted into the higher heaven, as some have inferred, is a distinct question. S. Ignatius (ad Rom. §. 7.) speaks in one word as though he knew that he was going to "the Father;" ("There is a living water, speaking in me, which saith to me within, 'hither to the Father,'") although in the rest of the Epistle, he dwells upon being "with Christ" only. Moyses et Max. Ep. ad Cyprian, Ep. 31. "to obtain the kingdom of heaven without any delay," Cypr. Ep. 55. ad Antonian. "to be crowned at once by the Lord," [unless this means that their course is finished at once, in contrast with those who remain to struggle through a whole life.] Tert assigns them an especial reward, but only the admission into Paradise: Dionysius Alex. (ap. Eus. vi. 42.) speaks of them as "assessors with Christ, and partakers of His kingdom" Yet even of them S. Augustine strongly says, "This life, which the blessed Martyrs now have, although it cannot be compared with any happiness or enjoyment of this world, is but a slight particle of the promise, nay, rather a consolation for the delay. For the day of retribution will come, when the body being restored, the whole man will receive his reward. For as there is much difference between the gladness and sorrow of people dreaming or waking, so is there much between the torments or joys of the dead or the risen,—because the rest of the souls without the bodies is one thing, the brightness and bliss of Angels with celestial bodies, to which the multitude of the risen faithful "shall be equal," is another. Serm. in Nat. Mart. Perp. et Felic. i. §. 5. add Serm. 328. in Nat. Mart. fin. where he speaks of them, (as, before, of the other dead,) that the things which eye hath not seen, &c. are "prepared for them at the Resurrection," and Serm. 298. in Nat. Apost. Pet. et Paul. iv. he states his ignorance where they are, as he does of the other departed, as not knowing where Paradise is, "Where are those saints, think we? There where it is well. What seekest thou more? Thou knowest not the place, but think on their desert. Wherever they are, they are with God. 'The souls of the just are in the hand of God.'"

Note D on c. xlviii. p. 101.

Tertullian alludes to the doctrine of the Millennium in the de Spectac. c. ult., in the de Res. Carn. c. 25. and more explicitly, (though mingled with Montanist errors,) adv. Marc. iii. 24. where he refers also to a work, "De spe

[d] Tertullian's statement that the souls of the saints remain in Abraham's bosom or Paradise or some place short of heaven, until the Day of Judgment, is placed by Pamelius among his Paradoxa (n. 9.); and the corresponding doctrine in other Fathers is excused by Romanists on the ground that the Church had not then decided on the question, so that it might be held before the Council of Florence, (A.D. 1439.) not since. see e. g. Pam. l. c.

fidelium," in which he had treated of it more fully. Before him, both S. Irenæus and Justin M. speak of it, as belonging to the full soundness of faith. S. Irenæus speaks of those who "being *thought* to believe rightly, pass over the order of the advancement of the righteous, and know not the gradations by which they are practised for incorruption," as "admitting heretical sentiments;" (5. 31. 1.) of "sentiments, borrowed from heretical discourses, in ignorance of the dispensations of God, and the mystery of the resurrection of the just, and of the kingdom, which is the beginning of incorruption, by which kingdom, they who are accounted worthy, are gradually habituated to receive God." (capere Deum, 5. 32. 1.) He speaks of it as something undoubted, questioned only by "some of those accounted orthodox," and the opposed views, as novel apparently in the Church, "transplanted (transferuntur) from heretical discourses." He speaks also of *some*, "essaying to transfer the prophecy of Isaiah," (5. 31. 4.) of "*some*, essaying to allegorize" other prophecies. (5. 35. 1.) The traditionary saying of our Lord, which he alleges from Papias, and other presbyters, relates but to a subordinate point, and is manifestly not the ground upon which he rests his doctrine. He quotes it only in connection with his exposition of the blessing of Isaac upon his younger son, Jacob. The estimate then of the judgment of Papias, (who however is praised by S. Jerome, [Ep. 71. ad Licinium,] and his writings accounted of value,) does not affect the question; nor though this parable be not our Lord's, (as it is unlike His words in the Gospel,) is support withdrawn from the doctrine, which is not indeed contained in the parable. The words are, "The days shall come in which vines shall grow, each having 10000 boughs, and on each bough 10000 branches, and to each branch 10000 switches, and on each switch 10000 clusters, and on each cluster 10000 grapes, and each grape, when pressed, shall yield 25 measures of wine. And when one of the saints shall take hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, 'I am a better cluster, take me; through me bless the Lord.'" Irenæus subjoins, "And that in like manner a grain of wheat should produce 10000 ears, and each ear shall have 10000 grains, and each grain ten pounds of fine clean flour; and the other fruits and herbs according to the proportion befitting them, and that all animals, using this food which is obtained from the earth, shall be at peace and harmony, subject to men with all subjection." The words, though not from our Lord[d], no more exclude a spiritual interpretation than Is. xxv. 6. and so many others. The doctrine itself S. Irenæus states to be traditionary, as also he implies it to have been that received in the Church. The doctrine in S. Irenæus is briefly this, that after the resurrection, the saints should also, in different degrees of nearness according to their deserts, in the holy City, in Paradise, or in Heaven, enjoy the sight of the Lord; "for every where shall the Saviour be seen, as they who see Him, shall be worthy." (5. 36. 1.) And for this he quotes the Presbyters before-mentioned, who had seen and heard from St. John, and whom

[d] It may still be that the basis of the parable may be from Him, though not the form. One would not like to judge, lest one should be pronouncing on à priori grounds, against what might be from Him.

NOTES ON APOL.

he distinguishes from Papias. This, both from the frequency with which he repeats it, and the place which it occupies as opposed to the Gnostics, who denied the resurrection of the body, appears to have been the centre of the doctrine, that, during this 1000 years, the Christians were to be prepared to bear the sight of God. Thus again, "All these and other sayings [of Isaiah] are without controversy spoken of the resurrection of the just, which takes place after the coming of Anti-Christ, and the destruction of all nations who are under him, in which the Christians shall reign in the earth, growing by the sight of the Lord, and through Him shall they be habituated to receive the Glory of God the Father, and shall in 'the kingdom' receive a conversation and communion and unity of spiritual things with the holy Angels." (5. 35. 1.) And, "As God who raiseth men from the dead, really is, so also doth man really, and not allegorically, rise from the dead, as we have shewn at such length. And as he truly riseth, so also shall he truly be practised for incorruption, and shall be enlarged and strengthened in the periods of 'the kingdom,' so as to become capable of receiving the Glory of the Father." (5. 35. 2.) And again, (5. 36. 1.) "In this new heaven and new earth, men shall abide ever new, and having intercourse with God." And again, (5. 36. 2.) after speaking of the threefold habitations of the saints, as they had brought forth thirty, sixty, or a hundred-fold, "That then shall those who are saved, be ranked and ordered, (the Presbyters, the disciples of the Apostles say,) and by gradations such as these shall they advance; and that by the Spirit do they ascend to the Son, and by the Son to the Father, the Son thereupon giving up His work to the Father, as it is written, 1 Cor. 15, 25. 26."

The sort of parable also, which Irenæus mentions on the authority of Papias and the Presbyters, and which is the only ground for Gennadius' statement, that Papias and the others "looked for things pertaining to meat and drink," relates only to the vine and wheat, both of which are throughout the Old Testament, singled out as symbolical of the Eucharist. (Iren. v. 33. 3 and 4.) And this is the more confirmed by Irenæus' citation of our Lord's words, as being then to be fulfilled. "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God," (Matt. 26, 29. Mark 14, 25.) The miraculous nature of the food, further, leads us the more to think of a sacramental eating and drinking. "He hath promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with His disciples; shewing both, as well the inheritance of the earth, in which the new fruit of the vine is drunk, as a resurrection of His disciples in the flesh. For the new flesh which riseth, is the same which also receiveth the new Cup." (v. 33. 1.) S. Irenæus argues that it must take place "in the flesh;" that "drinking" is an office of the flesh, as the vine is a product of the earth; yet it needed not (one should have hoped) to say that he looked not for any thing earthly and fleshly, who looked to share it with his risen Lord. In like way, S. Irenæus says, that the righteous shall in this their true sabbath have

* Origen himself (as has been pointed out to me) understands these words of a real and sacramental eating and drinking. Comm. in Matt. §. 85. Lat.

" a table prepared for them by God;" (ib. §. 2.) yet that were no earthly feast.

Together, however, with the risen saints, S. Irenæus supposed that those who had resisted Anti-Christ, would live on; these would be multiplied by a natural birth (v. 35. 1. and 34. 2. quoting Is. vi. 12.): yet the curse being removed, " the seed," Lactantius says, (vii. 34.) " will be holy and dear to God." Even for these, then, what they look for is a restoration of Paradise; so that, although not yet " like the angels of God in heaven," the defilement entailed by the fall would be removed. But since this did not belong to the risen saints, it is not even imputed to him that he looked to marriage as one of the joys of the Millennium. (See Gennadius below, p. 124.)

S. Irenæus expected also that Jerusalem would be rebuilt, (" the earth being restored by Christ, and Jerusalem rebuilt," v. 35. 2.) and he quotes the prophecies of the restoration of the children of Israel; but these he understands of the Christian Church. " We have shewn a little before, that the Church is the seed of Abraham, and therefore that we may know that in the New Testament, after the Old, He shall out of all nations gather together those who shall be saved, 'raising up from the stones children to Abraham,' Jeremiah says, &c. (xxiii. 7. 8.)" There is then no proof, that he looked for a restoration of the yet unconverted Jews to their own land. He insists on Isaac's blessing not having been literally fulfilled in himself, and therefore as awaiting a literal completion, and in this prophecy he specifies the promise, " Nations shall serve thee, &c." as having received no literal fulfilment, whence, (since from the whole he infers that " this blessing, without contradiction, belongs to the times of the kingdom, when the just rising from the dead shall reign," v. 32. 2.) he must have looked for some literal fulfilment of it then: but whether he looked for more than is implied by the very word " reign," or in what way those who had not yet died were to serve the risen saints, he does not specify. There is then no reason to say that he thought of any subjection, after the manner of men, or that they were to " minister to their delights." (Orig. de Princ. ii. 10.)

Justin M. although prior to, and so independent of Irenæus, agrees with him, in those points wherein he expresses himself. He too looked upon a belief in the Millennium, as a part of the entireness of faith; for, though he states that " many of pure and godly Christian sentiments did not acknowledge this," [the Millennium,] he says, " I and whosoever are, *in all things*, of sound Christian doctrine, know that there shall be both a resurrection of the flesh, and 1000 years in Jerusalem, built, and adorned, and enlarged, as the prophet Ezekiel and Isaiah and the rest confess." (Dial. §. 80.) It is plain that Justin M. here contrasts those " who are *in all things* sound," with those whom he had described generally as " of pure and godly sentiments," not with the heretics who denied the Resurrection, and to whom he had just denied the name of Christians. " If ye meet with some called Christians, but who confess not this, but even dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, who say also that there is no resurrection of the dead, but that

NOTES ON APOL.

immediately upon death, their souls are received up into heaven, think not these to be Christians."

As to his views of the Millennium, he assents to the statement in Trypho's question, "do ye confess that this place of Jerusalem shall be rebuilt, and your people gathered together, and be in joy with Christ, together with the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and those of our race, and even those who become proselytes before your Christ came?" (Dial. §. 80.) But this joy he expressly states to be spiritual; "They from every nation, slaves or free, who believe in Christ and know the truth in His words and in those of His prophets, know that they shall be with Him in that land, and shall inherit the things eternal and incorruptible." (ib. § 139.) He also looked to it, as a fulfilment of our Lord's words; "He said, that He should come again to Jerusalem, and then again eat and drink with His disciples;" (§. 51.) and so, when he quotes Is. lxv. 17—25 as a propheey of the Millennium, the words therein comprised, "they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them[f]," will be to be understood in the same way as in S. Irenæus. Of the conversion of the Jews, Justin M. says nothing decisive. Trypho asks him, "What sayest thou? that no one of us shall inherit any thing in the holy mount of God?" Justin answers, "I say not so; but they who persecuted and do persecute Christ, and repent not, shall inherit nothing in the holy mount; but the Gentiles which have believed in Him, and repented for their sins, these shall inherit with the patriarchs, and the prophets, and the righteous, who are sprung from Jacob, though they sabbatize not, nor are circumcised, nor keep the feasts. Assuredly shall they inherit the holy inheritance of God." (§. 26.) He seems here to speak only of such lineal descendants of Jacob as had embraced the Faith. Again, when he says, (§. 40.) "Ye shall in the same place of Jerusalem acknowledge Him, Who was put to shame by you;" it does not appear whether he means this of the converted, or of the unconverted who should be compelled to acknowledge Him (as in Matt. xxvi. 64.) In neither case is any general return of the unconverted Jews implied.

Similar is the view of Melito, Bp. of Sardis, (A. D. 170,) a man, whom many Catholics, according to Tertullian, accounted "a Prophet," (ap. Hieron. de Virr. Ill. in vit.) of whom it was said, "he had his whole conversation in the Holy Ghost," (Polycrates, Ep. ad Victor. ap. Eus. H. E. v. 24.) He took a journey to Palestine to ascertain the Canon of the O. T. (Ep. cj. ap Eus. H. E. iv. 27.) and wrote on the Apocalypse, as Bishop of one of the seven Churches addressed in it. The meaning of S. John may well be thought to have been yet preserved there, within seventy years of his decease. Gennadius places Melito apparently as the most spiritual of

[f] Dr. Whitby, as, in his "Treatise on the Millennium" he is altogether unfair towards the Fathers who held it, so in this, that, where the Fathers have quoted passages of Scripture, without dwelling upon them, he affixes his own meaning to them, and quotes them as the words of the Fathers themselves. Thus, iv. 1. note o. he quotes Jerem. xxvii. 8. as Irenæus; and again, Is. vi. 12. in note u, on iv. 5.; thus again (iv. 3.) he singles this verse, on which Justin M. does not comment, out of a long passage which he quotes.

the maintainers of the Millennium; at least, he charges him with nothing, except expecting what should be in time, not eternal; as the Millennium must necessarily be. "In the divine promises, we look for nothing earthly or transitory, as the Melitans hope; no marriage-union, according to the phrensy of Cerinthus and Marcus; nothing pertaining to meat or to drink, as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Lactantius, assenting to Papias; nor do we hope that, for 1000 years after the Resurrection, the reign of Christ will be on the earth, and that the saints will reign with Him amid delights, as Nepos taught, who feigned a first resurrection of the righteous, and a second of the ungodly, and that between these two, the nations who know not God, will be kept in the flesh in the corners of the earth. Which after the 1000 years of the reign of the righteous upon earth, are to be excited by the instigation of the devil to war against the righteous reigning, and to be restrain d by the Lord fighting for the righteous with a shower of fire, and thus dying are, together with the rest who before died in ungodliness, to be raised in an incorruptible body to eternal punishments." (de Dogm. Eccles. c. 52.) It is observable also that as Gennadius detaches Melito from the followers of Papias, so neither does Jerome any where mention him among them, so that he seems to stand as an independent witness.

This doctrine Eusebius states to have been the prevailing doctrine in the Church, owing, as he thinks, to the respect for the antiquity of Papias. "Among which" [things approaching to the fabulous] "he said that there would be a period of 1000 years after the Resurrection from the dead, during which the kingdom of Christ should subsist in the body upon this earth. Which I think that he supposed, having misunderstood the Apostolic relations, not comprehending what was by them mystically uttered in similitudes. For he appears to have been a person of very confined mind, to judge from his sayings. Nevertheless he was the occasion that by far the greatest number of Church-writers after him (πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν) held the like doctrine, pleading the antiquity of the man; such as Irenæus, and whoever besides has openly maintained the same things." (H. E. iii. 39.)

In this statement also, no account is given of any thing earthly in the doctrine, except that the kingdom was looked for upon the earth.

Tertullian himself, as might be expected from his character, distinctly limits the joys of the Millennium to spiritual joys. "This [Jerusalem] we say is provided by God for receiving the saints upon the resurrection, and refreshing them with the abundance of all, (only spiritual[g],) good things, in compensation for those which in the world we have either despised, or lost." (adv. Marc. iii. 24.) He admits also (which is to be observed) a spiritual fulfilment of these same prophecies in the Church. "As to the restoration of Judæa, which the Jews themselves, led by the mention of names of places and countries, hope for, as it is described, [i. e. to the letter;]—how the allegorical interpretation spiritually belongs to Christ and

[g] Dr. Whitby says, (iv. 4.) "Of this opinion" (viz. of the earthly delights of the Millennium) "*doubtless* was Tertullian in his book De spe Fidelium;" yet without evidence, and against it.

NOTES ON APOL.

the Church and its character and fruits, it were long to follow out, and has been already set in order in another work which we have entitled, 'On the hope of the Faithful;' and it were for the present superfluous, when the question relates to things promised in heaven, not on earth. For we confess also a kingdom promised to us upon the earth, but before heaven, but in a different state of being; namely, after the resurrection, for 1000 years, in the city of Jerusalem, divinely built, 'brought down from heaven,' which the Apostle also calls, 'our mother from above.' This both Ezekiel knew and the Apostle John saw." Tertullian supposed that all the righteous would "rise within the Millennium," only, "sooner or later, according to their deserts." (adv. Marc. l. c.)

Such was the state of the doctrine until the early part of the third century; held by most[b], questioned by some, but by none, whose name has been preserved. The first whom we know of, who openly impugned the doctrine, was Origen. His charges are founded not on the language of its maintainers, but on the passages of Scripture, whose literal meaning they contended for. And thus he blames them as "disciples of the letter alone," as "refusing the labour of understanding, and as following a certain surface of the letter of the law;" (de Princ. ii. 11. 2. as on the other hand, S. Irenæus blames some for "attempting to allegorize," Nepos wrote "a confutation of the Allegorists." Eus. H. E. vii. 24.) In this way, Origen charges them with thinking, that "strangers should be given to them as ministers of their delights, whom they were to have as ploughmen, or builders of the walls, by whom their destroyed city should be built up," in reference to Is. 61, 4. 5., whereas they speak of a heavenly city which shall come down from heaven; or again that "they shall receive the riches of the Gentiles to eat, and that the camels of Midian and Kedar should come to them, &c." from Is. 60, 5 sqq. 61, 6. (other references are Rev. 21, 18 sqq. Is. 65, 13. 14.) He charges them also with "looking for promises consisting in bodily pleasure and luxury," and that "they therefore chiefly long to have again after the resurrection such flesh, as shall never fail in the power of eating and drinking, and doing all which belongeth to flesh and blood"—with holding that there would be "even after the resurrection, marriage-union, and begetting of children,"—a manifest misconception of the doctrine, if he means to speak of that held in the Church.

It may have been owing to his influence, that his great disciple,

[b] Du Pin adds to the above the names of S. Athenagoras and S. Clement of Alexandria, (Nouvelle Biblioth. Art. Papias, not. c, t. i. p. 146.) but without references, and apparently without authority. The statement as to S. Clement is probably founded on the spurious Eclogæ Theodoti, i. c. 63. Whitby adds S. Barnabas. "S. Barnaby is very positive, 'That the very temple which was destroyed by their enemies shall be rebuilt gloriously,'" but the words referred to, ("Now the very servants of the enemies shall rebuild it," c. 16.) are explained by S. Barnabas himself, within a few lines, of the building up of the Christian Church, wherein they who were "the house of devils," having "received remission of sins, and placed their hope in the name of the Lord, became new men, built again from the beginning, wherefore God is truly in our dwelling, dwelleth in us."

S. Dionysius of Alexandria, (A. 247.) set himself so earnestly to withstand the doctrine. He brings the same charge[h] as Origen, that they understood the Scriptures in a Jewish way, and held forth unworthy views of the Divine truth. It is not clear, what form of the doctrine Dionysius opposed. He himself speaks with much respect of Nepos, Bishop of Egypt, against whose work he wrote and argued. "In many other things I accept and love Nepos, both for his faith and laboriousness and his study in the Scriptures, and for his copious psalmody, wherewith many of the brethren are cheered until now; and altogether I reverence the man, so much the more, as he is gone before to rest." It is unlikely that one, of whom Dionysius so spoke, should have had gross and carnal notions of the Millennium; and so it may be, that his work was only abused by certain teachers, who for a time made divisions in the Church. These at all events exaggerated the doctrine of the Millennium, perhaps perverted it. Dionysius says, that they disparaged the Scriptures, and "held out the expectation of this book as of some great and hidden mystery, and allow our simpler brethren to have no great and lofty thoughts, either of the glorious and truly Divine Appearing of our Lord, nor of our resurrection from the dead, nor of our gathering together to Him, and conformity with Him; but persuade them to hope, in the kingdom of God, for petty and mortal things, and such as they now are." He speaks of these doctrines having been "of long time, spread widely in the Arsenoitis, so that there had been divisions and fallings away of whole Churches." He held a disputation for three days, at the close of which, "Coracion, the chief upholder of these views, publicly protested that he would for the future neither hold, nor discuss, nor mention, nor teach, these things, as having been sufficiently convinced by what had been said against them," and so harmony was restored. (ap. Eus. l. c.) Dionysius' own words *might* apply to the doctrine, as set forth by the previous fathers. In this case one must suppose that he, like Origen, misconceived the doctrine; for, in that it relates only to an intervening state, it does not affect any of the doctrines, which he says it occasioned to be held in a low sense. If we might have taken to the letter what S. Jerome says, it would be clear that it was not the doctrine of the earlier fathers, but one very different, which Dionysius opposed. S. Jerome, however, begins with an inaccuracy, saying that the book was written against S. Irenæus; the tone also in which he describes it as having been written is very different from (Præp. ad lib. 18. in Is.) "Against whom" (Irenæus) "Dionysius, Bp. of Alexandria, writes an elegant book, *ridiculing* the fable of 1000 years, what would seem likely from Dionysius' own words, S. Jerome says,

[h] Origen thus sums up: "They thus think who, believing indeed in Christ, but understanding the Scriptures in a certain Jewish sense, looked for nothing worthy of the Divine promises." l. c. Eusebius (but it does not appear whether he is here using Dionysius' own words) says, that "Nepos taught that the promises in the Divine Scriptures would be realized rather after Jewish notions, (Ἰουδαϊκώτερον) and that there would be a certain space of 1000 years, passed in bodily enjoyment on this earth." H. E. vii. 24.

NOTES ON APOL.

and the Jerusalem of gold and gems upon the earth, the restoration of the temple, the blood of sacrifices, the rest of the sabbath, the mutilation of circumcision, marriages, childbearings, bringing up of children, delights of banquetings, and servitude of all nations; and again wars, armies and triumphs, and deaths of the vanquished, and the death of the sinner a hundred years old." It seems however certain that these details are not taken from Dionysius, but are only his own way of expanding the charge of Judaism, since in other places (in Ezek. 36.) speaking in his own person, he uses the same language as to all who hold the doctrine, and as he says 'especially Tertullian,' although we know from Tertullian's own words that he looked only for joys purely spiritual. (see also in Joel 1 and 3.)

The ancient doctrine, however, of the Millennium equally suffered, whether Dionysius opposed it in itself, or as disguised in a new form; they who abandoned it, abandoned it altogether. Yet it still continued, even in the East, until the time of S. Jerome, and was held by many. S. Jerome writes, "Apollinarius answered him [Dionysius] in two volumes; whom not only those of his own sect, but a very great multitude [plurima multitudo] of our people follows in this single question;" so that he anticipates much odium from opposing it. (l. c.) He speaks of it also as a question still undecided, and one in which it was apparently perplexing even to himself, to have to go against the opinions of so many of the ancients. "I am not ignorant what diversity of opinions there is among men, I speak not of the mystery of the Trinity, (the right confession whereof is to be ignorant of [human] knowledge,) but of other Church doctrines; of the Resurrection namely, and of the state of souls, and of the human flesh, of the promises of the things to come, how they are to be taken, and in what way the Revelation of John is to be understood, which if we take according to the letter, we must judaize; if we discourse spiritually, as it is written, we shall seem to go contrary to the sentiments of many ancients, of the Latins, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius; of the Greeks, to pass over others, I will mention only Irenæus, Bp. of Lyons." (l. c.) To these he elsewhere adds Severus, a contemporary, "which things many of ours have held out, and lately, our Severus in the dialogue, which he entitled Gallus." S. Jerome speaks also of a *chain* of Greek writers, when he adds, "And to name Greeks also, and join the first and the last, Irenæus and Apollinarius." (in Ezek. 36.)

It is remarkable, also, that S. Augustine at one time looked for a spiritual Millennium, and delivers it as an undoubted truth. "That eighth day (Joh. xx. 26.) signifies the new life at the end of the world; the seventh the rest of the saints, which shall be on the earth. For the Lord will reign on the earth with His saints, as the Scriptures say, and will have a Church here, where no evil shall enter. For the Church shall appear first in great brightness and dignity and righteousness." (Serm. 259, in die Dom. octav. Paseh. §. 1. 2.) He differs from Irenæus, in that he supposes the Millennium to succeed the Judgment; "After the

sifting of the Day of Judgment, the mass of the saints will appear [separated from the chaff] resplendent in dignity, very mighty in good deeds, and shewing forth the mercy of their Redeemer. And this shall be the seventh day. When that sixth day" [of the reformation of men after the image of our Creator in Christ] "shall have passed away, then shall come the rest after that sifting, and the saints and righteous of God shall have their sabbath. But after the sabbath, we shall pass into that life and that rest of which it is written, "That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard." (ib.) S. Augustine, even when he had changed his view, speaks very tenderly of the spiritual Millennium. "They who on account of the first words in this book [Rev. xx. 1 sqq.] have imagined that there will be a first corporeal resurrection, have among other things been chiefly moved by the number of '1000 years,' as though there ought thus to be fulfilled in the saints as it were a sabbath of such duration, a holy rest namely after the labours of 6000 years since man's creation, and ejection from the bliss of paradise, entailed by that great sin, into the sorrows of this mortal life: so that, since it is written, 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day,' the 6000 years [of the duration of the world] being accomplished, as it were six days, there should follow as it were the seventh day of the sabbath in the last 1000 years, the saints namely rising again to celebrate their sabbath. Which opinion would be at all events unobjectionable, if it were believed that the saints should in that sabbath have spiritual joys through the presence of the Lord. For we too so thought once. But since they say that they who shall then rise again, shall be wholly given up to most immoderate carnal feasts [epulis vacaturos], in which there shall be so much eating and drinking, as not only to preserve no moderation, but even to pass the bounds of Heathenism [incredulitatis] itself, these things cannot be believed except by carnal men. But they who are spiritual call those who believe these things by a Greek term, Chiliasts, whom we, rendering literally, may term Millarians." (de Civ. D. xx. 7.)

In like way Epiphanius says (Hær. 77. §. 26.) that he had heard it confidently affirmed of Apollinarius, (though he did not believe it,) that he said that in the first resurrection, we shall pass a space of 1000 years, in the same manner of life as now, keeping the law and other things, making use of the same things as now, partaking of marriage, circumcision, and the rest."

If the doctrine of the Millennium had thus degenerated, it is not surprising that it sunk, even independently of the influence of three such names as S. Dionysius, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome; nor need these, on the other hand, be necessarily supposed to object to the doctrine as set forth by S. Irenæus, to which S. Augustine at least sees no objection, even while he prefers another interpretation. In later times, the doctrine of purgatory took the place of this as well as of that of the intermediate state; the characteristic of both these doctrines being the inculcation of the gradual preparation of the soul (in S. Irenæus' words) to "receive God;" for this the Church of Rome has substituted the fierce purifying

NOTES ON APOL.

fire of purgatory, so that these have no place in her system; and the doctrine of the Millennium also is, by her writers, generally treated as contrary to sound faith[i]. The teaching of the early fathers has however been well cleared by a Romanist writer, Le P. Lambert, Exposition des prédictions et des promisses faites à l'Eglise, &c. (Paris, 1806.) c. 16.

The subject has many difficulties. If the Millennium be placed (as by S. Irenæus) before the Day of Judgment, (and one sees not how the Apocalypse (c. 20.) admits of its being placed otherwise,) and include (as in him) all those who shall then be accepted, it seems to forestall the sentence of that Day; but it may be safe perhaps to separate what S Irenæus declares to be traditionary, from what he gives as his own exposition of Holy Scripture, to anticipate that there may be a Millennium, without defining whom it shall include. The doctrine of the Millennium depends upon the book of the Revelations, and so is independent of the question whether the latter parts of Isaiah[k] and Ezekiel are then to find a more complete fulfilment. It cannot be doubted that they have received a large fulfilment in the Church and its gifts, its privileges, holiness and peace; a larger fulfilment of the same kind, though fuller in degree, may yet be in store for her. The more modest way seems to be, not peremptorily to decide either way; either way we may be prescribing to the Wisdom of the All Wise; it may be that the prophecies, after their first partial temporal fulfilment, are to have no other than their spiritual fulfilment, which is their highest meaning; and we should not require more, as if God must be a debtor to our interpretations: on the other hand, one should not decide peremptorily that it may not please Him to give them a second literal fulfilment; if were but analogous to an expectation, which is found in the Fathers, that Elias may yet come personally before the second advent of our Lord, although we know, on Divine authority, that the prophecy of his coming was fulfilled (i. e. had one complete fulfilment, so as to *require* no other) before His first Advent.

[i] Hence (as Feu-ardent admits) the five last chapters of S. Irenæus were omitted in most MSS. and in those from which his work was first published. Feu-ardent restored them.

[k] It is remarkable, that the objections to the doctrine, in Origen, (see p. 126.) and S. Jerome, (p. 127.) are almost entirely founded on the literal application of the prophecies of Isaiah, not of the Revelations.

OF THE WITNESS OF THE SOUL.

[The De Testimonio Animæ is the expansion of an argument, touched upon in the Apology, c. 17. to which it contains an allusion, c. 5. It was written therefore somewhat, probably not much, later; as being a supplement to it. It is perhaps the most original and acute of Tertullian's works.]

I. It is a work, which needeth to be laboured at with much nicety of research, and far more of memory, if one would call the testimonies to Christian Truth out of all the most received writings of philosophers, or poets, or any teachers whatever of the learning and wisdom of this world, so that its rivals and persecutors may, by their own peculiar documents, be proved guilty both of error in themselves, and of injustice towards us. Some indeed, in whom, as respecteth ancient writings, both the diligence of curious research and the retentiveness of their memory hath held out to the last, have composed books to the heathen, which are in our hands[a], declaring and attesting, to their disgrace[b], both the origin, and handing-down, and proofs, of our opinions, whereby it may be seen that we have taken up nothing new or strange, in which even the common and popular books do not give us the countenance of their support, wheresoever we have cast out what is wrong, or admitted what is right. But that hardness, arising in unbelief, which belongeth to man, hath inclined them not to trust even their own teachers, (on other points most approved and choice authorities,) if they any where fall upon arguments tending

[a] "Quadratus, Aristides, Justin, Athenagoras, Melito, Theophilus, Antioch., Apollinarius, Tatian, Irenæus, Clem. Al., Miltiades." Pam.

[b] In suggillationem. Rig. (apparently from conjecture) has "in singula rationem," "attesting on each separate point, the nature, &c."

De Test. An. II. 1.

to the vindication of the Christian Faith. Then are the poets foolish, when they make the gods the subjects of human sufferings and fables: then are the philosophers hard to be believed, when they knock at the door of truth. So long only shall a man be esteemed wise and prudent, who teacheth that which is *almost Christian*, whereas, if he affect prudence or wisdom, either in rejecting heathen ceremonies or in convicting the world, he is branded as a Christian. Now[c] therefore, we will have nothing to do with books, and with doctrine, whose success is on the wrong side, which is more believed in falsehood than in truth. No matter whether any have taught One God and One only. Yea let them be thought to have declared nothing which a Christian can allow of, lest he be able to upbraid them with it. For even that which is declared, all do not know, and they who do know it, are not assured that it is true. So far are men from assenting to our writings, to which no one cometh, unless he be already a Christian! I call a new witness: yea one more known than all writings, more a-stir than all doctrine, more public than all publications, greater than the whole of man, in other words that which is the whole of man. Soul, stand thou forth in the midst, whether thou art a thing divine and eternal according to most philosophers, and therefore the less able to speak falsely, or, as seemeth to Epicurus only, in no wise divine, because mortal, and therefore the less to be expected to speak falsely[d]; whether thou art received from Heaven[e], or conceived of the earth, or fitly framed together of parts or of atoms[f]; whether thou hadst thy beginning with the body, or art sent into the body after that it is formed[g]; from whatever source, and in whatever manner, thou makest man a reasonable creature more capable than any of understanding and of knowledge. But I summon thee not such as when, formed in the Schools, exercised in libraries, nourished[h] in the academies and porches of Athens, thou utterest thy crude wisdom. I

Acts 26, 28.

[c] in contrast with the Apology.

[d] because, as it were, an independent witness, when attesting to God. Rig.

[e] Plato, see de Anim. c. 23.

[f] Plato, ib. c. 14.

[g] The Stoics, ib. c. 25.

[h] pasta, cod. Ag. Rig. supposes that T. refers to the notion, which (de Anim. c. 6.) he attributes to the Stoics, that "the arts are corporeal;" the context implies irony.

address thee as simple, and rude, and unpolished, and unlearned, such as they have thee who have nothing else but thee, the very and entire thing that thou art in the road, in the highway, in the shop of the artizan. I have need of thy inexperience; since in thy experience, however small, no one putteth faith. I demand of thee those truths which thou carriest with thyself into man, which thou hast learnt to know either from thyself, or from the author, whosoever he be, of thy being. Thou art not, as I know, a Christian soul, for thou art wont to be made Christian not to be born so[i]. Yet now the Christians demand a testimony from thee, who art a stranger, against thine own friends, that they may blush even before thee, for hating and scoffing at us on account of those very things, which now charge thee as a party to them.

II. We give offence, in preaching God as the One God, under the one Name of God, *from Whom are all things*, and under Whom is the whole body of things. Bear witness to this, if thou knowest it to be so, since we hear thee also saying openly and with full liberty, not allowed to us, at home and abroad, "Which God grant[j]," and, "If God will;" by which word thou both declarest that there is some God, and confessest that all power is His, to Whose will thou lookest; and at the same time thou deniest that the rest are gods, in that thou callest them by their proper names, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Minerva. Thou affirmest that He Alone is God, Whom Alone thou namest God, so that even when thou dost sometimes call these gods, thou seemest to use the name as a foreign and, as it were, a borrowed one. Neither art thou in ignorance concerning the nature of God, which we preach. "God is good," "God doeth good," is thine own word. Clearly thou impliest besides, "But man is evil," uttering, that is, indirectly and covertly in the contrary proposition, the reproach, that man is therefore evil, because he hath departed from the good God. Again, whereas with us every blessing pronounced in the name of the God of goodness and kindness is a thing of the highest sacredness in our discipline and conversation, thou sayest as

1 Cor. 8, 6.

[i] See on Apol. c. 18. p. 41. n. d.

[j] See on Apol. c. 17. p. 40. n. z.

De Test. An. II. 2.

readily as any Christian need, "God bless thee." But when thou turnest the blessing of God[i] into a curse, thou dost in like way by the very word confess, according to our doctrine that His power is altogether over us. There are some who though they deny not God, do not at all regard Him as One that considereth, and witnesseth, and judgeth, (wherein indeed chiefly they set us aside[j], who flee to that doctrine through fear of the judgment which is preached,) thus honouring God, while they make Him free from the care of watching and the trouble of regarding them, not even attributing anger to Him. 'For,' say they, 'if God be angry, He is corruptible and subject to passions. Moreover that which is passive and corruptible admitteth also of being destroyed, of which God admitteth not.' But the same persons confessing elsewhere that the soul is divine, and bestowed by God, fall upon a testimony of the soul itself to be retorted against the above opinion; for if the soul be either divine or given by God, doubtless it knoweth Him Who gave it, and if it knoweth, assuredly it also feareth Him; Him moreover Who hath so largely endowed it. Doth it not fear Him, Whom it would rather have favourable to it than wrathful against it? Whence then cometh this natural fear of the soul towards God, if God hath no mind to be angry? How can He be feared Who cannot be offended? What is feared except anger? How shall one be angry except he mark what is done amiss? Why should he mark except to judge? how shall he judge, except he have power? to whom belongeth the chief power, except to God alone? Hence cometh it then, O soul, that, from the knowledge that is within thee, thou declarest, at home and abroad, no man scoffing at, nor forbidding thee, 'God seeth all things[k],' and 'I commend to God,' and 'God shall repay,' and 'God shall judge between us.' Whence hast thou this, not being a Christian, and, moreover, ofttimes crowned with the fillet of Ceres, and clothed in the scarlet[l] cloak of Saturn, or the linen one of Isis? Finally, in the very temples themselves thou

[i] Interpunction altered, "in maledictum convertis benedictionem Dei," &c.

[j] Apol. c. 48.

[k] See on Apol. c. 17. n. a.

[l] as the colour of blood, Lips. Sat. i. 5. coll. de Pall. c. 4. fin.

callest upon God as thy Judge, standing under Æseulapius, praying[m] to the brazen statue of Juno, capping Minerva with her helmet of dark figures[n], and thou callest to witness not one of the gods who are present with thee: in thine own forum thou appealest to a judge in another place; in thine own temples thou allowest a foreign God. O testimony of Truth, which amongst the very demons maketh thee a witness for the Christians!

III. But when we affirm that there are demons—as if forsooth we did not prove it also, seeing that we alone east them out of the bodies of them[o]—some supporter of Chrysippus mocketh us. Thine own execrations make answer both that there are demons, and that they are objects of malediction. Thou callest a man a demon, who vexeth thee either by his uncleanness, or his wickedness, or his pride, or by some ill mark or other which we assign to demons, or for the cravings of thy hatred. Finally, thou namest the name of Satan[p] in every expression of dislike, and scorn, and detestation, whom we call the angel of wickedness, the contriver of all error, the corrupter of the whole world, through whom man, being from the beginning beguiled, so that he transgressed the commandment of God, and on that account being given over unto death, hath thenceforth made his whole race, that is infected of his seed, the transmitters of his condemnation also. Thou perceivest therefore thine own destroyer, and although the Christians alone, or whatever sect there be on the Lord's side, know him, yet even thou acknowledgest him in hating him.

IV. But now as touching an opinion which more essentially belongeth to thee, inasmuch as it regardeth thine own proper condition, we affirm that thou continuest after the consummation of life, and that thou waitest for a day of judgment, and that thou art doomed according to thy deservings either to be tormented or to be comforted, in either case eternally. For the receiving of which things we say that thy former substance must of necessity return unto

[m] exorans. Edd. exoras Ag. Rig. conjectures "exaurans," "gilding," which would rather be inaurans or deaurans.

[n] The snakes from the Ægis.

[o] Apol. c. 23.

[p] When they exclaimed "Malum," Rig. i. e. they spoke of evil in the abstract, as existing separately from evils, and so, in fact, spoke of the evil one.

De Test. An. II. 4.

thee, and the material part, and the memory of the self-same human being, both because thou canst feel nothing either evil or good without the faculties of the sensible flesh [q], and because there is no mode of judgment without the presentation of the actual person, who hath deserved to suffer judgment. This Christian opinion, though much more noble than that of Pythagoras in that it doth not transfer thee to beasts, although more enlarged than that of Plato, in that it restoreth to thee the possession of the body also, although of greater dignity than that of Epicurus, in that it preserveth them from death, yet, because of its[1] name[r], it is set down to mere[2] vanity, and stupidity[s], and, as it is expressed, presumption[t]. But we are not ashamed if our presumption agreeth with thee. For first when thou makest mention of any one that is dead, thou callest him 'poor man,' not assuredly[3] because he is taken away from the blessing of life, but because he is now appointed unto punishment and

[1] suum *restored*
[2] soli *restored*
[3] non utique *quod*

[q] See on Apol. c. 48.

[r] Christian, Apol. c. 2.

[s] "Folly, vanity," are among the most ordinary titles given by the heathen to Christianity, unwittingly confirming 1 Cor. 1, 23. Kortholt has the following list, (de Cal. Pag. c. 10.) "folly," Theoph. ad Aut. l. ii. and iii. "folly and vanity," Lact. vii. 27. "empty vanity, execrable vanity, vain folly, blind error, pernicious error," edict of Maximin. ap. Eus. H. E. ix. 7. "vain and mad superstition," Cæcil. ap. Minuc. "vain superstition," Agon. S. Marcelli; "old wives' superstition," Cæc. l. c. and ap. Lact. v. 2. "old wives' fables," ib. c. 1. and Minuc. "womanly superstition," ib. c. 13. "old wives' doctrines," Prud. Hymn. x de Fructuos. "old wives' inventions and absurdities," Auct. Philopatris; "puerile frenzies," Plin. vii. 55. "puerile follies," Arn. l. 2. "things ridiculous," Orig. c. Cels. iii. "foolish trifles," Hist. Barl. c. 23.

[t] Præsumptio; almost a technical term of reproach against the Christians, as requiring assent on authority, Apol. 49. and bel. end of c. ad Nat. i. 19. in Agon. Montan. et soc. "they would persuade him, laying aside this presumed opinion (præsumptio) to sacrifice;" (ap. Her. ad Minuc. p. 79.) in Galen, "undemonstrated way," διὰ τριβὴν ἀνυπόδικτος, Apul. Metam. l. ix. so in Eus. Præp. Ev. i. 2. "unreasonable, [because unreasoning] ἄλογος, belief," and the charge of "credulity;" Theod. adv. Græc. Proœm. and l. i. and Arnob. l. ii. Cels. ap. Orig. c. Cels. i. and vi. Naz. Or. i. c. Julian. The resurrection of the body was a special subject of ridicule, (Acts 17, 32. Orig. c. Cels. l. Arnob. l. ii. p. 42.) or of the charge of madness, (Lucian. in Peregr. ep. Plin. vii. 55. Minuc. F. p. 96. 7.) Aug. in Ps. 88. "In nothing is the Christian faith so vehemently, so obstinately, so determinately, and so contentiously spoken against, as on the resurrection of the flesh. For as to the immortality of the soul, many heathen philosophers also have disputed much, and have in many and manifold works left it stated that the soul of man is immortal. But when they come to the resurrection of the flesh, they do not err simply, but most flatly contradict, and that after this sort, that they say that it cannot be, that this earthly flesh can ascend into heaven." Kortholt, l. c. c. 11. Tert. retorts the word præsumpsit on Hermogenes, de Anima, init. et c. 1. fin. "It is better to be ignorant through God, because He hath not revealed, than through man to know because he hath assumed," præsumpserit. ap. Her.

judgment. But elsewhere thou callest the dead free from care[x]. Thou declarest the misery of life, and the benefit of death. Moreover thou callest them free from care, whensoever thou retirest without the gate to the tombs with thy meats and feasts[y], making an offering rather to thyself than to them, or returnest somewhat drunken from the tombs. But I ask for thy sober opinion. Thou callest the dead, 'poor men,' when thou speakest from thine own mind, when thou art far distant from them; for in their[1] feast, when they are as it were present and sitting down with thee, thou canst not reproach them with their lot, thou art bound to flatter those on whose account thou farest so sumptuously. Dost thou then call him 'poor man,' who feeleth nothing? what when thou cursest him as a sentient being, whom thou rememberest with some sting of ill-will? thou prayest that the "earth may lie heavy on him," that his ashes may be tormented in the shades below. In the same manner thou prayest in good part for him, to whom thou owest favour, that his bones and ashes may be comforted, and desirest that he may rest happily in the shades below. If thou hast no sense of suffering after death, if no continuance of feeling, if, in a word, thou art thyself nothing when thou hast left the body, why dost thou lie against thyself, as though thou couldest suffer something hereafter? nay, why dost thou fear death at all, if thou hast nothing to fear after death, inasmuch as thou hast nothing to feel after death? For although it may be said that death is feared, not because it threateneth any thing for the future, but because it cutteth off the blessings of life, yet since the far more numerous ills of life equally depart, it putteth an end to the fear by the preponderance of the good gained; nor is the loss of good any longer to be feared, which is recompensed by another good, a rest from evil. That is not to be feared, which delivereth us from all that is fearful. If thou fearest to depart out of life, because thou knowest life to be very good, at all events thou oughtest not to fear death, which thou dost not know to be evil. But in that thou fearest it, thou knowest it to be evil. But thou wouldest not know this, for

[1] eorum *restored*

[x] Memoriæ et Securitati perpetuæ, Inscr. Vet. ap. Lac.

[y] De Res. Carn. c. 1.

De Test. An. II. 5.

thou wouldest not fear it, unless thou knewest that there is something after death, which maketh it an evil, such that thou mayest fear it. Let us say nothing now of the instinctive habit of fearing death. Let no one fear that which he cannot escape. I will meet thee on the opposite question of the hope of greater happiness after death. For the desire of fame after death is naturally implanted in almost all men[z]. It would be tedious to rehearse the Curtii, and the Reguli, or those Grecian heroes of whose contempt of death, for the sake of posthumous fame, we have innumerable accounts. Who at this day doth not so study to make his memory rife after death, as to preserve his name either by works of literature, or by the simple reputation of his character, or by the ambitions pomp of his very tomb? Whence cometh it, that the soul at this day aspireth to something which it would have after death, and diligently prepareth those things which it is to enjoy after death? Surely it would care nothing for the future, if it knew nothing of the future. But perhaps thou art more fully assured that thou shalt feel after thy departure than that thou shalt ever rise again, which we are charged with maintaining presumptuously. But this also is declared by the soul. For if any man maketh enquiry of one already dead as though he were alive, the answer is ready at hand; "He is gone;" then, he is to return[a].

V. These testimonies of the soul are as simple as they are true, as trite as they are simple, as common as they are trite, as natural as they are common, as divine as they are natural. I think that they cannot appear to any one to be [1]ridicula trifling and ridiculous[1], if he considereth the majesty of Nature, whence the authority of the soul is derived. Whatsoever thou allowest to the mistress, thou wilt assign to the disciple. Nature is the mistress, the soul is the disciple: whatsoever the one hath taught, or the other hath learned, hath been delivered to them by God, Who is, in truth, the Master even of the mistress herself. What notion the soul is

[z] Cic. Tusc. i. 14. 15. as an argument of the immortality of the soul.

[a] Interpunction altered; "Abiit;" jam et reverti debet; "going away" implies "returning." The heathen said "abiit," "abiit ad plures," "he departed," for, "he died."

able to conceive respecting its first Teacher, it is in thy power to judge, from that soul which is within thee. Feel thou that which maketh thee to feel. Think upon that which is in forebodings, thy prophet; in omens, thy augur; in the events which befal thee, thy fore-seer. Strange if, being given by God, it knoweth how to divine unto men! Equally strange if it knoweth Him by Whom it hath been given! Even when compassed about by its adversary, it remembereth its Author, and His goodness, and His decree, and its own end, and its adversary himself. So it is a strange thing if, being given by God, it teacheth those self-same things, which God hath given unto His people to know! But he who doth not think that such utterances of the soul are the teaching of a congenial nature, and the silent deposits of an innate conscience[b], will say rather that the habit, and as it were the evil, of such forms of speech, hath now become confirmed by the doctrines of published books being wafted abroad among the people. Surely the soul existed before letters[c], and discourse before books, and the thought which is written, before the writing of it, and the man himself before the Philosopher and the Poet. Is it then to be believed that before letters and the publication of them, men lived without utterance of speech upon such matters? No one, I suppose, spoke of God and His goodness! no one spoke of death nor of the shades below! discourse went a begging, nay, could not exist at all, for lack, at that time, of those subjects, without which even at this day it can gain neither in fulness, nor richness, nor wisdom, if those things which at this day are so obvious, so continually present, so near at hand, being in a manner bred in the very lips, had no being in former times, before letters had sprung up in the world, before Mercury, methinks, was born. And whence cometh it that letters themselves were ordained, to know, and spread abroad for the use of speech, things which no mind had ever conceived, nor tongue pronounced, nor ear heard? But in truth since the Divine

[b] "Hence, then, by the silent consciousness of nature, hath the Divine nature of the soul, of itself, unawares to men, brought forth into the use of speech, this as well as much beside, which we may perhaps elsewhere shew to be commonly done and said, conformably to Scripture." Tert. de Virg. Vel. c. 5.

[c] See Athan. Vit. S. Anton. §. 73.

De Test. An. II. 6.

Scriptures, which are in our hands, or in the hands of the Jews, into whose olive-tree we have been grafted from a wild olive[c], precede secular writings by a long period, not merely by a moderate space of time, (as we have shewn in the proper place, in order to prove their authority[d],) even if the soul hath taken these declarations from books, surely we must needs believe that it hath taken them from ours and not from yours, because the former things are better for the instruction of the soul than the latter, which themselves also waited to be instructed by the former; and even should we allow that it was instructed out of yours, still tradition belongeth to its first origin; and that is altogether ours, whatsoever ye have chanced to take and to deliver out of our writings. And since this is so, it mattereth little whether this consciousness of the soul be formed by God or by the writings of God.

VI. Why then, O man, wilt thou have it that these truths have proceeded forth from human opinions in thine own writings, so as to come to be hardened by common use? Believe therefore thine own writings; and, as concerning our records, believe so much the more those which are of God; but, as concerning the judgment of the soul itself, by all means believe Nature. Choose whichever of these thou notest to be the most faithfully a sister to Truth. If thou doubtest concerning thine own writings, neither God nor Nature speaketh falsely. That thou mayest believe both Nature and God, believe the soul: thus it will come to pass, that thou believest thine own self. At all events it is that soul of which thou makest great account, in proportion as she maketh thee great; whose thou art entirely, who is thine all, without whom thou canst neither live nor die, for whose sake thou neglectest God. For when thou fearest to become a Christian, call upon her to answer why, while she worshippeth another, she nameth the name of God? Why, when she proscribeth spirits as to be accursed, doth she proclaim them dæmons? Why uttereth she protestation

[c] The older Edd. and Cod. Ag. have "in quorum oleastro insiti sumus;" but "oleastro" is used only of the "wild olive," (as in the de Præscr. Hær. c. 36.) Rig.'s conjecture then, as it seems, "*olea ex* oleastro," appears necessary, and the similarity of the first letters may have caused the omission of "olea."

[d] Apol. c. 19.

heaven-wards, and detestation earth-wards? why in one place doth she serve Him, in another call upon Him as an avenger[e]? why doth she judge concerning the dead? why doth she use the words of the Christians, whom she would fain neither hear nor see? why hath she either given us those words, or received them from us? why hath she been either our teacher or our disciple? Distrust (if thou canst) this agreement of doctrine amid so great an inconsisteney of conversation. Thou art a fool if thou ascribest such things to this language only or to the Greek, (which are held to be nearly akin to each other,) so as to deny the universal language of Nature. The soul descendeth not from Heaven upon the Latins or the Greeks alone. Throughout the world man is one, though his names be various; the soul is one, though its language be various; the spirit is one, though its voice be various. Every nation hath its own proper speech; but the matter of all speech is the same in all. God is every where, and the goodness of God is every where: the demon is every where, and the curse upon the demon is every where: the calling down of the divine judgment is every where: death is every where, and the consciousness of death is every where, and the witness thereof is every where. Every soul of its own right proclaimeth aloud those things, which we are not permitted even to whisper. With good reason then is every soul both a culprit and a witness, as much a culprit in respect of error, as it is at the same time a witness of the truth; and in the day of judgment it shall stand before the courts of God, having nothing to answer to the charge—"Thou didst preach God, and didst not seek after Him: thou didst detest demons, and didst worship them: thou didst appeal to the judgment of God, and didst not believe in its being: thou didst anticipate punishments in a world below, and didst take no heed against them: thou didst savour of the name of Christ, and didst persecute the Christian!"

[e] Above, c. 2. "God shall repay," "God shall judge between us."

THE ADDRESS TO SCAPULA.

[The ad Scapulam is placed at the very beginning of the reign of Caracalla, A. D. 214, on the ground that Severus is spoken of "as the father of Antoninus," so that the latter probably was the then Emperor; (Severus is also spoken of in the past, c. 4.) but Caracalla at the beginning of his reign recalled those whom his father had banished, (Dio Cass. l. 77. c. 3.) and so, we may suppose, stopped persecutions. Nor are persecutions spoken of in his reign. The "defect of the sun's light in the district of Utica," c. 3. is supposed to have been an eclipse, A. 210. Hilarian (ib.) was the President of Africa, under whom Perpetua and Felicitas became martyrs, A. D. 203. see Lumper, l. c. §. 14. The beginning of this Treatise is an epitome almost of the Apology.]

Ad Scap. III. 1.

I. It is not that we are terrified; it is not that we have any great dread of those things which we suffer from ignorant men; seeing that we have joined ourselves unto this way, taking, of course, upon ourselves its conditions, and covenanting that we would encounter these conflicts, pledged in the service even to our very lives; desiring to obtain those things which God promiseth in return, and fearing to suffer those things which He threateneth to a contrary course of life. Finally, we battle with all your cruelty, even of our own accord rushing to the charge, and rejoice more when condemned than when acquitted[a]. We have sent you this letter then, as fearing not for ourselves but for you, and for all our enemies, not to say our friends. For so are we commanded by the law of our Religion, to *love* even *our enemies*, and to *pray for them which persecute* us, that this our goodness may be *perfect*, and specially our own, not the goodness of the world in general[b]. For to love their friends, belongeth to all; but to love their enemies, to the

Matt. 5, 44. 48.

v. 46.

[a] Apol. c. 1. 21. 49. 50.

[b] Ib. c. 31.

Christians only. We then who grieve for your ignorance, and have compassion for human error, and look forward unto things to come, and behold the signs thereof daily threatening [c], we must of necessity force our way even in this manner, that we may set before you those things which ye choose not to hear openly.

II. We worship one God, Whom ye all by nature know, at Whose lightnings and thunders ye tremble, in Whose benefits ye rejoice. The rest ye also think to be gods, whom we know to be demons [d]. Nevertheless it appertaineth to man's proper right and natural privilege, that each should worship that which he thinketh to be God; nor doth the Religion of one man harm or profit another. But neither is it the part of Religion to compel men to Religion, which ought to be taken up voluntarily, not of compulsion, seeing that sacrifices also are required of a willing mind. Thus even if ye compel us to sacrifice, ye shall render no service thereby to your gods; for they will not desire sacrifices from unwilling givers, unless they be contentious; but a God is not contentious. Finally, He that is the true God bestoweth equally all His gifts on unholy men, and on His own people. And therefore hath He appointed an eternal judgment for the thankful and the unthankful [f]. Yet us, whom ye think to be sacrilegious, ye have never taken even in theft, much less in sacrilege. But all they, who spoil your temples, both swear by the gods, and worship the same, and are not Christians, and yet are convicted of sacrilege [g]. It would be tedious to recount in what other ways all the gods are mocked and despised, even by their own worshippers [h]. So too we are defamed as touching the majesty of the Emperor [i]; yet no disciples of Albinus, or of Niger, or of Cassius [k], could be found among the disciples of Christ. Nevertheless those very men, who even up to the day before had sworn by the gods of the Emperors, who had both offered and vowed sacrifices for their health, who had often condemned the Christians, were found to be their enemies. The Chris-

Matt. 5, 25.

[c] Ib. c. 20.
[d] Ib. c. 23.
[e] Ib. c. 24. 28.
[f] Ib. c. 41.
[g] Ib. c. 15. 44.
[h] Ib. c. 12. 14. 15.
[i] Ib. c. 28.
[k] Ib. c. 35.

Ad Scap. III. 3.

tian is an enemy to no man, much less to an Emperor, whom knowing to be ordained by his own God[l], he must needs by the same rule love, and reverence, and honour, and wish him well, with the whole Roman empire, as long as the world shall stand, for so long shall it stand[m]. In such wise therefore do we honour the Emperor, as is both lawful for us and expedient for him, as a man next in place to God, and having from God received whatsoever he be, and inferior to God alone[n]. This too he himself will desire, for thus is he greater than all, in being less than the true God only; thus is he greater even than the gods themselves, in that they also are within his power[o]. Wherefore also we offer sacrifice for the health of the Emperor, but only to Him Who is our God and his, and only as God hath commanded us, with pure prayer[p]. For God, the Maker of all things, needeth not the savour or the blood of any creature, seeing that these are the food of demons; but demons we not only reject, but we also prevail against them, and daily expose them, and cast them out of man, as is well known to very many[r]. Therefore we pray more than others for the health of the Emperor, in asking it of Him, Who is able to give it[s]. And surely it may be sufficiently clear to you that we live according to the rule of godly patience, when being so vast a multitude of men, almost the greater portion of every state[t], we live silently and modestly, known perhaps more as individuals than as a body, and to be known by no other sign than the reformation of our former sins. For far be it from us to be angry because we suffer those things which we desire, or to contrive of ourselves any of that vengeance which we look for from God[u].

III. Notwithstanding, (as we have said before,) we must needs grieve, because no state will bear unpunished the guilt of shedding our blood[x]. As it was also under the president Hilarian; when they had cried out concerning the courts of

[l] Ib. c. 33.
[m] Ib. c. 32.
[n] Ib. c. 30. 33. 34.
[o] Ib. c. 13. 29. 30.
[p] Ib. c. 30.
[q] Ib. c. 22. 23.
[r] Ib. c. 23. 32. 37.
[s] Ib. c. 30. 33.
[t] Ib. c. 37.
[u] Cypr. ad Demetr. c. 10.
[x] Ib.

our burying places, Let there be no "areæ[y]," there were no "areæ[z]"—to themselves, for they gathered not their harvest. Moreover in the rain also of the past year it was made manifest, what mankind hath deserved, because that the flood of old also was on account of the unbelief and the iniquities of men: and what the fires threatened, which lately hung over the walls of Carthage through the night, they know who saw them; and what the former thunderings uttered, they know who hardened themselves against them. All these are the signs of the wrath of God hanging over us, which we must of necessity, in whatever way we may, both proclaim and teach, and in the meanwhile pray that it may be only local; for the universal and final, they shall feel at the appointed time, who in any other way interpret the ensamples of it. For that sun too, which in the district[a] of Utica had its light all but extinguished, was such a prodigy, that it could not have suffered this effect from an ordinary eclipse, being situate in its own altitude and house. Ye have astrologers to enquire of. We can in the same way set before you the ends also of certain Presidents, who, at the close of their lives, remembered that they had sinned, in that they had persecuted the Christians[b]. Vigellius Saturninus, who first drew the sword against us in this country, lost his eyes. Claudius Herminianus in Cappadocia, when, being angry because his wife had gone over to this sect, he had treated the Christians cruelly, and when in the solitude of his palace, being wasted with disease, he had broken out, while alive, with worms, said, 'Let no one know it, that the Christians rejoice not in hope.' Afterwards, when he came to know his sin in causing some, by means of torture, to fall away from their purpose, he died, *almost a Christian.*

[y] The open spaces before the cities used as burial grounds; S. Cyprian was buried in the "area" of Macrobius Candidus the Procurator, (life by Pontius.) By Statius it is used of the place of the funeral pile. Theb. vi. 57. The Christians had burial places distinct from the heathen; a Synodical letter of S. Cyprian to some Spanish Clergy and people, mentions it as a very heavy charge against Martial, a Bishop, that he had "deposited his sons in a heathen College, after the manner of those without, in profane sepulchres, and buried them with aliens." Ep. 67. (al. 68.) de Basil. et Martial.

[z] The open spaces used for threshing.

[a] conventus. The tract subject to its jurisdiction, civil and subsequently ecclesiastic.

[b] Eus. i. 50. iv. 12.

Ad Scap. III. 4.

Cæcilius Capella at this catastrophe of Byzantium[c], cried out, "Christians, rejoice[d]." But even they, who seem to thee to be without punishment, shall come unto the day of Divine judgment. To yourself also we wish that it may be only a warning, that, after your condemnation of Mavilus of Adrumetum to the beasts, this your affliction immediately followed, and now cometh again from the same cause[e], as the cry of blood for justice. But remember the future.

IV. We who fear thee not, would not alarm thee; but I would that we could save you all, by warning you not *to fight against God.* Thou canst discharge the duties of thine office, and at the same time remember those of humanity, if it be only because ye yourselves also live under the sword. For what more is committed unto thee than to condemn the guilty when they have confessed, and to bring to the torture those who deny? Ye see then how ye yourselves act against your own instructions, to compel those who have confessed, to deny. Thus ye confess that we are innocent, whom ye will not condemn at once on our own confession; but when ye strain every point to stifle us, it must needs be innocence that ye are striving to storm us out of[f]. But how many presidents, more determined and more cruel than thee, have from such reasons used dissimulation[g], as did Cincius Severus, who at Thysdris himself furnished a plan of escape, through which the Christians might make such an answer that they might be set at liberty: as did Vespronius Candidus, who dismissed a Christian on the pretence that it would be a breach of the peace to satisfy the wishes of his people: as did Asper, who when one was but slightly tortured, and straightway fell from his faith, did not even force him to offer sacrifice, and who had before publicly declared, in the midst of advocates and assessors, that he was very sorry to have chanced upon this case. Pudens also, when a Christian was sent before him, perceiving at once from the indictment that the charge was

Acts 5, 39.

[c] Its recent capture, by Severus, after a three years siege; having taken the part of Pescenninus Niger. Herodian, M. Glycas, ap. Pam.

[d] A congratulatory formula, used on victory; so, on a gold coin of Maximian, ap. Rig. "Gaudete Romani."

[e] renewed attacks of some sickness, Rig. conjectures.

[f] Apol. c. 2.

[g] Tatian, c. 27.

vexatious, tore that same indictment and dismissed him, refusing, according to his instructions[f], to hear the man without an accuser. All these things might be suggested to thee, both by thine own duty, and by those very advocates, who themselves feel the good services of the Christians, though they cry out against us as they list: for the secretary of a certain man, when he was thrown down by a devil, was delivered from it, as was also a kinsman and a little boy belonging to certain others. And how many honourable persons (for I speak not of common men) have been healed either of devils or of infirmities! Even Severus himself, the father of Antoninus, was mindful of the Christians. For he sought out also Proculus a Christian, who was surnamed Torpacion, the steward of Euodia, who had once cured him by means of oil, and kept him in his own palace even to his death: whom also Antoninus very well knew, nursed as he was upon Christian milk[g]. But moreover Severus, knowing that certain most illustrious women and most illustrious men were of this sect, not only did not harm them, but even honoured them by his own testimony, and openly withstood the people, when they were mad against us. Marcus Aurelius also in his German expedition, when prayer had been made to God by his Christian soldiers, obtained rain in that drought which he was suffering[h]. When have even droughts failed to be removed by our kneelings and fastings[i]? Then too the people crying out "to the God of Gods Who Alone is mighty," hath, under the name of Jupiter, borne witness to our God. Besides these things, we deny not the deposit committed to our charge[k], we defile the marriage of none[l], we treat our wards righteously[m], we refresh the needy[n], we *recompense to no man evil for evil*[o]. As for those who falsely pretend to our Religion, and whom we ourselves disown, let them see to that[p]. Finally who complaineth of us on any other score? Rom 12, 14.

[f] Trajan, Ep. ad Plin.

[g] Spartian mentions his playmate being a Jewish [Christian, see on Apol. c. 16. p. 36. note g.] boy.

[h] Apol. c. 5.

[i] Ib. c. 40.

[k] Plin. Ep. ad Traj.

[l] See on Apol. c. 9. n. h. i.

[m] Contrast Juvenal's warning, vi. 628.

Vos ego, pupilli, moneo, quibus amplior est res,
Custodite animas, et nulli credite mensæ.

[n] See Apol. c. 39. p. 81.

[o] Apol. c. 36. 37.

[p] Ib. c. 44. 46.

Ad Scap. III. 5.

What other trouble doth the Christian suffer than that which cometh of his Religion? which Religion no one in all this time hath ever proved to be incestuous or cruel[n]? For so much innocence, for so much goodness, for our justice, for our chastity, for our faith, for our truth, for the living God, we are cast to the flames, a thing which neither men guilty of sacrilege nor those true[1] enemies of the public weal, nor the many guilty of treason, are wont to suffer. For now also the Christian name is persecuted by the president of Leon and the president of Mauritania, but only by the sword, as it was from the first also commanded that such should be punished. But the greater the conflict the greater the rewards which follow.

[1] veri *restored*

V. Your cruelty is our glory. Only take heed and consider whether in this our very endurance of such things, we do not shew that we burst out, for the single purpose of proving this very point, that we do not fear these things, but of our own accord invite them. While Arrius Antoninus[o] in Asia was earnestly persecuting us, all the Christians of that state presented themselves in one body before his judgment-seat: when he, having ordered a few to be led away[p], said to the rest, 'Wretched men! if ye wish to die, ye have precipices and halters.' If it should be determined that the same thing should be done here also, what wilt thou do with so many thousands of human beings, so many men and women of every sex, of every age, of every degree[q], giving themselves up to thee? Of how many fires, of how many swords will there be need! What will Carthage itself, which thou must needs decimate, endure, when every man recognizeth there his own kinsmen and comrades, when he beholdeth perchance, in the number, the men and matrons even of thine own degree, and all the chief persons, and even the kinsmen and friends of their own friends? Spare then thyself, if not

[n] Ib. c. 2. 7. 8.

[o] There were two proconsuls of Asia of this name; the one under Adrian, "maternal grandfather to Antoninus Pius, twice Consul;" Capitolin. in Antonin. init. who calls him "vir sanctus;" he publicly compassionated Nerva for having come to a throne; (Pliny panegyrizes him, Ep. l. iv. ep. 3.) the other under Commodus, who having put him to death on false accusation, was obliged to give up his accuser to popular justice, Lamprid. in Comm. Hist. Aug. Scriptt. p. 48. see Casaub. ad Capitolin.

[p] to execution.

[q] See Apol. c. 1. p. 2, 3. and note g.

us: spare Carthage, if not thyself: spare the province, which, as soon as thy design was perceived, became exposed to false accusations both from the soldiery and from each man's private foes. We have no master save God alone[r]. He is before thee, and cannot be hidden, but He is one to Whom thou canst do nothing. But those, whom thou thinkest to be thy masters, are men, and must themselves one day die. Notwithstanding, this our sect shall never fail; for know that it is then the more built up, when it seemeth to be stricken down[s]. For every man that beholdeth so much endurance, being struck with some misgiving, is kindled with the desire of enquiring what is the cause of this, and, as soon as he discovereth the truth, himself also immediately followeth it.

[r] Apol. c. 34. [s] Ib. c. 50.

AN ADDRESS TO THE MARTYRS.

[The Ad Martyras is probably Tertullian's earliest work, as being written at the very commencement of the persecution, before any had actually suffered martyrdom; for had any so suffered, Tertullian would naturally, in his exhortation to the rest, have referred to them. The allusion, then, c. 6. fin. to the deaths on occasion of Albinus, fixes it A.D. 197. See above, notice on the Apology.]

AD MART. IV. 1.

1. Amongst the aliments of the flesh, which both our Lady Mother the Church from her own bosom, and the brethren singly from their private store[a], supply to you in your prison, blessed martyrs elect, accept somewhat from me likewise, which may serve to nourish your spirit also. For that the flesh be made fat, and the spirit hunger, is not good. Yea, if that which is weak be cared for, that which is yet weaker ought as well not to be neglected. Nor am I such an one as am worthy to speak unto you. Nevertheless not only their own masters, and superiors, but even private persons, and whosoever will, from a distance needlessly exhort even the most perfect gladiators, so that oftentimes advice suggested even by the vulgar crowd hath been profitable. First therefore, blessed men, *grieve not the Holy Spirit*, Who hath entered with you into the prison; for if He had not now entered in with you, neither would ye have been there this day. And therefore give diligence that He may abide there with you continually; so may He bring you from thence unto the Lord. Even the prison is

Eph. 4. 30.

[a] opibus, cod. W. Others "operibus," "from the labour of their hands;" the two readings differ in MSS. only by a stroke through the p; but "opibus" agrees better with the preposition "de" and with S. Cyprian. Pam. supposes "operibus" to mean, each of his own handicraft, clothes, &c. but T. speaks only of food.

[b] Cypr. Ep. 12. ad Clerum, ed. Fell. (37. Pam.) Orig. Hom. 11. in Lev.

in truth the house of the Devil, wherein he keepeth his own household. But therefore have ye come into the prison, that ye may tread him under foot even in his own house: for ye have already wrestled with him abroad, and trodden him under foot. Let him not therefore say, "They are in my own place: I will tempt them with mean enmities[c] and passions, or dissensions among themselves." Let him flee from your sight, and hide himself in his inmost recess, coiled up and listless[d], like a serpent that hath been charmed or fumigated away. And let him not so prosper in his own kingdom, as to set you at variance: but let him find you guarded and armed with concord, because your peace is war against him; which peace some, not finding in the Church, have been wont to entreat of the martyrs in prison[e]. And therefore ye ought, were it only for this, to have, and to cherish, and to keep it among yourselves, that ye may be able, if need be, to give it unto others also.

II. In like manner may all other hindrances of the soul have accompanied you even to the threshold of the prison, just so far as did your parents also. Thenceforth ye were separated from the world itself: how much more from the life of the world, and its concerns! Nor will this dismay

[c] odiis 2 Vat. MSS. œdiis MS. Div. whence Rig. conjectures "scidiis" which he explains "chips" and so, 'trifles, things of no account,' regarding "odiis" as too strong a term for those expecting martyrdom. It is probable, however, that Tertullian refers to what at least took place elsewhere, that the Montanist martyrs, as being severed from the Church, were disowned by the Church. An older author, quoted by Euseb. H. E. v. 17. says, "Whence also, whenever those who out of the Church are called to martyrdom for that which is indeed the faith, fall in with some of those who out of the Phrygian heresy are called Martyrs, they both are at variance with them, and are themselves perfected [by Martyrdom] without holding communion with them, not willing to join themselves to the spirit, which spake through Montanus and the women." Eusebius (it seems) subjoins, "The truth of this is manifest, and happened in our times in Apamea on the Meander, in the martyrdoms of Gaius and Alexander of Eumenea." This strong language then, and the placing both upon a level, perhaps betrays a disposition, even thus early, to look favourably on Montanism. S. Cyprian, perhaps, imitates this warning against dissensions, Ep. 13. Fell. (7. Pam.) ad Rogat. Older Edd. have "inediis" "poor scanty fare;" and it is implied c. 2. that the food was of things necessary only; yet the word 'saginati' (init.) implies that of these there was an adequate supply; and, as a Montanist, T. reproaches the Church with supplying the martyrs too freely in prison. (de Jejun. c. 12.)

[d] See adv. Valent. c. 3.

[e] The lapsed—those who had sacrificed to idols, or bought themselves off, and who were restored the readier to the peace, i. e. communion of the Church, at the request of those awaiting martyrdom. See Cypr. de Laps. c. 12. p. 164. ed. Oxf. (and Bingham quoted ib.) Fell. Epp. 15—20. Fell. (10—15. Pam.) 22, 23. (22. 17.) 26, 27. 30, 31. (31, 26.) 33. (27.) 35. (29.)

Ad Mart. IV. 2.

you, that you are severed from the world[f]. For if we consider that the world itself rather is a prison, we shall perceive that ye have rather gone forth from prison than gone into prison. The world hath the greater darkness, which blindeth the hearts of men. The world putteth on the heavier bonds, which bind the very souls of men. The world breatheth forth the worse uncleanness, even the lusts of men. Finally the world containeth the greater number of criminals, to wit the whole race of man: it awaiteth moreover the judgment, not of the Proconsul, but of God. Wherefore, blessed men, consider that ye have been translated from a prison to a place, it may be, of safe keeping. It hath darkness, but *ye* yourselves *are light*[g]. It hath bonds, but ye have been *made free* by God. An evil breath is uttered there, but ye *are a sweet savour*. A judge is looked for: but ye *shall judge* even the judges themselves[h]. Let him be sad there, who sigheth for the enjoyment of the world? The Christian, even when out of prison, hath renounced the world; but, when in prison, a prison also[i]. It mattereth not where ye are in the world, who are without the world: and if ye have lost any of the joys of life, it is a goodly traffic to lose somewhat, that you may gain the more. I say nothing yet of the reward to which God calleth martyrs. Let us for the moment compare the very conversation of the world and of the prison, and see whether in the prison the spirit doth not gain more than the flesh loseth. Yea and such things as be right, the flesh loseth not, through the care of the Church, and[l] the love of the brethren; and besides this, the spirit gaineth such things as are ever profitable to the Faith. Thou seest there no strange gods: thou comest not upon their images: thou partakest not in the solemn days of the heathen[k], even by mingling with them. Thou art scourged, but not with filthy savours from the sacrifice: thou art beaten, but not

Eph. 5, 8. Gal. 5, 1. 2 Cor. 2, 15. 1 Cor. 6, 2.

[l] *et restored*

[f] Rig. omits "ab ipso mundo, Quanto magis a seculo, rebusque ejus! Nec hoc vos consternet, quod segregati estis, &c." If this were on the authority of any MS., the omission was doubtless occasioned by the ὁμοιοτέλευτον.

[g] Cypr. Ep. 6. Fell. (81. Pam.) ad Serg. Rogatian. &c. init. Ep. 37. (16.) ad Moys. et Max. §. 2.

[h] Cypr. Ep. 6. §. 2.

[i] i. e. conquereth Satan in his own place, as in c. 1.

[k] ad Uxor. c. 6. init.

by the shouts of the public shows, the cruelty, or the madness, or the lewdness[l] of the beholders. Thine eyes fall not upon the places of public lust. Thou art free from offences, from temptations, from evil recollections, and now too from persecution. The prison affordeth to the Christian that which the wilderness did to the Prophets. The Lord Himself ofttimes lived in retirement, that He might pray the more freely, that He might withdraw from the world. It was moreover in a solitary place that He shewed His glory to His disciples. Away with the name of a prison! let us call it a retirement. Though the body be shut up, though the flesh be confined, all is open to the spirit. Roam freely, thou spirit[1]; walk to and fro, thou spirit[1]; not setting before thee shady walks, or long cloisters, but that *way* which leadeth unto God. As oft as thou shalt walk herein in the spirit, so oft shalt thou not be in prison. The leg suffereth nothing in the stocks, while the mind is in Heaven. The mind carrieth about with it the whole man, and removeth him whither it listeth. But *where thy heart is, there will thy treasure be also.* Let therefore our heart be there, where we would have our treasure.

Mat. 17, 1.

[1] spiritus *restored* John 14, 6.

Mat. 6, 21.

III. Be it[2] now, blessed men, that a prison is grievous even to Christians. We were called to the warfare of the living God, even then when we made our answer according to the words of the Sacrament[m]. No soldier[n] cometh with luxuries to the war, nor goeth forth from his chamber to the field of battle, but from slight tents, unfolded and tied down, wherein are found together every hardship, and every opposite of what is good and pleasant. Even in peace they are already learning by labour and distresses to endure war, by marching under arms, running over the plain, working at the fosse, forming the close 'testudo.' All their doings are made up of toil, lest their bodies and their minds should be terrified in passing from the shade to the sun, from the sun to the open air[o], from the vest to the coat of mail, from

[2] Sit

[l] In the amphitheatre, circus, theatre, respectively, see Apol. c. 38.

[m] in Sacramenti verba respondimus. The Baptismal vow of obedience to Christ, (see Bingham 11. 7. 6.); so that the original force of the word "sacramentum," "oath," is here preserved.

[n] Imitated by S. Jerome, Ep. 14. ad Heliodor. §. 2. as is c. 2. in §. 10.

[o] i. e. the chill sky.

Ad Mart. IV. 4.

silence to clamour, from rest to tumult. Wherefore do ye, blessed women[p], whatsoever hardship there be in this, account it an exercise of the virtues of your mind and body. Ye are about to undergo a *good fight*[q], wherein the President is the living God; the Trainer the Holy Spirit; the crown, Eternity; the prize, of angelic being[r], the *citizenship of the Heavens;* the glory for ever and ever. Wherefore your Master Christ Jesus, Who hath given you the *unction* of the Spirit, and hath brought you forth unto this wrestling-ground, hath willed, before the day of the contest, to set you apart from a free manner of living unto a severer training, that your powers might be strengthened within you. For the wrestlers also are set apart for a stricter discipline, that they may have time for building up their strength. They are kept from luxury, from the richer sorts of food, from the pleasanter kinds of drink: they are constrained, harassed, tired: the more they have toiled in their exercises, the more they hope for the victory. And *they*, saith the Apostle, *that they may obtain a corruptible crown*. Let us, that are to obtain an eternal one, consider our prison as a wrestling-ground, that, having been daily exercised in all kinds of hardships, we may be brought forth to the course before the judgment-seat; for virtue is built up by hardness, but by softness is destroyed.

1 Tim. 6, 12.

Phil. 3, 20.

1 John 2, 20.

1 Cor. 9, 25.

Mat. 26, 41.

IV. We know, from the Lord's precept, that *the flesh is weak, the spirit ready*. Let us not therefore flatter ourselves, because the Lord hath allowed that *the flesh is weak*. For for this cause He first said that *the spirit is ready*, that He might shew which ought to be subject to the other, to wit, that the flesh should serve the spirit, the weaker the stronger,

[p] Benedictæ. Tert. uses the same word, de Cult. Fem. ii. 4. 5. 9. 13. S. Cyprian, Ep. 6. [81.] ad Serg. &c. "I salute the blessed women, who are set with you in the same glory of Confessors;" he speaks of female martyrs, de Laps. c. 2. They are also addressed below, c. 2. Rig. corrects "Benedicti."

[q] Xystarches. He who had exercised, disciplined, them beforehand, so that when the time came, they should not fail; as above, "Had He not been with you, ye had not been there." Among the Greeks the Ξύστος was a covered portico, among the Latins, the Xystum was an open space; with both it was a place where the gladiators were practised *in winter*, (see Hoffmann, Lex. v. Xysti. Xysta. Xystici.) and so an emblem of severe training. On the necessity of preparation for martyrdom, see S. Cypr. de Laps. c. 4 sqq. p. 56. ed. Oxf.

[r] Substantiæ; i. e. their substance, being, should be that of the Angels, (see Mark 12, 25.), as in the de Res. Carn. c. 26. angelificata caro.

that from it it may itself also receive strength. Let the spirit confer with the flesh about the common salvation of both, not now thinking of the grievances of the prison, but of the contest and fight itself. The flesh perchance will fear the heavy sword, and the lofty cross, and the fury of the beasts, and the extreme punishment of the fire, and all the cunning of the executioner in tortures[s]. But let the spirit on the other hand set this before itself and the flesh, that these things, however bitter, have been nevertheless received by many with an even mind, yea and voluntarily sought after for the sake of fame and glory; and not by men only, but even by women, that ye also, O blessed women, may match your own sex. It were a long tale to name each of those who, led only by their own spirit[t], have slain themselves with the sword. Of women, Lucretia is a ready example, who having suffered violation, thrust a knife into herself in the sight of her kinsfolk, that she might obtain glory for her chastity. Mutius burned his right hand upon the altar, that fame might lay hold on this his deed. Philosophers have done but little; (Heraclitus, who having besmeared himself with the dung of oxen[u], burnt himself to death; and Empedocles[w] who leaped down into the fires of Mount Ætna; and Peregrinus[x], who, not long since[y], threw himself upon a funeral pile,) since even women have despised fire: Dido, that she might not be compelled to marry after the loss of a most beloved husband: the wife of Asdrubal too, who, while Carthage was now burning, when she saw her own husband a suppliant before Scipio, rushed with her children into the flames of her native city[z]. Regulus, a general of the Romans, taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, when he would not have his single self ransomed at the price of many Carthaginian prisoners, preferred being given back to the enemy, and being crammed into a sort of chest, and

[s] Cypr. de Laps. c. 10. p. 161. Oxf. Tr. ad Demetr. c. 6. p. 207.

[t] not led and upheld by the Holy Spirit.

[u] to avoid the sufferings of a dropsy. Laert. in vit.

[w] To be accounted a god. Laert. in vit.

[x] A Cynic philosopher, praised by Aul. Gell. (xii. 11.) Amm. Marc. (xxix. 1.) ridiculed by Lucian, (de Mort. Peregr.) who says, that he imposed on the Christians, as though he were one, and was largely relieved by them, being cast into prison, as such: his death is mentioned by Athenag. §. 26. Amm. Marc. l. c.

[y] A. 165. Basnage in Anno, §. 4. p. 126.

[z] Val. Max. 3. 2. Flor. 2. 15.

Ad Mart. IV. 5.

pierced on every side with nails from without, experienced so many crucifixions. A woman hath of her own will eagerly encountered beasts, yea even asps, reptiles more horrid than the bull or the bear, which Cleopatra set upon herself, that she might not come into the hands of the enemy. But the fear of death is not so great as that of tortures! And so[a] the Athenian harlot yielded to the executioner, who, being privy to a conspiracy, when on that account she was put to the torture by the tyrant, did not betray the conspirators, and at last having bitten off her tongue[b] spat it in the tyrant's face, that the torturers might know that they availed nothing, even though they should persist yet farther! Moreover, that which is at this day the chief solemnity among the Lacedæmonians, the διαμαστίγωσις, that is the scourging, is not unknown: in which solemn ceremony all the noble youths are lashed with scourges before the altar[c], their parents and kinsfolk standing by and exhorting them to endure to the end. For it will be accounted a grace and a glory of an higher character in truth, if the soul rather than the body yield itself to scourgings. Wherefore if earthly glory hath so great power over the strength of body and mind, that men despise the sword, the fire, the cross, the beasts, the tortures, for the reward of the praise of men, I may say, these sufferings are trifling in the gaining of heavenly glory and a divine reward! Is the glass bead of such value? of how much the real *pearl*[d]. Who then is not bound to spend most willingly for that which is true, as much as others do for that which is false?

Mat. 13. 46.

V. I pass over for the moment, the motive of glory. All these same conflicts of cruelty and torture even mere display[e] among men, and a sort of disease of the mind, hath ere now trampled on. How many idlers doth a display of feats hire to the service of the sword! Verily they go down even to the beasts from display, and seem to themselves more comely

[a] Ironical. Tr. Rig. inserts an interrogation, "Did then &c.?" Latinius and Junius needlessly alter the text, inserting "non."

[b] Apol. c. 50.

[c] of Diana Orthia. Plutarch. de Lacon. Instt. c. 4. et al. ap. Lac.

[d] Tanti vitreum? quanti verum margaritum! as in Pam.

[e] Affectatio, i. e. not human glory only, though vain, but the mere semblance and spurious imitation of it; and that in the sight of, and animated by the presence of, men, whereas Christians acted under the eye of God.

from their bites and their scars. Some also have ere now hired themselves to the flames, to run over a certain space of ground in a burning shirt[f]. Others have walked with most enduring shoulders amidst the lashes of the hunters. These VI.
things, blessed men, the Lord hath suffered to come into the world, not without a cause: but both for our encouragement now[1], and for our confusion in *that Day*, if we shall be afraid to suffer for the Truth's sake unto salvation those things, which others have made a display of suffering for vanity's sake unto perdition.

[1] nunc *restored* 2 Tim. 1, 8.

But let us pass over these examples of constancy arising from mere display. Let us turn to the actual contemplation of the condition of man, that those things too may instruct us, whatever they be, which, accustomed to befall men even against their will, must be endured with constancy. For how often have the flames burned men alive! How often have wild beasts, both in their own woods and in the middle of cities, having escaped from their dens, devoured men! How many have been slain by robbers with the sword, and by their enemies even on the cross, having first been tortured, yea and having received, in full, every sort of indignity! There is no one who may not suffer even for the sake of man, what he scrupleth to suffer in the cause of God. For this let even the present times be a proof to us, how many persons, and of what quality, meet with deaths not to be expected either from their birth, or their rank, or their persons, or their age, for the sake of man[g], either from himself, if they act against him, or from his enemies, if they take part with him.

[f] The tunica molesta, one of the punishments of Christians. Martial, x. 25. Juvenal, i. 155 sqq. Tac. Ann. xv. 44.

[g] Severus, in and after the conspiracy of Albinus. Spartian. in vit. c. 12, "After having slain numberless persons on the side of Albinus, among whom were many chiefs in the state, many women of rank, all their goods were confiscated—then many nobles of the Spaniards and Sualli were slain."

OF THE CROWN.

[The "de Corona" was written probably A.D. 201, when Severus gave a "very large donative to his soldiers, the whole booty of Ctesiphon," on occasion of their saluting his son Caracalla as Augustus, and Geta as Cæsar. Spartian in Severo, c. 16. Of two other liberalities of Severus, the first, A. 198, was to the people, (see Notice on Apol.) the last, A. 202, was an increase of pay, not a largess, Spart. l. c. The date A. 201 of this largess is obtained, 1. From Eusebius, who places the victories over the Parthians, A. 200; (Chron. l. 2.) but Ctesiphon was taken at the approach of winter, (Spart. l. c.) and so at the end of that year. 2. Caracalla was then in his thirteenth year, (Spart. l. c.) but he was killed after six years' reign, A. 217, aged 29. (Dio Cass. l. 77.) 3. A Coin, A. 200, 1. gives Severus the title Parthicus Max., one A. 201, 2. exhibits Caracalla as Augustus, Geta as Cæsar. See Lumper, l. c. c. 2. Art. ii. §. 1. and Art. i §. 5. It is probably the earliest treatise containing any trace of Montanism, see c. 1. The mention of the "long peace" which Christians had enjoyed, (c. 1.) may be accounted for, in that the scene lay not in Africa but in the East.]

De Cor. V. 1.

I. It came to pass the other day, the bounty of the most illustrious Emperors[a] was being paid off at the camp. The soldiers were coming up wearing their laurel crowns. A certain man there, more the soldier of God, more firm of purpose, than the rest of his brethren who had presumed that they could *serve two masters*, stood conspicuous, his single head untrammelled, his crown hanging idle in his hand, the Christian being already, by this very ordering of himself, proclaimed. Every man began to point at him; the distant [1] eludere *om.* et to mock[1], the near to gnash their teeth upon him. The murmur reacheth the ears of the Tribune, and the person had now quitted his place. Immediately the Tribune saith, "Why so different from the rest in thy dress?" He answered that he might not act with the rest. Being asked his reasons, he answered, 'I am a Christian.' O 'soldier boastful[b]' of God! Straightway the votes were taken, and the business re-

[a] Severus and Caracalla; see above, Notice.

[b] Alluding to the title of a play of Plautus, Miles gloriosus.

manded[c], and the accused sent for trial before the Prefects. On the spot he laid down the cloak, wherewith he was so *heavy laden*, now beginning to receive his *rest:* he *put off his shoe*[d], so troublesome, *from his feet*, now beginning to *stand upon holy*[1] *ground:* he delivered up the sword, not needed even for the defence of the Lord: the laurel crown fell even from his hand: and now, his robe empurpled with the earnest expectation of his own blood, his feet *shod with the preparation of the Gospel*, girt with the *sharper word of God*, his *whole armour put on* according to the Apostle, and looking for a better crown, in the *white robe* of martyrdom, he awaiteth in his prison the *free gift*[e] of Christ. Opinions were then pronounced upon him, (whether those of Christians I know not, for none other are those of Heathens,) as though he had been headlong, and hasty, and too eager to die, in that, because questioned touching his dress, he brought trouble upon the Christian name. As though he alone were brave; among so many brethren and fellow-soldiers alone a Christian! Clearly nothing remains but that those intend to refuse martyrdom also, who have rejected the prophecies[f] of the same Holy Spirit. Finally they murmur that so long and happy a peace hath been endangered; and I doubt not that some are removing their Scriptures, making ready their baggage, preparing to *flee from one city to another;* for they care not to remember any other part of the Gospel. I know their shepherds also: lions in peace, stags in fight[g]. But on the questions re-

Mat. 11, 28.

[1] sanctæ Ex. 3, 5. Mat. 26, 52.

Eph. 6, 17. Heb. 4, 12. Eph. 6, 13.

Mat. 10, 23.

[c] Older Edd. "apud Acta" "was set down in the public Acts, documents."

[d] Speculatoriam, the heavy military boot.

[e] Lit. the donative; the bounty of Christ for that of the Emperors.

[f] Those of Montanus, de Fug. in Pers. c. 1.

[g] Baronius A. 173. supposes Victor, Bp. of Rome, to be intended. But Victor took no prominent part against the Montanists; on the contrary, he sided with them against the Asiatic Bishops, whose communion he had renounced, about the keeping of Easter, acknowledged the prophecies of Montanus, Prisca, Maximilla, communicated with them, giving them letters of peace, until he was better informed by Praxeas, when he recalled them. (adv. Prax. c. 1.) The Montanists were excommunicated by a Council of Hierapolis, under S. Apollinarius with twenty-six other Bishops; (Conc. t. i. p. 599.) the martyrs of Lyons wrote warnings against them to the Bishop of Rome, [Eleutherus,] and to the Christians in Asia, (Eus. v. 3.) Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, also sent (apparently a synodical) Epistle against them, in which there were the subscriptions of several other Bishops; among them, one of Thrace. (Eus. H. E. v. 19.) see Tillemont, H. E. Art. Montanists, Art. 2—4. t. ii. p. 193 sqq. The Church then, having thus generally declared against the Montanists, this taunt is probably directed against the Bishops

De Cor. V. 2.

specting the avowal of our Faith I shall speak in another place[h]: on this occasion, inasmuch as they advance this objection also, 'Where are we forbidden to wear crowns?' I shall attack this "where;"-the more specific shape of the present question,-that both those, who ask it from the anxiety of ignorance, may be instructed, and those, who argue it in excuse of the sin, may be refuted, (and that especially by this very man's example[i],)—laurel-crowned Christians whom this question serveth to sooth[1], as though that may be thought to be either no sin, or a doubtful one, which admitteth of a question. But that it is neither no sin, nor a doubtful one, I shall now in the meanwhile shew.

[1] quibus in solatium quæstio est

II. I say that no believer alloweth a crown upon his head[j] at any other time, except the time of this sort of temptation. All observe this rule from their novitiate up to their confession and martyrdom, or their apostasy. Whence the authority for this rule, which is now made the chief question, is for thee to look to. Moreover, when it is made a question why a thing is observed, it is meanwhile granted that it is observed. Wherefore that cannot be thought to be no sin, or no certain sin, which is committed against a rule, which, as such, ought to be maintained for its own sake, and is sufficiently authorized by the support of general consent. Doubtless; yet in such wise[2], of course, that the reason may be enquired into[k]!—yes, but without hindrance of its observance, and not to overthrow, but rather to build it up, in order that thou mayest the more observe it, when thou art easy even with respect to the reason of it. But what sort of thing is it for a man then to call the observance of the rule into question, when he hath abandoned it, and to ask why he is bound to the observance, when he hath ceased from it? since although he may wish it

[2] Plane; *sic tamen* ut *re*-*stored*

generally, on the ground of their withdrawing in persecution, when their lives alone were sought. See S. Cypr. de Laps. c. 8. p. 159. Oxf. Tr. not. g.

[h] Scorpiace.

[i] ipsius vel maxime exemplo from Cod. Gorz. Rig. (from Cod. Ag.) has ipsi vel maxime Christiani, "very specially the laurel-crowned Christians;" it is difficult to decide whether A. has taken from, or G. added to, the text.

[j] Apol. c. 42.

[k] Plane; sic tamen ut ratio quærenda sit; sed salva observatione; the words Plane; sic tamen &c. seem to be those of an opponent; T. "You must obey what general consent establishes." Opp. "But that does not preclude enquiry." T. "Provided you enquire, while obeying, not when you have ceased to obey."

to be thought that he therefore calleth it in question, that he may shew that he hath not done wrong in ceasing to observe it, yet nevertheless he sheweth that he did wrong before, in taking upon himself to observe it. For if he hath not done wrong in wearing the crown to-day, he hath at some time done wrong in refusing it. And therefore this treatise is not for them, to whom the question doth not belong, but for those who, from a desire to learn, proffer the question, not to dispute it, but to ask advice upon it. For the question on this point is endless, and I commend the faith which believeth[1] that the rule ought to be observed, before it hath learned why[1]. It is easy moreover to ask on the instant where it is written that we may not be crowned. But where is it written that we may be crowned? for they who demand the support of Scripture on the other side, already judge that their own side also ought to have the support of Scripture. For if it shall be said that we may be crowned because Scripture forbiddeth it not, it may be equally retorted that we may not be crowned, because Scripture commandeth it not[m]. What shall Religion do? shall it admit both, because neither is forbidden? or refuse both, because neither is commanded? But (thou wilt say) that which is not forbidden is freely permitted. Nay, but that is forbidden, which is not freely permitted.

[1] credit

III. And how long shall we go on, sawing backwards and forwards upon this line, when we have an old established observance, which, in preventing the question, hath decided it? If no Scripture hath determined this, assuredly custom hath confirmed it, which, doubtless, hath been derived from tradition[n]. For how can a thing be used unless it be first delivered to us? But, thou sayest, even where tradition is pleaded, written authority ought to be required. Wherefore let us enquire whether none, save a written tradition, ought

[l] according to the words Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis, Is. 7, 9. LXX. adv. Marc. iv. 21. 25. 27. v. 11. Cypr. Test. i. 5. iii. 42.

[m] S. Basil uses the same argument against the marriage of a wife's sister; (Ep. 160. ad Diodor.) and it seems, on the ground, that if an action be in any wise doubtful, the absence of positive permission will, to a dutiful mind, be decisive against it.

[n] "First of all, which is of greatest moment in things of this sort, the practice amongst us, which we can produce, hath the form of law, because our rules have been handed down to us by holy men." Basil. l. c.

De Cor. V. 3.

to be received[o]. Certainly we shall deny that it ought to be received, if there be no precedents to determine the contrary in other observances, which, without any Scripture document, we defend on the ground of tradition alone, and by the supports of consequent custom. In fact, to begin with Baptism, when we are about to come to the water, in the same place, but at a somewhat earlier time[p], we do in the Church testify, under the hand of a chief minister, that we renounce the Devil and

[o] The duty of observing ecclesiastical ordinances, (the reason of which is not apparent,) because transmitted, is stated by Orig. Hom. 5. in Num. §. 1. S. Jerome, (adv. Lucif. §. 8.) adopts the instances and even the words of Tert. S. Basil has a like enumeration, in support of the traditional doxology, "To the Father—*with* the Holy Spirit," to which the heretics objected, (de Sp. S. c. 27.) S. Cyprian, Ep. 63. [Fell and Pam.] ad Cæcil. init. contends that the older universal and Divine tradition [in mingling water with the wine in the Holy Eucharist] is to be retained against the "human and novel." S. Augustine (Ep. 54. ad Januar. init.) declares the rites received by the universal Church to be binding, as being Apostolic or having the authority of Œcumenical Councils; (de Bapt. c. Don. ii. 7. §. 12. iv. 24. init. add v. 23.) that things, neither mentioned in Scripture nor Councils, but universally received, were accounted Apostolic; (ib. iv. 6. §. 9.) that what those of older date knew not to have been introduced by those subsequent to the Apostles, was Apostolic; (de Unit. Eccl. c. 22. §. 63.) that where Scripture was silent, the universal Church was to be obeyed, as being accredited by the Lord Christ; (c. Cresc. Don. i. 33.) that a practice so supported had the authority of Scripture. The traditions for which this authority is claimed are, 1. primitive, 2. universal; not modern, nor of a branch of a Church, as those of Rome. When traditions vary, S. Augustine, (Ep. 54.) on the authority of S. Ambrose, and S. Jerome, (Ep. 71. ad Lucian. v. fin.) lay down that those of the local Church are to be observed.

[p] The renouncing of Satan is part of the service for making Catechumens in the Gelasian Liturgy, (Assem. Cod. Lit. i. 17.) and it is there marked that an interval was to take place before Baptism was to be bestowed; in another form, (ib. p. 21.) this is not marked. There is a trace of the same separation in the Gellone Sacramentary, (ib. ii. 53.) Rheims, (ii. 58.) It is equally part of the same service in the Gregorian, (ib. p. 22.) although this is directly united with the Baptismal Service. In the Greek Liturgy it also occurs in the Service for Catechumens, (ib. p. 114. and 137, 8.) which was originally distinct but is also joined on to the Baptismal. (It is so adapted in a MS. quoted ib. ii. 129.) Also in the Coptic, (ib. 158.) Armenian, (i. 172. add ii. 203.) in the revised Syriac, (i. 237. which is used as introductory to the Antiochene and Jerusalem Baptismal liturgies, ii. 214. note 1.) and the Apostolic translated from the Greek by James of Edessa, (i. 250.) All these are now practically joined on to the Baptismal service, (see Coptic, ii. 150. Armen. ii. 194. Syr. ii. 214 and 226. Apostolic by Severus, ii. 280.) since none are now admitted as Catechumens. Hence in the old Gallican, ib. ii. 39. 42. Jerus. Syriac, for Infants, (ii. 251.) in the Roman Office for Infants by Paul V. (as in our own,) it is inserted in the Baptismal office; (ib. ii. 17.) in theirs for Adults, it remains as part of the service of Catechumens, though blended in one with the Baptismal. (ib. p. 22.) In the Malabar, (as there given,) it is not specified, although referred to in a prayer. (i. 183.) Bingham, however, (11. 7. 1.) speaks of this statement as something peculiar to Tertullian, and in the de Spect. c. 13. T. says explicitly, "we who have twice renounced idols," (i. e. both when made Catechumens, and when about to be baptized.) In S. Cyril. Jer. Lect. 19. Myst. 1. the Renunciation is spoken of as having taken place at the Baptism.

his pomp and his angels[q]. Then are we thrice[r] dipped, pledging ourselves to something more than the Lord hath prescribed in the Gospel[s]: then, some undertaking the charge of us[t], we first taste a mixture of honey and milk[u], and from that day we abstain for a whole week from our daily washing. The Sacrament of the Eucharist, commanded

[q] Tertullian repeats this form of Renunciation, de Idol. c. 6. and de Spect. c. 4. and refers to it de Cult. Fem. i. 2. The "angels" of Satan are also renounced in the Greek liturgy, "I renounce Satan and all his works, and all his service, and all his angels, and all his pomp; (Ass. i. 114. 137, 8.) and in a different order Constt. Ap. vii. 41. "I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps, and his services, and his Angels, and his inventions, and all which are under him;" in the Coptic, "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy unclean works, and all thy wicked dæmons, and thy evil ministers, and all thy might, and thy defiled service, and all thy malicious crafts and seductions, and all thy army, and all thy power, and all other thy impieties; (ib. 158.) in the Armenian, "We renounce thee, Satan, and all thy crafts, and all thy snares, and thy ministers, and thy angels, and thy steps;" (ib. 172. and ii. 203.) and in the Apostolic Syriac, "I, N. who am to be baptized, renounce Satan, and all his hosts, and all his works, and all his doings, and all his might, and all his worldly error, and all those who follow him and his vile counsels," (ib. i. 250, 1.) and the revised Syriac, (Ass. i. 237.) also in S. Basil de Sp. S. c. 27. where the renunciation of the Devil and his angels is instanced as an unwritten tradition. They are omitted by S. Cyril of Jerusalem, (Lect. 19. Myst. 1.) Chrys. Catech. ad Illum. ii. §. 4. 5. t. ii. p. 242, 3. The Gelasian and Gregorian yet briefer, "Dost thou renounce Satan? I renounce. And all his works? I renounce. And all his pomps? I renounce." (i. 17. 21. 22.) add Gellone (ii. 52. 57.) Chelles, (ii. 62.) In the Malabar, (i. 183.) "renouncing Satan and all his works." Old Gallican, (ii. 39.) "Dost thou renounce Satan, the pomps of the world, and the pleasures of the flesh," or ii. 42. "Satan, his pomps, his luxuries, this world?" Ambrosian, (ii. 44.) "Dost thou renounce the Devil? I renounce. Dost thou renounce the world and its pomps? I renounce."

[r] Adv. Prax. c. 26. Can. Ap. 49. Basil de Sp. S. c. 27. Ambr. de Sacr. ii. 7 and 21. Jerome adv. Lucif. c. 8. Greg. Nyss. de Bapt. Christi, t. iii. p. 372. Cyril Jer. Cat. Myst. ii. 4. Leo Ep. 4. ad Episc. Sic. c. 3. Gelasian Sacramentary, Ass. ii. 5. 7. Gregorian, (ib. 9.) Ambrosian, ii. 46. Gellone, (ii. 54.) Rheims, (ii. 59.) Chelles, (ii. 63.) S. Germain des Près, (ii. 66.) Moisac (ii. 68.) Gladbach. dioc. Coln. (ii. 72.) Pontif. Apam. Syr. (ii. 76.) Lodi Ital. (ii. 78.) Vienne, (ii. 81.) Limoges, (ii. 83, 87.) Old Rom. altered, (ii. 91.) Greek, (ii. 145.) Coptic, (ii. 180.) Armenian, (ii. 200.) Malabar, (ii. 212.) Antioch and Jerus. (ii. 225.) Jerus. (ii. 236.) abridged form by Severus, (ii. 304.) La Cerda says that "this tradition is continued among the Greeks, but among the Latins almost disused, for they are mostly content with single immersion." This, however, must be individual neglect, for the trine immersion is prescribed in the ritual of Paul V.; (ii. 17.) only, in case of emergency, single is allowed, (ii. 19.)

[s] the whole Creed, not the single confession of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Matt. 28, 19.

[t] suscepti, received by the susceptores, God-parents; the word "suscipere" being used first of the adoption on the natural birth, then, by analogy, on the spiritual.

[u] Jerome adv. Lucif. c. 8. adding to Tertullian's words, "to signify infancy." Tert. says, adv. Marc. i. 14. that the Marcionites retained the practice. It is mentioned by Clem. Al. Pædag. i. 6. They were placed on the altar on Easter Eve, Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24. and consecrated with a peculiar benediction, (see Bingham 12. 4. 6.) and in the Ordo Romanus in Sabb. Paschæ. In Syn. Trull. Can. 57. it is forbidden to place them on the Altar, which implies the continuance of the custom.

De Cor. V. 3. by the Lord at the time of supper, and to *all*, we receive even at our meetings before day-break[x], and from the hands Mat. 26, 27. of no others than the heads[y] of the Church. We offer, on one day every year, oblations[z] for the dead as birth-day[a] honours. On the Lord's day we account it unlawful to fast or to worship upon the knees[b]. We enjoy the same freedom from Easter Day even unto Pentecost[c]. We feel pained if any of the wine, or even of our bread[d], be spilled upon the ground.

[x] Apol. 2. and on c. 39. Cypr. ep. 63. [Fell and Pam.] ad Cæcil. fin. S. Aug. speaks of the rite of receiving the Eucharist fasting, as universal, Ep. 54. ad Januar. c. 6. and so implied by S. Chrys. Hom. 27 in 1 Cor. Ep. 125. ad Cyriac. It is prescribed in the third Council of Carthage, Can. 29. S. Greg. Naz. Or. 40. de Bapt. speaks as Tert. see further Bingham, 15. 7. 8.

[y] Apol c. 39.

[z] The Eucharistic oblation, for the enlargement of their bliss, deliverance from hell, that they may attain to the resurrection, have a merciful judgment at the last day, not for their deliverance from purgatory, for they were held to be at rest, "this oblation, which we humbly offer unto Thee for the commemoration of the souls that *sleep in peace*, we beseech Thee, O Lord, receive graciously: and of Thy goodness, grant that both the affection of this piety may profit us, and obtain for them everlasting bliss," Offic. Greg. Opp. t. 5. col. 235, 6. ed. Par. 1605. and (Sacr. Greg. p. 227. ed. Menard.) "For them, O Lord, and for all who are at rest in Christ, we pray for a place of refreshment, and the gracious grant of light and peace." See at length Abp. Usher, Answer to Challenge of a Jesuit, c. 7. in Tracts for the Times, No. 72. Even in the Roman Missal, in the Missa pro defunctis, the prayers are for "attaining to everlasting rest," "that they be not delivered into the hands of the Enemy, not forgotten for ever, not suffer eternal punishment, but obtain everlasting joy," "escape the judgment of vengeance, and enjoy the bliss of everlasting light," "obtain forgiveness and eternal life," or "refreshments," "a share with the saints and the elect, and the perpetual dew of Thy mercy," "that if any spot of earthly contagion cleave to them, it be effaced by the mercy of Thy remission," "that they be placed in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that when the day of Thy appearing cometh, Thou mayest command them to be raised among Thy saints and elect," "that by Thy mercy, they may receive an everlasting participation of Him in Whom they hoped and believed," "that God would give them their reward," "make them partakers of eternal bliss in the congregation of the righteous;" "Absolve the soul of Thy servant from every bond of sin, that, raised to life among Thy saints and elect, he may have refreshment in the glory of the resurrection," "that to those to whom Thou hast given the merit of Christian Faith, Thou wouldest give also a reward." To 63 such prayers, which have no allusion to purgatory, but when they refer to punishment, pray against that of hell, has been joined one only, praying the Blessed Virgin, that her "compassion may aid those languishing in purgatory, who are purged by exceeding heat, and tormented without remedy." Its rhythmical character in itself marks its modern date; it ends, "Blessed through thy merits, we pray thee, raise the dead, and forgiving their debts, be to them the way to rest." In the Roman Breviary also, the only prayer against suffering in the "Officium Defunctorum," is, "From the gates of *hell*, O Lord, reserve their souls."

[a] the day of their departure from this life, see Bingh. 20. 7. 2.

[b] Iren. in Quæstt. ad Orth. q. 115. Jerome adv. Lucif., Prol. Comm. in Eph. Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. c. 15. 17. Bingham 13. 8. 3.

[c] as one continued festival of the resurrection, Iren. l. c. Hil. Præf. in Ps. Aug. l. c. Bingham l. c.

[d] The consecrated elements, as in the Lord's prayer "*our* daily bread." Romanists (Rhem. Pam. La C.) explain it of common food, which was treated reverently, as a sort

In all our travels and movements, in all our coming in and going out, in putting on our shoes, at the bath, at the table, in lighting our candles, in lying down, in sitting down, whatever employment occupieth us, we mark our forehead with the sign[e] of the cross[f].

IV. For these and such like rules if thou requirest a law in the Scriptures, thou shalt find none. Tradition will be pleaded to thee as originating them, custom as confirming them, and faith as observing them. That reason will support tradition, and custom, and faith, thou wilt either thyself perceive, or learn from some one who hath perceived it. Meanwhile thou wilt believe that some reason there is, to which submission is due. I will add yet one example, if it be fitting to teach by examples of the olden times also. Among the Jews the veil upon the head of their women is so sacred a custom, that by it they may be distinguished. I demand a written law for this. The Apostle I lay for the present out of the case. If Rebecca, when she beheld her spouse at a distance, betook herself to her veil, her individual modesty could not make this law, or made it for her own case: 'Let virgins alone be covered, and that, when they come to be married, and not before they recognize their spouses.' If Susanna also, in unveiling herself at her trial, furnisheth an argument for wearing the veil, I might say, 'here too the veil was of her own choice.' She had come an accused woman, blushing for the dishonour cast upon her, with good cause hiding her beauty, or because now afraid of pleasing. But in her husband's walks I cannot think a woman who attracted admirers could have walked veiled. Be it now that she was always veiled. In her case also, or in any other, I demand the written authority for the dress. If I no where find such authority, it followeth that tradition hath given this rule to custom, which was hereafter to receive the authority of an Apostle, according to the interpretation of

1 Cor. 11, 5.

Sus. 32.

of type of the Eucharist; and Rhen. refers to Clem. Al. Pædag. [ii. 1. p. 63.] but Clem. is there speaking of the decency due to Christians' own persons, not to food. Here also the whole context relates to religious rites.

[e] or omitting "crucis," "with the seal." Rev. vii. 3. ix. 4.

[f] See on Cyr. Jerus. iv. 13. p. 40. xiii. 36. p. 161. ed. Oxf. (a passage resembling this) add Chrys. c. Jud. quod Christus sit Deus, c. 9. t. i. p. 571. ed. Ben. Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. de Cust. Virg. §. 37. Ep. 130. ad Demetriad. §. 9. vita S. Paul. §. 7. Aug. Tr. 118. in Joh. fin. in Ps. 50. §. 1. Ps. 141. §. 9.

De Cor. V. 4.

reason[f]. By these examples therefore it will be declared that even an unwritten tradition may be maintained in its observance, being confirmed by custom, a sufficient witness of a tradition at the time approved by the continuance of the observance[g]. But even in civil matters custom is taken for law, where there is no law[h]: nor is there any difference whether it be founded on any writing or on reason, since it is reason which commandeth even written authority[i]. Moreover if law be founded in reason, then will all that is founded in reason, by whomsoever first brought forward, be law[k]. Dost thou not think that any believer may have the power to conceive and to establish a thing, so it be agreeable to God, conducive to true Religion, profitable to salvation, when the Lord saith, *And why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?* and this not as touching judgment only, but every opinion also on things coming under examination. So also saith the Apostle: *If in any thing ye be ignorant, God shall reveal it unto you*; he himself having been accustomed to supply counsel, when he *had no commandment of the Lord*, and to *ordain* certain things of himself, yet himself also *having the Spirit of God*, That *guideth into all truth*. Wherefore his counsel and his ordinance have now obtained the likeness of a Divine command, because supported by the reason which cometh of God[l]. Question now this reason, saving however thy respect for tradition, from whomsoever dated as having delivered it: and regard not the author, but the authority and chiefly that of custom itself, which ought for this cause to be respected, because it may be the witness of reason: so that if it be God, Who hath given reason also, thou mayest learn, not, whether the custom ought to be observed

Luke 12, 57.

Phil. 3, 15.

1 Cor. 7, 25. 17. v. 40.

John 16, 13.

[f] i. e. himself appealing to the ground of the custom in reason, which made it a law of nature.

[g] i. e. the Church, by continuing the custom, attests its approval of the tradition, whence the custom is derived.

[h] Common law. Ulp. l. xxxiii. de leg. ap. Her. Digr. ii. 3. "ancient custom is wont to be observed as law and right in those things, which come not down in written law."

[i] i. e. all good law, written or unwritten, Divine or human, is founded in some principle or reason, whether, as in Divine law, of the Divine Mind, and not cognizable always by men, or in human reason, as far as it is sound, derived from the Divine.

[k] as having its authority in itself, independent of the accidents which elicited it.

[l] i. e. being guided by the Spirit of God, to see the reasons in the Divine Mind, which gave a fitness to these things, his counsel became, as it were, a transcript of the Divine Mind, and so a command of God.

by thee, but why the reason of Christian observances becometh greater than that of others, seeing that even nature, which is the first rule of all, defendeth them[m].

V. And therefore it is this which first prescribeth that a crown is not meet for the head. But methinks our God is the Lord of nature, Who formed man, and for the seeking, judging, and obtaining the enjoyment of things, hath disposed within him certain senses through those members which are in some sort their proper instruments. He hath formed a passage for hearing in the ears, hath kindled vision in the eyes, hath shut up taste in the mouth, hath wafted smell into the nostrils, hath placed touch in the extremities of the hands. Through these ministers of the outer man, the perceptions of the gifts of God are derived from the soul. Wherein then consisteth the enjoyment of flowers? for the proper, at all events the chief, material of crowns is the flowers of the field. Either in the scent, thou sayest, or in the colour, or in both together. What will be the senses concerned with colour and scent? sight, methinks, and smell. What parts of the body have these senses allotted to them? the eyes, if I mistake not, and the nose. Use therefore flowers by the sight and smell, in which senses their enjoyment lieth: use by means of the eyes and nose those senses of which they are the members. The thing itself was given thee by God: the fashion by the world; although an extraordinary fashion doth not oppose the ordinary use of the material. Let flowers be to thee, when set in a garland and bound either by thread or by rush, what they are when free and unconfined,—things, that is, to be looked at and inhaled. If perchance thou regardest a crown as a bunch of flowers gathered together in a certain order, in order that thou mayest carry the more at once, that thou mayest use all together, then stick them in thy bosom, if such be their neatness; strew them on thy bed, if such be their delicacy; commit them to thy cup[n], if such be their harmlessness. Enjoy them in as many ways as thou hast

[m] i. e. holding fast the tradition, examine into its principles, not as the ground of its observance, but to see its wisdom, as founded in nature itself, which when, as in Christianity, purified from error, is the gift of God.

[n] which was encircled with them, de Res. Carn. c. 16, &c. hence the phrase "coronas hibere," see Hoffm. v. Flos. and Plin. xxi. 3. ib. where Cleopatra tinges the tips of the flowers with poison.

De Cor. V. 6.

senses. But what savour is there in the flower, what perception of the crown (except only as a bandage) on the head, whereby colour is not perceived[n], nor scent inhaled, nor softness commended? It is as much against nature to follow after flowers by the head, as to follow after food by the ear, sound by the nose. But every thing which is against nature, deserveth to be noted as a monstrous thing among all men; but among us to be styled also sacrilege against God, the Lord and Author of nature.

VI. Dost thou look then for a law from God? thou hast that universal one, in the public record of the world, in the tables of Nature, to which even the Apostle is wont to appeal. As when he saith touching the veil of the woman, *Doth not even nature teach you?* as when he writeth to the Romans, saying that *the Gentiles do by nature the things contained in the law*, and putteth them in mind that there is a law given by nature, and a nature which is law. But in the former part of this Epistle also, when he declareth that men and women had changed amongst themselves *the natural use* of their being, *into that which is against nature*, their sin being by a just recompense turned into their punishment, he manifestly advocateth *the natural use*. Even God Himself we first begin to know by nature, both when we call Him *the God of gods*, and assume that He is good, and call upon Him as our Judge[o]. Dost thou question whether, in the enjoyment of His creatures, nature ought to be our guide, lest we be carried away by that way, by which the enemy of God hath corrupted, together with man himself, *the whole creation* put in subjection to man for certain uses; whence also the Apostle saith that it *was made subject to vanity, not willingly*[p], being subverted first through vain

1 Cor. 11, 14. Rom. 2, 14.

Rom. 1, 26.

Rom. 8, 20.

[n] Clem. Al. Pædag. ii. 8. Minuc. F. p. 347.

[o] See de Test. An. c. 2.

[p] Comp. adv. Herm. c. 11. The Apostle is understood to speak of a restoration of the natural creation by S. Irenæus, (5. 32. 1.) S. Hilary, (in Ps. 148. §. 2.) S. Ambrose, (Prol. in Expos. Ev. sec. Luc. Hexaem. i. 7. §. 22. but including the human soul, Ep. 34. ad Horont.) Origen, (Hom. 4. in Ezek. §. 2.) S. Gregory Naz. (Orat. 1. in Julian, iv. 15.) S. Chrysostome, (in loc.) Theodoret, (in loc. and Gal. 6, 15.) Proclus ap. Epiphan. (Hær. lxiv. 31.) Œcumenius, (ad 2 Pet. iv.) Gaudentius, (Serm. 3. init. Bibl. P. v. p. 948.) S. Jerome, (in Is. 24. fin. 51, 6 sqq.) Maximus Taur. (Bibl. Pat. t. vi. p. 48.) Ambrosiaster, (ad loc.) Auct. de Prom. Dimid. Temp. (ap. Prosper. c. 20.) the later Sedulius, (Collectanea, ad loc. B. P. vi. p. 518.) This liberation of the creature they state, according to Scripture, will take place through its destruction. "For good will He destroy the world. For there will be a new heaven, and there shall be no more night." Ambr. de Elia, c. 21. fin. §. 80. "From which (Ps. 102, 26.) it appears

uses, and then through such as were vile, and unrighteous, and ungodly? It is thus that, as touching the pleasures of the shows, the creation hath been dishonoured by those, who by nature indeed know that all the things, wherewith the shows are furnished, are of God, but lack knowledge to understand this also, that all these things have been changed by the Devil[q]. But on this subject, I have, for the sake of our play-lovers, written fully in Greek also.

VII. Let then these advocates of crowns meanwhile acknowledge the authority of nature, under the name of common wisdom, in that they are men, but as the tokens of their own religion, in that they are the nearest worshippers of the God of nature. And so let them, as over and above, examine the other reasons also, which forbid crowns, and those of every sort, to our heads especially. For indeed we are now compelled to turn from the rule of nature, which all have in common, to maintain all the specialties of the Christian rule, by considering other kinds of crowns also, which seem to be provided for other uses, as being framed of other materials; lest, because they are not made of flowers, the use of which nature hath pointed out, (as, for instance, this laurel crown of the soldiers,) they may be thought not liable to the prohibition of our sect, because they fall without the preclusive rule of Nature. I see therefore that we must deal more nicely and more fully with the question, from the first beginnings to the progress and the

that the perishing of the heavens denotes not their utter destruction, but change for the better," Jerome in Is. 51, 6. Comp. S. Aug. de Civ. D. xx. 16. Chrys. ad loc. Method. de Res. §. 32. S. Cyril Jer. xv. 2. S. Athanas., Euseb., Prosper., Cassiodorus, in Ps. 101, 26. Proclus, l. c. and §. 32. Œcumen. l. c. Gandentius, l. c. Greg. M. Moral. xvii. 9. in Job 25, 24. Auct. de Prom. Dimid. Temp. l. c. Hesychius also, l. v. in Lev. (c. 18.) understands by "the creature," the natural creation. On the other hand, S. Augustine understands it to be "human nature," in those who actually, or who shall hereafter, believe, (Quæstt. 83. qu. 67. Propos. de Ep. ad Rom. Prop. 53. in Prisc. et Orig. c. 8. in Ps. 125. §. 2.) in which he is followed by Greg. M. (Mor. iv. 34. in Job 3, 18.) and Gelasius i. (Tr. 3. c. Pelag. ap. Labbe Conc. t. i. p. 1248.) Origen (ad loc.) seems, in like way, to suppose it chiefly to relate to the soul sympathizing with the body; but also (wherein he is followed by Sedulius, l. c.) to include Angels and even Archangels, in that they "fight" for us. (Dan. 10.) S. Hilary (de Trin. xii. 5.) and S. Cyril Alex. (Thes. xiv. 1. t. v. p. 170. ed. Par.) employ the text against the Arians, since the Son, if created, must have been liable to all here spoken of; they must then have held all creatures even the highest, to be included; the holy Angels are also regarded by Theodoret (ad loc.) as included in the "*whole* creation," and apparently by S. Greg. Naz. l. c.

[q] De Spect. c. 2.

De Cor. V. 7.

end of the matter. For this some worldly learning will be necessary, for worldly things must be shewn by their own documents. What little I have attained unto will, I believe, be sufficient. If there was ever a certain Pandora, whom Hesiod mentions as the first of woman-kind, her's was the first head that was crowned by the Graces, when she received gifts from all the gods, whence her name Pandora. But to us Moses, a prophetic, not a poetic[p], shepherd, describeth the first woman Eve, as having her loins girt with leaves rather than her head with flowers. Pandora therefore there was none. But the origin of the crown is a thing to be ashamed of, even for its false history; yea, and it will soon appear, for its true one also. For of the rest[q] it is known for certain that they were the originators or illustrators of the thing. Pherecydes relateth that Saturn was crowned before all others: Diodorus that Jupiter was, after conquering the Titans. The same writer giveth to Priapus also fillets for the head, and to Ariadne a garland of gold and Indian jewels, the work of Vulcan, the gift of Bacchus, and afterwards a constellation. Callimachus hath put the vine-branch upon Juno. So also her statue at Argos, crowned with vine-leaves, with the skin of a lion placed beneath its feet, displayeth the step-mother boasting over the spoils of both her step-sons[r]. Hercules carrieth on his head the leaves sometimes of the poplar[s], sometimes of the wild olive[t], sometimes of parsley[u]. Thou hast the tragedy of Cerberus: thou hast Pindar: and Callimachus, who relateth that Apollo also, after killing the serpent at Delphi, put on a laurel crown, in that he was a suppliant; for among the ancients suppliants wore crowns[x]: Harpocration argueth that

[p] Hesiod, who speaks of Pandora, calls himself a shepherd, Theog. init so Ovid. and Dio Chrys. ap. Lac.

[q] cæteros, MSS. or certos. Græcos is a conjecture of Rigaltius. The meaning seems, "whereas the story of Pandora is a fable, as contradicted by Scripture, it is known that 'the rest,' those which follow, Saturn, &c. were real men, and originated or improved upon the making of garlands.

[r] Hercules and Bacchus.

[s] Plin. xii. 1.

[t] Id. xvi. 44.

[u] hence used at the Nemean games, Id. xix. 8.

[x] As an expiatory rite. Rig. rejects the words "qua supplicem. Erant enim supplices coronarii apud veteres," against authority. For the fact, Livy, xl. 37. says, on occasion of a solemn supplication for the removal of an epidemic, "all, above twelve, became suppliants (supplicabant), crowned and holding laurel in their hands." Hoffmann, v. Corona, p. 992. says, suppliants used crowns of myrtle. The infulæ were crowns, which suppliants bore in their

Bacchus, the same who among the Ægyptians is Osiris, is purposely crowned with ivy, because it is the nature of ivy to protect the brain[y] from stupor. But besides this, even the vulgar acknowledge that Bacchus is the author without doubt of the laurel crown, in which he triumphed after his Indian wars, in that they call his solemn feast days, "the Great Crown." If thou turnest over the writings of Leo the Ægyptian[z] also, Isis first carried on her head the ears of corn, her own discovery, a thing rather pertaining to the belly. To those who seek for more examples, Claudius Saturninus, the very best commentator on this as on other subjects, will furnish all that can be had. For he hath a book upon crowns so fully treating of their origins, and their causes, and their varieties, and the solemnities pertaining to them, that there is not one beautiful flower, not one luxuriant leaf, not one sod or tendril which thou mayest not find consecrated to the head of some one. Whereby we are sufficiently taught, how foreign a thing from us we ought to consider the custom of crowning the head, first brought forward by those, and afterwards employed to the honour of those, whom the world hath believed to be gods[a]. For if the *Devil*, who *was a liar from the beginning*, doth in this thing also work out his lying pretensions to divinity, without doubt he had himself also provided those, who might become his agents in pretending to divinity. What then must be thought among the people of the true God of a thing, which, being introduced by the Devil's suitors, hath been also dedicated to the same from the beginning[b], and which even then was initiated into the service of idolatry by idols, and those idols yet alive? Not as though *the idol* John 8, 44. 1 Cor. 10, 19.

hands, see Hoffm. in v. Lac. also refers to Appian in Ibericis, where suppliants are introduced, "crowned." (στεφανωσάμενοι.)

[y] Plin. xxiv. 10.

[z] A contemporary of Alexander, (Aug. de Cons. Ev. i. 23.) quoted by Clem. Al. Strom. i. 21. p. 139. as a writer about the Egyptian Gods; S. Aug. calls him "a priest," (de Civ. D. viii. 27. 2.) a chief priest, (ib. c. 5.) and states that he made known to Alexander that even the Dii majorum gentium had been men. S. Aug. adds, (c. 5.) that, afraid of the disclosure, he begged Alexander, after he had conveyed what he had written to his mother, to have it burnt. This book πρὸς τὴν μητέρα is quoted by the Schol. on Apollon. iv. 262. see Fabric. Bibl. Gr. t. vi. p. 380. who thinks him the same as Leo Pellæus, ap. Arnob. [l. iv. p. 147.] which is the more likely, since he too is quoted among authors proving the human origin of gods.

[a] Plin. xvi. 4. xxi. 3.

[b] Clem. Al. Pædag. ii. 8.

De Cor. V. 8.

was any thing, but because the things, which others do unto idols, pertain *to devils*. Moreover if the things, which others do unto idols, pertain to devils, how much more that which the idols, while yet alive, have done unto themselves! In truth the devils themselves have provided for themselves through those, in whose persons they before hungered for that which they have provided.

VIII. Do thou maintain then this belief in the mean time, while I sift an objection which meeteth me. For already I hear it said that many other things also, which were first brought to light by those whom the world hath believed to be gods, are nevertheless found in daily use, both among ourselves and the ancient saints, and in the things of God, and in Christ Himself, Who lived the life of a man, through no other than the common means of human life. Be it so by all means: nor will I enquire any farther back into the origin of these things. Let Mercury have been the first teacher of letters: I shall allow that they are necessary for our intercourse with the world, and in our services towards God. And if it be he also who tuned the strings of instruments to music, I must not deny, while I listen to David, that the saints had the same talent on their side, and that it ministered unto God. Let Æsculapius be the first that invented medicines: I remember that Esaias also prescribed something medicinal to Hezekiah, when he was sick. Paul also knoweth that *a little wine* is profitable for the *stomach*. But let Minerva too be the first who built a ship: I cannot but see Jonah and the Apostles sailing in ships. And more than this—even Christ must have His *robe;* even Paul must have his *cloak*. If they name some one of the gods of the world as the inventor of every single article of furniture, and of each particular vessel, they must needs remember Christ, both when He sat upon a couch, and when He proffereth the basin for the feet of His disciples, and when He poureth water therein out of a pitcher, and when He girdeth Himself with a linen towel, the very clothing proper to Osiris[c]. To this sort of argument I can answer thus: I allow indeed the common use of

Is. 38, 21. 1 Tim. 5, 23.

Mat. 27. 2 Tim. 4, 13.

[c] The Egyptian Priests wore linen only, Herod. ii. 37. and others ap. Schweigh. ib.

such implements, but demand that it shall be tested by the rule of distinction between things reasonable and things not reasonable, because this generalizing of the subject is fallacious, keeping out of sight the corruption of *the creature*, whereby it is *made subject to vanity*. For we say, in a word, that those things are meet both for our own uses, and for those of our fathers, and for the things of God, and for Christ Himself, which provide mere benefits, and certain helps, and honourable comforts in things necessary to human life: so that they may be thought to have been first inspired by God Himself, Who first prepared provision, and instruction, and, if you will, pleasure for His own creature, man: while the things, which transgress this line, are not meet for our uses, especially such things as are, for this reason I mean, not to be found either in the world, or in the things of God, or in the conversation of Christ. Rom. 8, 20.

IX. Finally, what Patriarch, what Prophet, what Levite, or Priest, or Ruler, what Apostle in after times, or Evangelist, or Bishop is found to have been crowned? Nor, methinks, was even the temple of God, nor the ark of the covenant, nor the tabernacle of the testimony, nor the altar, nor the candlestick, which it would have surely been meet should be crowned, both in the solemnity of their first dedication, and next in the rejoicings at their restoration, if this had been worthy of God. But if they were figures of ourselves, (for we are both temples of God, and His altars, and lights, and vessels,) this also they foreshewed in a figure, that the men of God ought not to be crowned. The reality ought to answer to the image. If so be thou objectest that Christ was crowned, to this thou shalt now hear a short answer: 'Be thou also crowned in like manner: it is lawful for thee.' Nevertheless the people did not contrive even this crown of impious mockery. It was a device of the Roman soldiers, according to the custom of the world, which the people of God have never allowed either under the name of public rejoicing or of inborn luxury: that people, which returned from the captivity in Babylon with *cymbals and pipes and psalteries* rather than with crowns, and who after eating and drinking *rose up to play* without crowns. For neither the description of their rejoicing, nor the reproof of their wantonness, would have been silent concerning either the 1 Cor. 3, 16. Rom. 12, 1. Phil. 2, 15. Rom. 9, 23, 24. Neh. 12, 27. Ex. 32, 6.

De Cor. V. 10. honour or the dishonour of the crown. So also Esaias saith, *since they drink wine with cymbals and pipes and psalteries*, Is. 5, 12. he would have said also 'with crowns,' if this custom had ever been used in the things of God.

X. Wherefore, in alleging that the ornaments of the gods of this world are found to pertain also to the true God, in order that thou mayest claim for common use, among these ornaments, a crown also for the head, in this thou layest down a rule for thyself, that whatsoever is not found in the things of God must not be applied to common use. For what is so unworthy of God, as that which is worthy of an idol? and what so worthy of an idol, as that which is worthy also of a dead man? for it belongeth to the dead also to be so crowned[b], since they themselves also immediately become idols, both in their dress and in the worship paid in their consecration, which with us is but a second sort of idolatry. It will be therefore the part of those, who are without sense, so to use that of which they have no sense, as though they would abuse it if they were not without sense. For when the real use of a thing ceaseth, from the ceasing of the natural sense, there is nothing between this and its abuse. Let any one abuse a thing as he will, when he hath not wherewith to use it. But for us it is not lawful to abuse things, according to the Apostle, who teacheth us rather not 1 Cor. 7, 31. to use them: unless we say that they who have no sense do not even abuse them, but that the whole work is nothing, and is itself also dead as regardeth the idols, though clearly not dead as regardeth the dæmons, to whom the superstition Ps. 115, 4. appertaineth. *The idols of the nations*, saith David, *are silver and gold. They have eyes, and see not; noses, and smell not; hands, and handle not.* For it is by these members that one must enjoy flowers. But if he declareth Ps. 115, 8. that *they that make idols shall be like unto them*, then are they like unto them, who use any thing according to the Tit. 1, 15. fashion of idols. *To the pure all things are pure;* so also *to them that are defiled* all things are impure. Now nothing is more defiled than idols. But all substances are pure, as being the creatures of God, and, in this their character, meet

[a] An institution of Lycurgus, which passed to Athens, thence to Rome. Hoffm. v. Corona. "The crown was given them, as having gone through the struggle of life." Suidas ib.

for the use of all: but the application of this very use maketh the difference. For even I kill a fowl for myself, no less than Socrates did for Æsculapius: and if the savour of any place offendeth me, I burn something from Arabia, but not with the same ceremony, nor in the same dress, nor with the same outward show with which men deal with idols. For if the creature is defiled by a bare word, (as the Apostle teacheth, *But if any man say this is offered in sacrifice to idols, touch it not;*) much more is it defiled, when thou dancest in the dress, and with the ceremony and the outward show pertaining to things offered unto idols. Thus the crown also becometh a thing offered to idols; for it is with this dress, and ceremony, and outward show, that the offering is made to the idol by those who first invented it, to whom, on this account especially, the use thereof properly belongeth, that nothing may be allowed for common use, which is not found in the things of God. For this reason the Apostle crieth out, *flee from idolatry*, of every kind, doubtless, and altogether. Examine all the branches of the matter, and see how many thorns lurk therein. Nothing must be given to an idol; so neither must any thing be taken from an idol. If to *sit in the idol's temple*, be foreign to the faith, what is it to be seen in the idol's dress? *What communion hath Christ with Belial?* Wherefore flee therefrom. For he commandeth that we be far *separate* from idolatry: in nothing must we come nigh unto it. Even an earthly serpent sucketh in men from a distance with its breath. John proceedeth still farther: *Little children*, saith he, *keep yourselves from idols.* He saith not now, from idolatry, as from a service, but from idols, that is from their very likeness. For it is not meet that thou, being the image of the living God, shouldest become the image of an idol and a dead man. Thus far do we claim for idols the sole property in this dress, both because of the origin, to which it is traced, and because of the superstitious use of it; and moreover from this also, that since it is not numbered among the things of God, it is reckoned more and more the representation of those, in whose ancient and solemn rites and services it is met with. Of these even the very doors, and the very victims and altars, and the very ministers and priests are crowned. Thou hast in Claudius the crowns of all the various colleges of priests.

1 Cor. 10, 28.

1 Cor. 10, 14.

1 Cor. 8, 10. 2 Cor. 6, 15.

2 Cor. 6, 17.

1 John 5, 21.

De Cor. V. 11. But we have interposed this distinction of the difference between things reasonable and things unreasonable, to meet those who by occasion of some particular instances maintain a communion in all. With a view therefore to this part of our subject, it remaineth that the causes for wearing crowns be now themselves examined, that, whilst we shew that they are foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

XI. For to begin with the cause of the military crown itself, I think we must first enquire whether military service generally be meet for Christians[b]. Otherwise what availeth to treat of incidental circumstances, when there is a fault in first principles? Do we believe that a human sacrament may supersede a Divine one[c], and that a man may pledge his faith to another lord after Christ? and renounce father and mother[d] and all that are nearest to him, whom the Law teacheth should be honoured and loved next to God, whom the Gospel also hath in like manner honoured, only not valuing them more than Christ? Shall it be lawful for him to deal with the sword, when the Lord declareth that *he that useth the sword shall perish by the sword*[e]? And shall the *son of peace* act in battle, whom it will not befit even to *go to law*? Shall he administer bonds and imprisonment, and tortures, and punishments, who may not *avenge* even his own injuries[f]. Again, shall he keep his station either for any others rather than for Christ[g], or on the Lord's Day, when he doth it not even for Christ[h]? And shall he keep watch before those temples[i] which he hath renounced? And shall he *sit at meat* where the Apostle would not have him? And shall he defend by night those, whom in the day-time he hath put to flight by his exorcisms[k], leaning and resting

Mat. 10, 37.

Mat. 26, 52.

1 Cor. 6, 7.

Rom. 12, 19.

1 Cor. 8, 10.

[b] See Note E. end of this Treatise, p. 184.

[c] the "*oath* of fealty" or promise in Baptism, to "keep His will and commandments," &c.

[d] Suetonius Calig. c. 15. has the formula of the oath, "nor will I account myself and my children dearer than Caius." Arrian. l. 1. c. 14. ap. Lac. "We also ought to swear to God the oath which the soldiers do to the Emperor. For they, when they receive their pay, swear to prefer the safety of the Emperor to all things."

[e] De Idol. c. 19.

[f] Soldiers being also executioners.

[g] De Orat. c. 14. Statio 1. military duty, 2. Christian stationary-days, so called from the long continuance of the service, until 3 in the afternoon.

[h] As being fasts.

[i] Apol. c. 29.

[k] Ib. c. 23.

upon a spear, wherewith the side of Christ was pierced? shall he also carry the standard, the rival of Christ? and shall he ask a sign from his general, who hath already received one from God[l]? Shall he also when dead be disturbed by the trumpet of the trumpeter, who waiteth to be awakened by the trump of the Angel? and shall the Christian be burned, according to the rules of the camp, to whom it was not lawful to burn[m] any thing? to whom Christ hath give remission of the fire which he hath deserved? How many other things may we see around us, among those committed in the service of the camp, which must needs be construed as sin! The very transferring his enrolment from the army of light to the army of darkness is sin. Clearly if their after-conversion to the Faith findeth any preoccupied in military service, their case is a different one, as was that of those whom John admitted to baptism, as was that of those most true believers the Centurions, him whom Christ approved, and him whom Peter instructed: though notwithstanding, when the Faith hath been embraced and sealed, a man must either straightway quit the service, as hath been done by many, or must in every way demur to doing any thing against God, which things are not allowed, no, not on the ground of military service, or finally he must suffer for God's sake, to which also the faith of one who is not a soldier[n] hath pledged him. For the service of war will not promise him either impunity in sinning or immunity from martyrdoms. A Christian is no where any thing but a Christian. The Gospel is one, and Jesus is the Same; Who *will deny* every one *that denieth* God, and *will confess* every one *that confesseth* Him: and Who will *save* that *life*, which hath been *lost for* His Name's *sake;* but on the other hand will destroy that, which hath been *gained* against His Name. In His sight, the believer who is no soldier is as much a soldier, as the unbeliever who is a soldier is no soldier. A state of faith alloweth no pleas of necessity.

Mat. 10, 32. 33.

Mat. 16, 25.

[l] The Cross in Baptism.

[m] Incense to idols, de Res. Carnis beg. Martial, x. 35. In matutina nuper spectatus arenâ, &c.

[n] Fides pagana, as below, fidelis paganus, i. e. there is one faith, whether soldier or citizen. Others "his fealty as a heathen," i. e. he is bound to God as a Christian, as to the Emperor as a heathen;" but this lies not in the words, and this sense of "paganus" belongs to a later time, when the only heathen were villagers (pagani).

De Cor. v. 12.

They have no necessity for sinning who are under the single necessity of not sinning. For a man is urged by the necessity imposed by tortures or penalties, both to sacrifice and directly to deny his faith. But our Religion doth not even wink at this necessity; because the necessity of fearing to deny the faith, and of undergoing martyrdom, is stronger than that of escaping suffering and fulfilling the required task. But an excuse of this sort overthroweth the whole substance of our sacramental vow in loosening the check even upon wilful sins. For even the will may be maintained to be necessity, in that it admitteth of being compelled[o]. I might, as a first step, set up this very necessity in bar of all other reasons for crowns of office, in which the plea of necessity is most common. Since there is a necessity that the offices be shunned for this reason, that we fall not into sins, or else that martyrdoms be endured that we may break through the offices. On the first head of the question, whether even military service in itself be not unlawful, I shall say no more, in order that the second may be brought forward: lest, if, using my whole strength, I put military service out of the question, I should then be uselessly challenging a dispute touching the military crown. Suppose then that military service is lawful even to the point of its being the cause for wearing the crown.

XII. But let us first speak of the crown itself. This laurel is sacred to Apollo or to Bacchus: to the one as the God of arrows, to the other as the God of triumphs. So teacheth Claudius, when he saith that soldiers are wont to be crowned with the myrtle also: for that the myrtle belongeth to Venus the mother of the race of Æneas, the mistress also of Mars, who, through Ilia and the twin Romuli, is of Roman kin. But I do not believe that Venus is, like Mars, attached to Rome, through the quarter in which her grievance as his mistress lieth[p]. Since the soldiery are crowned with the olive also, this is idolatry to Minerva, who is equally the goddess of arms, but crowned with this tree for the peace also which she made with Neptune. In these respects the superstition of the military wreath will be every where[1]

[1] ubique *restored*

[o] "Want of will is the cause; want of power is pleaded." Senec. Ep. 116. ap. Lac.

[p] Ilia.

defiled and defiling; and so the whole will be directly defiled in the very source. Behold now! what think ye of the yearly recitation of vows, first in the head-quarters, secondly in the Capitoline temples? Next to the 'places,' hear what are the 'words' used: 'Then have we vowed, O Jupiter, that an offering shall be made to thee with an ox having his horns crowned[1] with gold.' What do the words import? surely a denial of the Faith. Although in such a case the Christian be silent with the mouth, yet by wearing the crown on his head he hath responded. The same laurel, in the distribution of the bounty-money, is denounced as idolatry, certainly not without hire, since it selleth Christ for certain pieces of gold, as Judas did for *pieces of silver*. Shall this be the meaning of, *Ye cannot serve God and Mammon*, to give the hand to Mammon and to forsake God? Shall this be the meaning of *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*, not to render the man to God, and to take the *penny* from Cæsar? Is the triumphal laurel crown strewed with leaves, or with corpses? Is it adorned with plates of metal, or with tombs? Is it bedewed with ointments, or with the tears of wives and mothers? perhaps even of some Christians, for Christ is among barbarians also. Hath not he, who weareth on his head the cause of all this, himself also assailed them? There is also another kind of soldiery in the royal households[q]; they are called also 'of the camp,' being moreover themselves bound to do service at the imperial solemnities. But thou also art henceforth the soldier and the servant of another: and if of two, of God and of Cæsar, thou art surely not Cæsar's at the time when thou owest thyself to God, the greater Master of the two, methinks, even in things not sacred.

[1] decoronatis

Mat. 6, 24.

Mat. 22, 21.

XIII. There are also state-occasions for crowning orders of the state with laurel, and magistrates moreover with golden crowns, as at Athens, as at Rome[2]. Above even these are placed the Tuscan: this is the name of those crowns, which, distinguished by jewels and oak-leaves of gold, in honour of Jupiter, they use, together with striped cloaks, in accompanying the procession of the cars. There are also provincial crowns of gold which now require the larger heads of statues

[2] ut Athenis, ut Romæ *restored*

[q] See on S. Aug. Conf. viii. 6.

De Cor. V. 13. and not of men[r]. But thy order, and thy magistracies, and the very name of thy court, is the Church of Christ. His thou art, being enrolled *in the books of life.* There is thy purple, the Blood of the Lord, and thy broad 'clavus" in His Mat. 3, 10. Cross: there is *the axe, laid unto the root of the tree,*—there Is. 11, 1. are the *rods, out of the root of Jesse.* No matter also for the publie horses with their crowns. Thy Lord, when He would enter Jerusalem according to the Scriptures, had not even an Ps. 20, 7. ass of His own. *These in chariots, and these in horses, but we will call on the name of the Lord our God.* In the Revelation c. 18, 4. of John we are withheld even from dwelling in this Babylon much more from her pomp. The common people also are crowned, sometimes out of joy for the prosperity of their princes, sometimes according to the special custom of the solemnities of their cities: and extravagance layeth hold of Heb. 11, 13. all public rejoicing. But thou art a *stranger* in this world, Gal. 4, 26 a citizen of *Jerusalem which is above. Our citizenship* Phil. 3, 20. Eph. 2, 19. saith he, *is in Heaven.* Thou hast thine own enrolment, thine own solemn days. Thou hast no concern with the rejoicings of the world, yea thou oughtest to do the John 16, 20. contrary; for *the world shall rejoice, and ye shall lament.* Mat. 5, 4. And methinks He saith, *Blessed are they that mourn,* not 'they that are crowned.' Marriage also crowneth the be trothed[t]: wherefore let us not marry with heathens, lest they bring us even to idolatry, with which marriage among Gen. 24, 2. 28, 1. them beginneth. Thou hast a law even from the Patriarchs

[r] A sort of tax or fine on the conquered or those who needed Roman aid; at first, "of slight weight," Liv. 3, 57. afterwards they weighed 100, (ib. 36, 25.) 246, (ib. 32, 27.) 900, or even 1000 lb. Lips. de Rom. Magn. c. 9. 124 crowns were borne in one triumph over Spain. Liv. 40, 43. It was afterwards called aurum coronarium.

[s] The laticlave, as the Heathen's badge of honour; and the "nails" of the Cross, as the Christian's. The latus *clavus* had some reference to the form of the "nail," but, whether as studded, or otherwise, is uncertain. See Hoffm. Facciol.

[t] Adopted by Christians, as a symbol of previous chastity. S. Chrys. ap. Bingh. 22. 4, 6. hence it was properly confined to the first marriage. Allusions to the same rite occur in S. Greg. Nyss. Hom. 1. de Orat. Dom. t. 1. p. 724, Basil Seleuc. Vit. S. Theclæ. [l. p. 250. ed. Par. but this may Heathen.] Palladius Hist. Lans. c. (ol. 8.) Bibl. Patr. t. 7. p. 1534. (ap. Sherlog. Cautic. Vestig. 27. §. 16 and a prayer on the imposition of th Crown by the priest enters into th Greek Ritual, (Selden Uxor. Ebr. 24. p. 172. at length.) In the Gree Church, it is still continued, (s Bingham 22. 4. 6.) In the Lat Church, a trace of it occurs about 43 (Sidonius Apollin. l. 1. Ep. 5. and Anthem. ii. 503. ap. Bingham l. and the blessing of the Crown occurs the Latin liturgies, (Selden ii. 2 p. 182.) The rite occurs later (A.D. 86 in the answer of Nicolas I. to the Bu gari ns, (Seld. p. 179 sqq.) and amo the Swiss in the 16th century, when

thou hast an Apostle commanding thee to marry *in the Lord.* 1 Cor. 7, 39.
The making also a freeman in this world is an occasion of crowning. But thou art already redeemed by Christ, and that at a great price. How shall the world set free another's v. 23. servant? Although it seemeth to be freedom, yet was it seen also to be a state of service. In the world all things are imaginary, and nothing real: for even then, when thou wert redeemed by Christ, thou wert free from man, and now although made free by man, thou art *Christ's servant.* If v. 22. thou thinkest that the freedom of this world is true liberty, so that thou even distinguishest it by a crown, thou hast returned to the service of man, which thou thinkest to be liberty: thou hast lost the liberty of Christ, which thou thinkest to be service. Will the occasions furnished by the games also be disputed, which their own titles at once condemn? as pertaining, that is, to sacred and funereal rites. For it remaineth only that the Olympian Jupiter, and the Nemean Hercules, and the poor little Archemorus[u], and the unhappy Antinous[x] be crowned in the Christian, that he himself may become the spectacle, where he ought to be the spectator. We have, methinks, enumerated all the occasions: and not one of them are our concern: all are foreign to us, profane, unlawful, renounced once for all in our sacramental profession. For these were the pomps of the Devil and his angels[y], the offices of the world, its honours, its solemnities, its popular arts, its false vows, its human services, its vain praises, its shameful glories. And in all these things there Phil. 3, 19. is idolatry, if only in the character of the crowns, with which all these things are adorned. Claudius will begin by telling us that, in the verses of Homer, even the Heaven is crowned Il. Σ. 485.

was praised by P. Martyr "as a laudable ceremony, for the reason given by S. Chrys." Traces of it in the Old Testament are Cant. 3, 11. (in the literal sense, so S. Greg. Nyss. ad loc. t. i. p. 575.) Is. 61, 10. (פאר being the ornament of the head, and interpreted "a crown" by the LXX, Aq. Theod. Symm. Jer. &c.) and probably Lam. 5, 15. (coll. v. 14.) Ezek. 16, 12. Where then T. says (above, c. 9. p. 173, 4.) that there is no mention of any sacred use of crowns in the Old Testament, he must have meant in the direct worship of God or in idolatry, (and his words go no further,) or, (since the Talmud says that the use of crowns was forbidden after the war of Vespasian; see Selden ii. 15.) must have overlooked these allusions to a discontinued rite.

[u] The infant son of Lycurgus, in memory of whom the Nemean games were said to have been instituted.

[x] See Apol. c. 13. Hence is coronæ Antinoeæ of the "lotus rosea," Athen. l. 3. ap. Salm. ad Solin. pp. 975, 6.

[y] See on c. 3.

De Cor. v. 15.

with stars: certainly by God; certainly for man: wherefore man himself also ought to be crowned by God. But by the world are crowned brothels, and baths, and the mill, and the prison, and the school[z], and the very amphitheatres, and the very places for stripping the slain, and the very funerals themselves. How doubly sacred, how honourable and pure is this dress, judge not from the "heaven" of the Poet alone, but by the conversation of the whole world! But the Christian will not dishonour even his door with laurels[a], if he knoweth how many gods the Devil hath fabricated even for doors; Janus, from 'janua[1],' Limentinus, from 'limen[2],' Forculus and Carda, from 'fores[3]' and 'cardines[4];' and among the Greeks, Apollo 'Thyræus,' 'of the door,' and the Dæmons called Antelii, 'facing the sun.'

[1] door
[2] threshold
[3] doors
[4] hinges

XIV. So far must the Christian be from putting this work of idolatry upon his own head, yea, I might even say, upon Christ, if so be that *Christ is the head of the man*, which head is as free as Christ Himself, not obliged to wear even a veil, far less a bandage. Moreover also the head which is obliged to wear a veil, the head of the woman, being already occupied by the veil, hath not room for the bandage also: she beareth the burden of her own subjection. If she ought not to be seen with her head uncovered, *because of the Angels*, much more, having her head crowned, will she offend those who are perhaps at the same time wearing their crowns. For what is a crown on the head of a woman but the pander of her beauty, the highest mark of lewdness, the extreme denial of modesty, the contriver of allurement? Wherefore also the woman will not be too carefully adorned, according to what the Apostle provideth, that she be not crowned even by the *plaiting of the hair*. But He that is both *the Head of the man*, and the Beauty of the woman, the *Husband* of the Church, Christ Jesus, what sort of crown, I pray thee, did He put on for both man and woman[b]? 'Twas one, methinks, of thorns and briers, as a figure of those sins, which *the earth* of our flesh

1 Cor. 11, 3. v. 7.
1 Cor. 11, 10.
Rev. 4, 4.
1 Pet. 3, 3. 1 Tim. 2, 9.
1 Cor. 11, 3. 2 Cor. 11, 2.
Is. 54, 5.
Gen. 3, 17. 18.

[z] here, of gladiators; the places here named are of sin, or punishment, or cruelty, or death. Else, schools were crowned, de Idol. c. 10.

[a] See Apol. c. 35.

[b] "It were devoid of reason that we, disciples of the Lord Who was crowned with thorns, should, insulting the holy Passion of the Lord, be encircled with flowers. For the crown of the Lord, prophetically designated us, aforetime unfruitful, who are placed around Him through the Church, whereof He is the Head." Clem. Al. Paed. ii. 8.

hath *brought forth unto* us, but the power of the Cross hath taken away, overcoming the sharpness of every sting of death, in the sufferings of the head of the Lord. Surely, setting aside the figure, there is on the face of it mockery, and debasement, and dishonour, and mixed with these cruelty, which then defiled and tore the brow of the Lord, that thou mayest now be crowned with thy laurel, and thy myrtle, and thy olive, and every famous branch, and what is of more frequent use, with roses also of an hundred leaves culled from the garden of Midas, and lilies of either kind, and every sort of violets, even with jewels perchance and gold, that thou mayest rival also that crown of Christ, which came unto Him afterwards, because it was after the gall that He tasted the honey also, nor was He saluted as *the King of Glory* by the hosts of Heaven, before He had been proscribed upon the cross as *the King of the Jews*. Being first made by the Father *a little lower than the angels*, and so *crowned with glory and worship*. If for these things thou owest thy head to Him, pay Him if thou canst with such an head as His own was, when He offered it up for thine: or wear not a crown of flowers, if thou art not able to wear one of thorns; for thou art able not to wear one of flowers.

Ps. 24, 7—10. Mat. 27, 37. Ps. 8, 5.

XV. Preserve undefiled for God that thing which is His own. He shall crown it, if He will[c]. Yea and He doth will; He even inviteth thee thereto. *To him that overcometh*, saith He, *I will give a crown of life. Be thou also faithful unto death. Fight* thou also, *the good fight*, whereof the Apostle likewise with good cause trusteth that *there is laid up for him a crown*. The Angel also receiveth a crown of victory, *going forth on a white horse to conquer*. And another is adorned with a rainbow encircling him, like a meadow in the Heavens. The elders also sit wearing crowns; and with a like crown of gold the Son of man Himself shineth above the cloud. If such be the images in the

Rev. 2, 7. 10. 2 Tim. 4, 7. 8. Rev. 6, 2. Rev. 10, 1. Rev. 4, 4. Rev. 14, 14.

[b] Thorns are a type of sin in S. Greg. Nyss. de Vit. Mos. i. 207. and indeed in Horace Ep. 1. 14. 4. Moreau (t. 2. p. 348.) quotes from a sermon given to S. Aug. t. 9. "Wilt thou answer that thou art not a thorny land? hadst thou not thorns, thou wouldest not place a crown of thorns on thy Creator's head. Wherefore being such, thou art weighed down by the multitude of thorns, that is, of sins." See also Clem. l. c. p. 79. ed. Sylb. Orig. in Matt. §. 125. ed. de la Rue.

[c] "Neither is the living image of God to be crowned like dead idols. For the beautiful crown of amaranth is laid up for the well-doer." Clem. l. c.

De Cor. v. 15.

vision, what will be the realities when truly presented? These be thy sights, these thy sweet savours! Why condemnest thou to the garland and the wreath, that head which is designed for a kingly crown? for Christ Jesus *hath made us even kings unto God and His Father.* What hast thou to do with a flower that dieth? Thou hast *a flower*[c] *out of the rod of Jesse, on which* all the grace of *the Spirit of God hath rested;* a flower incorruptible, unwithering, everlasting, by choosing which, this good soldier hath been promoted to honour in the ranks of Heaven. Blush ye, his fellow-soldiers, who shall now stand condemned, not by him, but even by any soldier of Mithra, who, when he is enrolled in the cavern, the camp, in very truth, of darkness, when the crown is offered him, (a sword being placed between him and it, as if in mimicry of martyrdom,) and then fitted upon his head, is taught to put it aside from his head, meeting it with his hand, and to remove it, it may be, to his shoulder, saying that Mithra is his crown. And thenceforth he never weareth a crown, and he hath this as a sign whereby he is approved, if at any time he is tried touching his military oath: and he is forthwith believed to be a soldier of Mithra, if he throweth down his crown, if he declareth that he hath it in his God. See we the wiles of the Devil, who pretendeth to some of the ways of God for this cause, that, through the faithfulness of his own servants, he may put us to shame and condemn us.

Rev. 5, 10.

Is. 11, 2.

[c] The LXX. have ἄνθος, which Hesych. explains βλάστησις, our "branch;" the Latin fathers and Vulgate render "flos." Others suppose the LXX rendered as though it were נֵץ.

[d] This is alluded to by Lamprid. vit. Comm. "He dealed by real homicide the Mithriac rites, wherein something is wont to be said or feigned after a form of fear."

Note E, on c. xi. p. 176.

Tertullian, for the most part, in this chapter, rests his objections to military service, upon its involving offices inconsistent with the character of a Christian. Elsewhere, he directly approves of it. Apol. 5. 37. 42. ad Scap. c. 4. There can also be no doubt that war in itself is unbefitting Christians, implies a state of things miserably imperfect, and short of the promises of the Gospel. It seems questionable then, whether in those arguments, which go against military service altogether, he means more than to shew its contradiction to the Christian character in the abstract; and the more, since at the close of the argument he permits

Christians to remain in it, if already in it, when called to be Christians, only suffering martyrdom rather than do any thing unlawful; which he would not have tolerated, had he thought it wholly forbidden. It is the free choice of such a profession which he condemns; and serious persons could not have chosen it amid such perils to the Faith.

In like way, Origen, in the passages in which he is supposed to pronounce the service illegal, is mostly speaking of its inconsistency with the character of the Gospel; it was not contrary to that of the Law, which, under certain circumstances, enjoined it, and established a polity which needed it; it was to that of the Gospel, which increased through suffering, (c. Cels. vii. 26.) and in which they were to "beat their swords into pruning-hooks." (ib. v. 33.) In the same spirit, (viii. 73.) he claims for the Christians, as a spiritual priesthood, the same exemption as some of the Heathen Priesthoods had, not to defile themselves with blood; and says truly (with Tertullian, Apol c. 30. 33.) that they availed more with their prayers for the Empire than others with their arms; since too there were at all times Christians in the Roman armies, it is not to be taken to the letter, when he says, (ib.) "and we war not with the Emperor, though he constrain us; but we war for him, banded into an army of piety, peculiar to ourselves, by intercessions unto God." At the same time, both the objection of Celsus, and the answer of Origen, imply the *fact*, which was to be expected, that fewer Christians in proportion were to be found in the armies. Origen, however, no where maintains war to be lawful for Christians, for which Grotius (de Jur Bell. et Pac. i. 2. §. 9. n. 2.) and Spencer (in l. viii c. Cels. 73.) charge him with inconsistency. In iv. 82, where he says, that "the wars of bees are an instruction how just and due wars might, if needs be, take place among *men*," there is no reference to Christians, in whom alone he held it was inconsistent; i. l. is plainly an argumentum ad hominem only, that it was lawful for Christians to unite in a way unallowed by the state, to overthrow the tyranny of Satan, as it was "to remove a tyrant, who had taken possession of a city." On the other hand, it does not appear that in speaking against the literal sense of Luke 22, 35. 36. (tom. xv. in Matt. §. 2.) he means to speak against more than private requital of injuries. Lactantius, vi. 20. seems peremptorily to exclude all war. S. Basil also, Ep. 188. ad Amphiloch. (Canon. i.) Can. 13. recommends hesitatingly that such as have actually shed blood in war, be kept from the communion for three years, as having unclean hands.

On the other hand, S. Basil himself attests in the same Canon, "our fathers did not account man-slaying in wars, as man-slaying," adding, "in my opinion, having compassion on those who fought in behalf of chastity and piety," thus bearing witness to the Catholic practice, while counselling a restriction of it. (And of such voluntary self-restriction Theodosius furnishes an instance; "What, when having gained a splendid victory [over Eugenius], yet because the enemies were slain in the battle, he deprived himself of the participation of the Sacraments," &c. S. Ambr. de Ob. Valent. §. 34. In either case, out of reverence, not to approach the Holy Eucharist, with hands which had recently any how

NOTE ON DECOR.

shed man's blood. S. Basil himself, in his Homily on the Forty Martyrs, both attests the fact of soldier-martyrs, and praises them, as "having acquired the highest honours with kings, for military experience, and valour of soul celebrated with all, for courage," §. 2. as S. Greg. Naz. (Orat. iv c. Jul. §. 83 sqq.) implies without disapprobation that there were many Christians in Julian's army. He also (Or. xix. ad Jul. Trib. Exæq. §. 11.) addresses soldiers on their duties, (ep. Ap. Const. viii. 32.) S. Ambrose, (de Off. i. 40. 41.) panegyrizes the valour of the mighty men of the Old Testament and of the Maccabean period; though among Christians he instances only the firmness of martyrs: he praises also the pious valour of Theodosius, (de Ob. Theod. §. 7.) as does S. Augustine, (de Civ. D. v. 26.) S. Augustine argues, (Ep. 138. (ol. 5.) ad Marcell. §. 14.) that wars against the evil were not inconsistent with charity; (§. 15. and ad Bonif. §. 5.) that if military service had been forbidden to Christians, the advice, to be "content with their wages," would not have been given in the Gospel. He tells Boniface, himself a soldier, "Think not, no one can please God, who serves in arms of war," appealing to David and the two Centurions, (Ep. 189. ol. 95.) and gives him practical rules, §. 6. e. g. "Peace should be in will, war, of necessity." He defends it further, c. Faust. xxii. 74. 75 and shews that soldiers may lawfully carry on what, in those who declare it, is an unjust war. "But if war is waged out of the cupidity of man, this hurts not the saints—for there is no power, but of God, either commanding or permitting. A just man then, if perchance he be in military service under a king, who is even a sacrilegious man, may rightly war at his command, keeping the due order of internal peace, (to which what is commanded is either certain that it is not against the command of God, or not certain whether it be,) so that perchance the injustice of the command may make the king guilty, but the due order of obeying may prove the soldier innocent."

The sayings of S. Aug. alleged on the other side, are such as these; "We are not to pray that our enemies should die," (in Ps. 37. §. 14.) therefore, it is inferred, those of the land may not be killed in war; "we obtain this from the clemency of the Emperors, lest the sufferings of the servants of God, which ought to be glorious in the Church, should be dishonoured by the blood of their adversaries," (Ep. 139. ol. 158. ad Marcell. §. 2. so Ep. 133. ad Marcellin. fin. 134. ad Apring. §. 3. quoted by Barclay,) therefore, the enemies of the state are not to be repelled by force. So Erasmus. In like way, Barclay (Apology, Prop. 15.) addduces several passages in which the Fathers speak against private resistance, as S. Ambr. in Luc. 22. [v. 36. l. x. §. 53.] S. Cyrill Al. l. xi. in Joann. S. Chrys. Hom. 18. in Matt. 5. Hom. 85. in Matt. 26. S. Jerome, Ep. p. 3. t. i. ep. 2. [123. ad Ageruch. §. 13.] or contentions in the Church, as Ep. [77.] ad Ocean. §. 8.

On such authorities, Gibbon says, (c. 15. §. 4.) "nor could their humane ignorance be convinced that it was lawful on occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice or of that of war, even though their criminal or hostile attempt should threaten the peace or the safety of the whole community."

OF PUBLIC SHOWS[a].

[The "De Spectaculis" was written previously to the "De Corona" and the "De Idololatria;" in the latter of which T. expressly refers to it, (c. 13.) and, by implication, in the former also; since, saying that he had written on shows "in Greek *also*," (c. 8.) he implies that he had written in Latin. The "De Corona" fixes it before A.D. 201: (see Notice to it:) the "De Idololatria," probably, in an earlier part of A.D. 198, (see Notice, below.) It is quoted also in the De Cultu Fem. i. 7. which books were written during a severe persecution, (ii. 13.) probably that under Severus, (Lumper l. c. Art. ii. §. 6.) Of internal evidence, it has been noticed, that it was probably written when some great shows were being given, the chief occasion of which, about this period, was Severus's return to Rome, after his victory over Albinus, A.D. 198. (see Notice on Apol.) The "secular games," A.D. 204, fell too late. It was also written apparently before the edict of Severus against the Christians, since T. ascribes the persecution to the populace only, (c. 26.) or the governors of the provinces, (c. 30.) (see Lumper l. c. Art. i. §. xiv.) Neander also, (Tertullian S. 22.) supposes it to have been written on occasion of this victory of Severus. It has no trace of Montanism; for not the expectation of a "new Jerusalem," (c. ult.) of which the Apocalypse also speaks, is Montanistic; but the affirmation that such a city had been actually seen in the air for forty days. adv. Marc. iii. ult.]

I. What state of faith, what argument of truth, what rule of discipline, barreth, among other errors of the world, the

[a] Pamelius (drawing, as he says, in much from the Author of the Obss. Div. et Hum. Jur.) shews at length that T. almost uniformly combines the condemnation of the four sorts of shows, 1. racing, in the Circus, 2. plays, in the Theatre, 3. gymnastics, in the Stadium, 4. gladiators and fighting with beasts, in the Amphitheatre; thus c. 2. he instances the things abused, 1. the horse, 2. melody of voice, 3. bodily strength, 4. the lion. The places are named in the same order, c. 20. 21. 28. the actors, c. 22. 23. 25. ult. the games, c. 3. circus, theatrum, agon, (gymnastics,) munus, (sc. gladiatorium,) and 29. and Apol. c. 38. Isidor. Etym. xviii. 16. (copying T.): in a different order, de Pudic. c. 7. and perhaps ad Mart. c. 2. auct. de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. 3—6. In the de Cult. Fem. i. 7. and adv. Marc. i. 7. T. only mentions the 1st, 2d, and 4th, as do the later writers, Arnob. ii. after mid. iv and vii. end. Lact. vi. 20. Jerome in Vit. Hilar. and Ep. 69. ad Ocean. §. 9. The 1st and 2d are spoken against for the most part by S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine, (imitating Tertullian); by S. Chrysostome in almost all his writings; the 1st by S. Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 6. the 2d de Cons. Ev. i. 37. de Civ. D. ii. 4—8. 10—14. yet also the 4th, Conf. vi. 8. The same two were prohibited by Theodosius the younger (on the Lord's day, the Festivals of our Lord, and between Easter and Whitsunday, de Spect. in Cod. Theodos.) as though the others were disused; and Zeno, in forbidding the theatre and the circus on the Lord's day, adds only the "pitiable spectacles of the wild beasts," ex ult. cod. de Feriis, ib.

De Spect. VI. 1.

pleasures[b] also of the public shows, hear, ye servants of God, who are coming[c] very nigh unto God; hear again, ye who have witnessed and professed that ye have already come unto Him[d], that none may sin either from real or pretended ignorance. For so great is the influence of pleasures, that it maketh ignorance linger to take advantage of it, and bribeth knowledge to dissemble itself. In either case to some, perchance, the opinions of those heathens have still a charm, who, on this question, have been accustomed to argue against us thus: 'that these great refreshments of the eyes or the ears from without are no hindrance to religion in the mind and in the conscience; and that God is not offended by such gratification of a man as there is no sin in his enjoying at its proper time and in its proper place, saving always the fear and the honour due unto God.' But this is what we are prepared especially to prove, how it is that these things do not accord with true religion, and with the true service of the true God. There are who think that the Christians, a people ever ready[e] for death, are trained up to this obstinacy[f], by the renouncement of pleasures, so that they may the more easily despise life, having, as it were, cut its bonds asunder; and may not pine after that, which they have already rendered superfluous to themselves; that so

[b] The term "pleasures" was almost technically applied to the "shows," Trebell. in Gallien. "public pleasures," Cæcilius ap. Minuc. F. "ye abstain from lawful pleasures;" in like way in Greek, "the phrenzied pleasures (ἡδοναὶ) of the theatres," Hom. de Semente, §. 11. ap. Athanas. t. ii. p. 66. see La C. On the strange fascination even of the gladiatorial shows, see S. Aug. Conf. l. c. who complains, Hom. in Ps. 80. "how many baptized persons have preferred to-day to throng the Circus, rather than this Basilica." (see Rig.) add Auct. de Spect. ap. S. Cypr. §. 4, 5. In later times, there was even a "tribunus voluptatum," Cassiod. l. vii. ep. 10. ap. Lips. de Amphith. c. 15.

[c] The Catechumens, candidates for Baptism.

[d] The baptized.

[e] "A man may, by phrenzy, be so disposed thereto [to death], and the Galilæans *by habit*," Arr. ad Epict. iv. 7. ap. Rig.

[f] T. uses the received heathen term of reproach, "obstinacy," see ad Nat. i. 17, 18. Apol. c. 27. Plin. Ep. ad Trajan, "For I doubted not that, whatever they might be, contumacy and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished," add Diocletian Edict. ap. Hermog. Coll. Legg. Jud. et Rom. vii. lit. 14. heathen ap. Lact. v. 9. 11. Prudent. hymn. de Vincent. ii. 17. in ag. Rom. xiv. 63. 581. Arn. l. vi. beg. ap. Kortholt. ad Epp. Traj. et Plin. p. 57 sqq. The charge chiefly related (as here) to their suffering rather than abjuring the faith; but their uniform stedfastness is attested by the proverb, "Sooner might one unteach the disciples of Moses and Christ," ap. Galen. de Diff. Puls. l. 3. and the Pythian oracle given to Porphyry, "Sooner may you write, stamping letters on the water, or filling light wings fly as a bird through the air, than recall the mind of the defiled, impious woman." Porph. ἐκ λογίων φιλοσ. ap. Aug. de Civ. D. xix. 23. quoted by Rig.

this rule may be thought to be laid down rather by man's wisdom and provision, than by the law of God. It was grievous forsooth to them, while they yet continued in pleasures, to die for God. And yet even were it so, to a counsel so fitting, 'obstinacy' in such a religion ought to make us obedient[g].

II. But besides there is not a man who putteth not forth this pretence likewise: "that all things were formed by God and given unto man, (as we teach,) and so are good, as coming all from a good Author: that among such are to be reckoned all those by which the public shows are furnished, the horse for instance, and the lion, and the powers of the body, and the sweet music of the voice[h]: that therefore nothing can be deemed foreign from nor hateful to God, which is a part of His own creation, and that that must not be reckoned as a sin, which is not hateful to God, because not foreign from Him. Clearly also even the buildings of these places, as the stones, the mortar, the marble, the columns, are things of God, Who hath given them to be the furniture of the earth: nay, the very performances themselves are enacted under God's own Heaven. How wise a reasoner doth human ignorance seem to herself to be! especially when she feareth to lose any of these delights and enjoyments of the world! In brief, you may find very many whom the risk of losing pleasure, more than that of losing life, keepeth back from this religion. For even the fool dreadeth not death, being a debt which he oweth; and even the wise man despiseth not pleasure, being a thing of so great value, because both to the fool and the wise man there is no other charm in life save pleasure. No one denieth, because no one is ignorant of that which nature of herself teacheth, that God is the Maker of the whole world, and that that world is both good, and placed under the dominion of man. But because they know not God thoroughly, save by the law of Nature, not as being also of His household; beholding Him at a distance, not nigh; they must needs be ignorant in what manner, when He made His works, He commanded that they should be used; and also, what rival force from the

[g] i. e. it were well worth the cost. c. 1. n. a.
[h] De Cult. Fem. i. 7. and above,

De Spect. VI. 2.

other side acteth in corrupting the uses of the creatures o God: for thou canst not know either the will, or that which resisteth the will, of Him of Whom thou knowest nothing We must therefore consider not only by Whom all things were made, but from what they are turned away; for so will it be seen to what use they were, if it be seen to what they were not, made. There is much difference between a corrupt and an uncorrupt state of things, because there is much difference between the Maker and the corrupter Again, evils of every sort, such as even the heathens forbid and guard against, as undoubted evils, are made up of the works of God. Wouldest have murder committed by steel by poison, by magic spells? Steel is a creature of God, as are herbs, as are angels. And yet did the Maker provide these things for the death of man? on the contrary, He doeth away with every sort of manslaying by one chief command-ment, *Thou shalt not kill.* Then again gold, brass, silver, ivory, wood, and whatever material is laid hold of for making idols, Who hath placed these in the world save the Maker of the world, God? But did He make these things that they might be worshipped in opposition to Himself? on the contrary, idolatry is the highest offence in His sight. What is there that offendeth God which is not of God? but when it offendeth, it hath ceased to be of God, and when it hath ceased, it offendeth. Man himself, the author[1] of all crimes, is not only the work, but also the *image of God*, and yet both in body, and spirit, he hath fallen away from his Maker. For we received not the eyes for lust, nor the tongue for evil-speaking, nor the ears for a receptacle of evil-speaking, nor the gorge for gorging, nor the belly to abet the gorge, nor the loins for excess of uncleanness, nor the hands for violence, nor the feet for a vagabond life: nor was the spirit therefore implanted in the body that it might become a mental storehouse for snares, for deceits, for iniquities: I trow not. For if God, that requireth innocency, hateth all wickedness and malice, when only conceived in the thoughts, doubtless it followeth, that whatsoever He hath created He created not to end in such works as He condemneth, although these same works be done through the things

Gen. 1, 27.

[1] actor, "the enacter," cod. Angl. ap. Pam., Satan being the author.

which He hath created, seeing that the whole ground of the condemnation is the wrong use of the creature by the created[l]. We therefore who, knowing God, have seen also His adversary, who having found out the Maker have found at the same time the corrupter likewise, ought not to wonder nor doubt in this matter[k]. When the power of that corrupting and adverse angel in the beginning cast down from his innocency man himself, the work and the image of God, the lord of the whole world, he changed like himself, into perverseness against his Maker, the whole substance of man, made, like himself, for innocency: so that in that very thing, which it had grieved[l] him should be granted to man and not to himself, he might make man guilty before God, and establish his own dominion.

l a conditis *restored*

III. This our consciousness being arrayed against the opinion of the Heathen, let us turn more particularly to the discussions of our own brethren. For the faith of certain persons, being either more simple or more cautious than common, demandeth authority from the Scriptures for this renouncing of the public shows, and standeth upon doubts, because abstinence of this sort is not plainly and by name commanded to the servants of God[m]. Without question we do not find it any where set out in exact terms, 'Thou shalt not go to the circus, nor to the theatre; thou shalt not wait upon the exercise[n] or the service[o],' in the same way in which it is plainly laid down, *Thou shalt not kill;* 'thou shalt not worship an idol;' *thou shalt not commit adultery,* 'nor theft.' But we find that the very first words of David relates to this kind of thing amongst others. *Blessed is the man,* saith he, *who hath not gone into the council of the ungodly, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of pestilences*[p]. For although he seemeth to have foretold of

Ps. 1, 1.

k According to another reading, "We ought not to douht *but that*, when the power, &c. he changed, &c."

l See on S. Cyprian. de Patient. c. 12. p. 261. not. a. Oxf. Tr. and de Zelo, c. 3. p. 268.

m The same objection is quoted in the de Spectac. ap. S. Cypr. §. 2. Pam. alleges S. Chrysostome as meeting the same argument with the same Ps.; which he applies also to the theatre, Hom. 6. de Pœnit. t. ii. p. 317. as does S. Clem. Alex. Pæd. iii. 11. v. fin. p. 109. ed. Sylh. and S. Basil, Hom. in Gord. Mart. §. 3.

n i. e. gymnastic.

o "munus" the special name for shows of gladiators, though used to include fighting with beasts. On the origin of the name, see c. 12.

p as in LXX. λοιμῶν.

De Spect. VI. 3. that *just man*[q], that he had no part in the council a the sitting of the Jews, when consulting about denying[r] t Luke 23, 50. Lord, yet Divine Scripture hath always a wide bearing every where there is, after the sense of the immediate subje a rule of duty also supported[s]; so that even this passage not foreign from the purpose of forbidding the public show For if he then called a few only of the Jews *the council the ungodly*, how much rather so great an assemblage Heathen people! Are the Heathen less ungodly, less sinner less enemies of Christ, than were then the Jews? Wh if the rest also agreeth herewith? For at the shows mo *stand*[t] *in the way;* for they call both the cardinal passag of the barriers[u] going round the circus, and the divisio separating the commons going down it, 'the ways:' and t place itself for sitting down in the circle is called 'the seat' Wherefore on the contrary, 'Wretched *is the man that ha gone into* any *council of the ungodly, and hath stood in* a *way of sinners, and hath sat in* any *seat of pestilences* Let us understand it as spoken generally, although a thin admit also of a special interpretation; for in some instance where the terms are special, the sense is general. Whe God putteth the Israelites in mind of their law or duty, reproveth them, surely it concerneth all men: when H threateneth destruction to Egypt and Æthiopia, He forc

[q] Joseph of Arimathea. adv. Marc. iv. ult. In the Breviarium in Psalt. ap. Hieron. (Opp. t. vii. App.) this interpretation is cited as peculiar to T.

[r] negando Edd. and Cod. Ag. Rig. corrects "necando," "putting to death," which is the more obvious word, and which may be intended by "negando," the g being substituted for the c in MSS. Still it was the final act of "denying the Holy One and the Just," Acts 3, 13. 14. so "negando" has been retained.

[s] i. e. besides, and presupposing the particular application of any passage in H. Scripture, it involves certain principles of moral duty, looking every way.

[t] The people *stood*, the knights sat; hence below, "the seat."

[u] The "barriers," balthei, "belts," seem to have been a solid fence round the part of the circus where the spectator stood, (cunei,) and to have been the same as the "præcinctiones," Vitruv. iii. 5. Calpurn. in Amphith. Carini (a Lips. de Amphith. c. 13.) speaks their being ornamented with gem (Baltheus en gemmis, en illita portie auro,) whence it appears that they we solid. The "cardines," according T. here, were the ways round them perhaps so called from being the chi ways; else, in dividing land in colonies the cardo maximus was a line at righ angles to the Decumanus (the lin drawn from E. to W.) and the othe Cardines parallel to it, (Salmas. a Solin. p. 675 sqq.) Salmasius (ib. p. 919. supposes that the Cardines were s called, as not simply encircling, bu interseeting, the "wedges," (cunei); bu T. seems to speak of the "ways pe proclivum." "going down the steps o the amphitheatre," as distinct.

[x] Women's seats, "fœmineæ cathe dræ", are mentioned by Calpurnius ap Lips. c. 13.

judgeth every sinful nation[y]; and so, ascending from special to general, Ægypt and Æthiopia are every nation that sinneth; as also with respect to the origin of the public shows, He calleth every show *the council of the ungodly*, descending from general to special.

IV. Lest any one should think that we are cavilling, I will turn to our chief authority, that of our very seal. When, having entered into the water, we profess the Christian Faith according to the words of its own appointment, we bear witness with our mouth that we have renounced the devil, his pomp, and his angels[z]. Now what will be the chief and principal thing in which 'the devil and his pomp and his angels' are accounted to be? what but idolatry? from whence (so to speak, for I shall dwell no longer on this point) cometh every unclean and evil spirit. Wherefore if it shall be proved that the whole apparatus of the shows consisteth in idolatry[a], without doubt it will be already determined that the renouncement which we profess at our *washing* pertaineth to the shows[b] also, which are put in Tit. 3, 5. subjection to 'the devil, and his pomp, and his angels,' to wit, through idolatry. We will declare the 'origin' of each, in what cradles they have grown up in the world; next the 'titles' of some, by what names they are called; next the 'equipments,' with what superstitions they are fitted out; then the 'places,' to what patrons they are dedicated; the 'performances,' to what authors they are attributed. If there be any of these things which appertaineth not to an idol, this will neither appertain to idolatry, nor to our abjuration.

V. Touching the 'origin,' as being somewhat obscure and unknown amongst the greater part of our brethren, we must carry our search higher, and to no other source than the materials of Heathen writings. There are many authors in our hands, who have put forth notices on this matter. By these the origin of games is thus handed down to us.

[y] See adv. Jud. c. 9.

[z] See on de Cor. c. 3. Auct. de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. 5. S. Chrys. (Hom. 3. c. Ignav. init. t. ii. p. 265.) calls them "the pomp of the devil."

[a] Apol. c. 38. "idolatry, the mother of all games," de Spect. c. 3.

[b] Chrys. and Salvian, de Gub. l. 6. ap. Lac.

De Spect. VI. 5.

Timæus[c] relateth that the Lydians, passing over from Asi
settled in Etruria under their leader Tyrrhenus[d], who ha
yielded to his brother in the contest for the kingdo
Wherefore they establish in Etruria, among other rit
of their own superstition, public shows also, in the name
Religion. Thence the Romans[e] fetch and borrow the
players, the season of their games, and their name, so th
they were called from the Lydians 'ludi.' And althoug
Varro deriveth the sense of 'ludi' from 'ludus,' that is fro
sport, as also they were wont to call the Lupercal rit
'games,' because they ran about in game, yet he accounte
this sport of the young men[f] as belonging to holy days, a
temples, and solemnities. Nothing need now be said of t
reason of the name, so long as the reason of the thing
idolatry. For whereas games were called, in the mas
'Liberalia,' they manifestly in their name spoke of hono
done to father Liber; for they were first established
honour of Bacchus by the countrymen, in return for t
benefit which they ascribe to him in discovering[g] to the
the gift of wine. Next were games called Consualia, whic
in the beginning were in honour of Neptune; for him th
call also Consus. After that a certain Romulus appointe
the Equiria in honour of Mars, though they claim t
Consualia also for Romulus, because he dedicated them
Consus, the God, as they will have it, of counsel[h]; to wi
that counsel[i] whereby he devised at that time the rape
the Sabine virgins, as wives for his soldiers. A righteo
counsel truly! and even at this day a thing just and lawf
in the eyes of the Romans themselves; I would not sa
in the eyes of God. For this also helpeth to stain t
'origin,' so that thou canst not deem that good which too
its rise from evil, from shamelessness, from violence, fro
hatred, from a fratricide, from a son of Mars, as its autho
And at this day there is in the Circus, at the head of t

[c] Siculus; "longe eruditissimus," Cic. de Orat. ii. 14.
[d] Herod. i. 94. Plin. iii. 5.
[e] Liv. vii. 2.
[f] Plutarch in Cæs. ap. Her. Digr. i. 19.
[g] Apol. c. 11.
[h] Arnob. iii. p. 113. Aug. de Civ. iv. 11.
[i] Liv. i. 9. Plut. in Rom. Varro Ling. Lat. l. v. Cypr. de Idol. Va c. 2. p. 14. Oxf. Tr. Jerome in V Hilar. §. 20.

course, an altar to this Consus buried under ground[k], with an inscription to this effect: 'Consus lord of counsel, Mars of war[l], the Lares of the inmost chambers.' At this altar the public priests sacrifice on the nones of July, the priest of Romulus and the virgins on the twelfth day before the kalends of September. Next, this same Romulus established games for Jupiter Feretrius on the Tarpeian hill, which Piso saith were called the Tarpeian and the Capitoline games. After him, Numa Pompilius did the same for Mars and Rubigo[m], for they feigned that even Rust[n] was a goddess. Next, Tullus Hostilius, then Ancus Martius, and the rest. Who they were, and how many, that one after another established games, and in honour of what idols, is set forth in Suetonius Tranquillus, or those from whom Tranquillus had his story. But this will be enough to convict the 'origin' of idolatry.

VI. To this testimony of ancient times, is added that of the posterity following in its turn; shewing the character of the 'origin' on the very face of the 'titles' used even in the present day, by which it is stamped upon them to what idol, and to what superstition, the games of either sort[o] were distinguished as belonging. For the Megalensian, the Apollinarian, the Cerealian also, and the Neptunalian, the Latiarian and the Floralian are celebrated in common; the rest of the games owe their superstitious observance to the birth-days and other solemn days of kings, and public successes[p], and municipal festivals; among which, the exhibitions enjoined by wills pay funeral honours to the memories even of private men, and this too according to ancient custom; for from the very beginning the games were reckoned of two sorts, the sacred and the funereal, in honour, that is, of the gods of the nations and of the dead. But as touching idolatry it maketh no difference to us, under what

[k] Plut. in Rom.

[l] duello, the old name (as being in an inscription) for bellum Varro de L. L. l. vi.

[m] Plin. xviii. 29.

[n] Robigo; supposed to affect iron as well as corn, Ov. Fast. iv. 923 sqq. [Tr.] Lact. i. 20. Aug. de Civ. D. iv. 22. a god Robigus is named by Varro de L. L. l. 5. A. Gell. v. 12.

[o] The Theatre and the Circus, see c. 10. beg. They are joined by S. Chrys. Hom. 15. ad Pop. Ant. init. t. ii. p. 152. Salvian de Gub. l. 6. Juv. Sat. 8, 118. ap. Lac.

[p] Suet. in Vesp. "extraordinary games for his German victory."

De Spect. VI. 7.

name and 'title' it is, so long as it appertaineth to the sam spirits, which we renounce, although dead. They may pa honours to their gods, just as well as they pay them to thei dead. The real nature of the two cases is the same, th idolatry is the same, and our renouncement of the idolatry i the same.

VII. The games of either sort have a common 'origin and common 'titles,' as arising from common causes; fo the same reason they must needs have common 'equipments derived from the general guilt of the idolatry which founde them. But to whom belongeth the somewhat more pompou outfit of the games of the Circus, (which the name o 'pomp[q]' well befitteth,) the pomp which goeth before then doth in itself prove[r], by the long line of images[s], by th host of statues, by the chariots, by the sacred carriages, b the cars, by the chairs[t], by the crowns, by the robes[u] What rites besides, what sacrifices go before, come between and follow after; how many colleges, how many priesthoods how many offices are set in motion, the men of that cit know, in which the council of the dæmons sitteth[x]. If thes things are performed in the provinces with inferior pains, i proportion to their inferior means, yet are all the games o the Circus every where to be accounted of, according to th source whence they are derived; they are defiled by tha from which they are taken. For the narrow streamlet fro its own fountain, the little twig from its own tree, containeth the quality of its source. No matter for its grandeur or it cheapness; the pomp of the Circus, be it what it may offendeth God. Though there be but few images carrie

[q] Probat, a conjecture, seemingly, of Rig. The Edd. have "Circ. suggestus, quibus propric hoc nomen 'pompa,' *præcedit*, quorum sit in semet ipsa probans." "But the somewhat more pompous apparatus of the games of the circus, (to which this name 'pomp' specially belongeth,)holds the first place, proving whose it is, by the long line," &c. Præcedit, however, can scarcely be so used, when nothing followeth. A. has "præc*edens*" with Rig. but "pro*bans*" with the Edd. This might be rendered; "but somewhat more pompous is the apparatus, &c.—a pomp preceding," [i. c. before the games themselves,] "proving of itself by the long line," &c

[r] Ov. Fast. iv. 391. Varro de L. L iv. p. 37. ed. Var. Cic. Off. l. 1. 36 Suet. Aug. c. 16. ap. Lac. see also very fully, Onesiphor. Panvin. de ludi Circ. ii. 2. ap. Græv. t. ix. Bulenge de Circo Rom. c. 38. Facciol. v. pompa

[s] of the gods, Dion. Hal. l. vii.

[t] of the gods, Appian. de Bell. Civ l. 3. c. 28. Dio. l. 43. 44. ap. Her. l. c

[u] exuviæ. T. uses it of more splendi apparel, (de Pall. c. 4.) and peculiarly o the gods. Festus v. Tensa. Apul. Miles xi. ap. Her.

[x] Rome and the Capitol, see Apol c. 6. p. 16. c. 13. fin. p. 32.

about in it, there is idolatry in even one: though there be but one sacred carriage drawn, it is nevertheless the carriage of Jupiter. Every idolatrous show, however meanly or frugally furnished, is sumptuous and gorgeous in the amount of its sinfulness.

VIII. To treat of 'places' also[1], according to my plan, the Circus is chiefly dedicated to the Sun, whose temple is in the midst of the ground[y], and whose image riseth conspicuous above the roof of the temple, because they did not think that he, whom they have in the open air, ought to have his image consecrated under a covering[z]. Those who derive the first of these shows from Circe[a], affirm that it was celebrated in honour of her own father the Sun; from her also they contend that the name of Circus cometh. Well then, the enchantress did, under the name, the work of those surely whose priestess she was; to wit, the dæmons and the angels. How many idolatries then dost thou observe in the fashion of the place itself? each single ornament of the Circus is in itself a temple. The eggs[b] those assign to the honour of Castor and Pollux, who blush not in believing that these were born of an egg from a swan which was Jupiter. The pillars vomit forth their dolphins[c] in honour of Neptune; they support their Sessiæ, so called from the sowing of the seed, their Messiæ from the harvest, their Tutelinæ from the protection of the fruits[d]. In front of these appear three altars to three gods, mighty and powerful[e]: these they consider to be of Samothrace. The enormous obelisk, as Hermateles affirmeth, is publicly exposed in honour of the Sun[f]: its inscription is a superstition from Ægypt, whence also its origin. The council of the gods were dull without their Great Mother: she therefore presideth there over the Euripus[g]. Consus, as we have said, lieth buried beneath the earth at the Murcian goal: even

[1] Ut et *restored*

[y] Tac. l. xv. fin.

[z] Vitruv. i. 2.

[a] The Greeks; the Romans from the "circuit." Isidor. xviii. 28.

[b] Whereby the close of the course was marked (Varro de Re Rust. i. 2. Dio xlix. fin. ap. Lac.) introduced A. U. C. 581. Liv. 41, 27.

[c] Dio l. c. Juv. vi. 589.

[d] Plin. xviii. 2. Macrob. Sat. i. 16. Aug. de Civ. D. iv. 8. ib.

[e] Maer. Sat. iii. 4. Varro de Ling. Lat. iv. p. 37. ib.

[f] Plin. xxxvi. 9. Cassiod. l. iii. Ep. 51. Amm. Marc. l. xvii. ib.

[g] An artificial lake for naval games. Cassiod. l. c. Spartian in Heliog. ib.

De Spect. VI. 9.

this goal he maketh an idol, for they will have it that Murcia is the Goddess of languor[h], to whom they have devoted a temple in that spot. Think, O Christian, how many unclean names possess the Circus! Foreign to thee is that religion, which so many spirits of the Devil have taken unto themselves. The subject of places we have here a place for discussing, in anticipation of a question from certain persons. For thou sayest, 'Well: if I should go to the Circus at any other time, shall I be in danger of defilement?' There is no prescription against particular places: for the servant of God can approach not only these meeting-places for the shows, but even the temples themselves, without peril to his religion, so that the cause which calleth him thither be an honest one, and one which appertaineth not to the proper business or duties of the place. Besides, the streets[i], the forum[k], the baths[l], the stables[m], nay our very dwellings[n], are not altogether free from idols. Satan and his angels have filled the whole world. It is not however because we are in the world, that we fall from God, but when we touch aught of the sinful things of the world. Wherefore, if I enter the Capitol, or the temple of Serapis, as a sacrificer or a worshipper, I shall fall from God, as also if I enter the Circus or the theatre as a spectator. It is not the places in themselves that defile, but the things which are done in the places, by which we have argued that the places are themselves defiled: they are defiled by the defiled. It is for this reason that we declare, to whom such places are dedicated, that we may shew that the things which are done in those places appertain to those to whom the places are dedicated.

IX. Now for the 'performances' wherewith the games of the Circus are exhibited. In older times equestrian exercise was practised simply on horseback[l], and certainly the common use thereof was without guilt. But when it was

[l] de dorso *restored*

[h] Aug. de Civ. D. iv. 16. Arnob. iv. p. 132.

[i] Lucian in Prometh. (ap. Her. Digr. i. 14.) "All the streets are full of Jove."

[k] "The gods—the guardians of the forum." Æsch. Sept. c. Theb. 258. ed. Blomf. and others in the note ib. n.

[l] S. Ambr. Ep. 18. ad Valentin. §. 31. "Suffice them not, the baths, the porticoes, the streets thronged with images?"

[m] See Apol. c. 17. as to the Goddess Hippona or Epona.

[n] See de Idol. c. 15.

pressed into the games, from being a gift of God it passed over to the service of devils. Wherefore this department is assigned to Castor and Pollux[o], to whom Stesichorus teacheth that horses were given by Mercury. But Neptune is also a god of horses, whom the Greeks call Hippius. Chariots with four horses they have consecrated to the Sun, those with two to the Moon. Verily also

> "First[p] to his chariots Erichthonius dared
> "To yoke four horses, and on rapid wheels
> "Upborne, to ride a victor."

Ericthonius, the son of Minerva and Vulcan, engendered too by mishap upon the earth, is a devilish monster, yea a very devil himself, and not a serpent[q]. But if Trochilus of Argos be the inventor of the chariot, he hath consecrated this his work to Juno, the guardian of his country. If Romulus first shewed at Rome the carriage with four horses, methinks he also is enrolled among the idols, if he be the same as Quirinus. Chariots, being by such inventors brought into use, with good reason caused the charioteers also to be clothed in the colours of idolatry. For at the first there were two horses only, white and red[r]. The white was sacred to the winter because of the white snow, the red to the summer because of the redness of the Sun. But afterwards, when luxury as well as superstition had advanced in growth, some consecrated the red to Mars, others the white to the Zephyrs, and a green one moreover to the Mother Earth or to the Spring, an azure one to the Heaven and the Sea or to the Autumn. But seeing that every sort of idolatry is condemned of God, surely this also is condemned, which is the unhallowed offering to the elements of the universe.

X. Pass we now to the stage, which we have already shewn to have the same 'origin' and like 'titles,' according as the names and the performance of the games were from

[o] Virg. Georg. iii. 89.

[p] Virg. Georg. iii. 113 sq.

[q] He was represented with serpents for feet; emblems, T. implies, of Satan.

[r] The colours were those of the trappings of the horses.

[s] Joannes Antioch. (ap. Salmas. ad Solin. p. 902.) Cedrenus, p. 231. Isidorus xviii. 41. says that the four colours had reference to the four elements; so the Chron. Alex. ap. Lac. Cassiodorus, l. 3. Ep. 51. mentions the reference to the seasons, (ib.)

De Spect. VI. 17.

the beginning conjoined with the exercises of horsemanship. The 'equipments' also are of the same sort in that department which belongeth to the stage. For men go from the temples and the altars and that unhappy scene of incense and blood, amid pipes and trumpets, and with those two most filthy masters of funeral rites and sacrifices, the undertaker[t] and the soothsayer. Wherefore as from the 'origin' of games we pass to the games of the circus, so now we bend our course to the plays of the stage, beginning with the evil[1] of the 'place.' The theatre is especially the shrine of Venus. In fact it was in this manner that this sort of performance came up in the world. For the censors[u] were often wont to destroy, in their very birth, the theatres more than any other thing, consulting for the morals of the people, as foreseeing a great peril accruing to them from licentiousness. So that from this very fact their own opinion, which maketh for us, may serve as a testimony to the Gentiles, and this precedent of even a human rule of duty may serve to strengthen our own. And therefore Pompey the Great, less only than his own theatre, when he had built up that strong-hold of every vice, fearing that the censors might one day cast reflections on his memory, placed over it a temple of Venus[x], and summoning the people by a proclamation to the dedication[y], called it not a theatre, but a temple of Venus, 'under which,' said he, 'we have put rows of seats for the shows.' Thus did he cloak this damned and damnable work under the name of a temple, and by the aid of superstition eluded the rule. But there is fellowship between Venus and Bacchus: these two dæmons of drunkenness and lust have conspired and leagued together. Wherefore the theatre of Venus is also the house of Bacchus. For they called by the special name 'Liberalia' others also of the sports of the stage, besides those which were consecrated to Bacchus, (as there are

[1] vitio *restored*

[t] The designator (designator Prætor, Plaut. Pœnul. Prol.) in the theatre kept order and assigned the seats; T. takes occasion of the other use of the term in funeral rites (see Hor. Ep. i. 7. 6.) to hint that the gods in whose honour the games were, were dead men, see Apol. c. 13. below, c. 10. 13.

[u] Val. Max. ii. 4. Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 5.

[x] Venus Victrix, Plut. in Vit. Plin. viii. 7. Suet. Claud. c. 21. ap Lac.

[y] Plin. l. c.

also the Dionysia among the Greeks,) those namely which were instituted by Bacchus. And clearly the patronage of Bacchus and of Venus is likewise over the 'performances' of the stage. Whatever there be peculiar and proper to the stage, with respect to the dissoluteness[1] and postures of the body, they consecrate to the soft nature of Venus and of Bacchus, the one dissolute through her sex, the other through his wantonness; while such things as are done by the voice, by music, by wind and stringed instruments, have for their patrons Apollos and Muses and Minervas and Mercuries. Thou must hate, Christian, those things, the inventors whereof thou canst not but hate. We would now subjoin somewhat concerning the 'performances,' and the things, the inventors whereof we detest even in their names. We know that the names of the dead are nothing, as are their images; but we are not ignorant who those are, that, when images are set up under these names, work, and rejoice, and pretend to a divine nature, namely wicked spirits, dæmons. We see therefore that the 'performances' also are dedicated to the honour of those who occupy the names of the inventors, and are not free from idolatry, seeing that even those who instituted them are on that account esteemed gods. Indeed as concerning the 'performances,' we ought to have taken our rule from an earlier source, and to have said that the dæmons, from the beginning, providing for themselves, among other appurtenances of idolatry, the defilements also of the shows, whereby they might draw away man from God, and bind him to their own service, inspired him also with the genius for this sort of handiwork. For that which was to belong to them, would not have been provided by any others; nor would they at the time have brought them into the world by means of any other men, than those very persons in whose names, images, and histories, they had, with the view of trafficking for themselves, set up the cheat of a consecration.

[1] fluxu *restored*

XI. To proceed in order, let us enter upon an examination of the agonistic games likewise. Their 'origin' is akin to that of the games afore-mentioned, wherefore these also are either sacred or funeral[2] institutions, and consecrated

[2] See above, c. 6.

De Spect. VI. 12.

either to the gods of the nations or the dead. Hence thei
'titles:' the Olympian, (which at Rome are the Capitoline
to Jupiter: likewise the Nemean to Hercules, the Isthmia
to Neptune: the rest of the games, to the dead. Wha
wonder then if idolatry defile the 'equipments' of th
games with its profane crowns, with its presiding priests
with its collegiate ministers, and lastly with the blood o
bulls itself. Let me add also as touching the 'place,'—used a
it is as the common place, in the stead of a college of the Arts, o
the Muses, and of Minerva, and of Apollo; of Mars likewise
by means of the battle and the trumpet,—they strive t
imitate the circus in their stadium, which in fact is itself
also a temple, of that idol whose solemn rites it celebrateth
Moreover the rites of their Castors, their Hercules's, an
their Mercuries have brought gymnastic 'performances' als
into practice.

XII. It remaineth to consider the show, the mos
[1] munus acceptable to the most illustrious. It is called a 'service
[2]officium from the 'office' performed, since 'office[2]' is another wor
for 'service;' and the ancients considered that in this show
they performed an office towards the dead, after that the
had tempered it by a more humanized cruelty. Fo
formerly, since it was believed that the souls of the dea
were propitiated by human blood, they bought and sacri
ficed, during their funeral rites, captives or slaves of a ba
description. Afterwards it was thought fit to disguise thi
impiety under the cloak of pleasure. Those therefore whom
they had prepared, trained up in such arms and in suc
manner as they were then able, provided only they learne
how to be killed[b], on the appointed day of the funeral-
sacrifices they consumed at the place of burial. Thus the
consoled themselves for death by murders. Such is th
'origin' of this service. But by degrees they advanced t
that which was charming in proportion as it was cruel, fo
beasts could not be sufficiently pleased, unless it were b
beasts too that the bodies of men were torn in pieces

[a] Interpunction changed; "quod utique templum est et ipsum, ejus idoli." T. means that the "stadium" was itself a place of idolatry, but rendered yet more so by the imitation the Circus.

[b] Cypr. ad Don. §. 6.

What therefore was offered to appease the dead, was put forsooth to the account of funeral obsequies, which kind of thing is idolatry, since idolatry also is a kind of funeral obsequy[c]: the one ministereth as much as the other to the dead. But in the images of the dead, if we consider the 'titles' too, dæmons exist: although this kind of public exhibition hath passed from the honours of the dead to the honours of the living,—I mean to Quæstorships[d] and Magistracies, and the offices of Flamens and Priests: yet since the dignity of the name lieth under the charge of idolatry[e], it must needs be that whatsoever is performed in the name of that dignity, shares also the defilements of that from which it taketh its rise. We will take the same view of the 'equipments,' which are to be accounted among the appendages of these very honours, since their purple robes, their bands, their fillets, their crowns, finally their speeches[f] and edicts[g], and their messes the day before[h], are not without the pomp of the Devil, and the bidding of dæmons. Why should I speak at length of the horrid[i] 'place' of the show, which even false oaths cannot abide[k]? For the amphitheatre is consecrated to deities more numerous and more barbarous than the Capitol. It is the temple of all dæmons. As many unclean spirits there sit together as the place containeth men. To speak finally of the 'performances' also, we know that Mars and Diana are the presiding deities of each game.

[c] since the idols were of the dead, as above, c. 10.

[d] in that shows of gladiators were given on the appointment to the Quæstorship, (Capitol. in Anton. Spartian in Get., by law, Tac. Ann. xi. 22. abolished, ib. xiii. 5.) and the other offices, see in Lips. Sat. i. 9. quoted by Lac.

[e] since all these dignities were in some way subservient to idolatry. Lac.

[f] in which notice was given of the shows, perhaps with some reference to the occasion, as in Suet. in Jul. c. 26. "he solemnly announced (pronuntiavit) a show to the people in memory of his daughter."

[g] in which the details of the show were given, "edictum et ludorum ordinem," Sen. Ep. 119. ap. Lips. Sat. ii. 18.

[h] i. e. the day before the show, when those who fought with beasts supped publicly, see Apol. c. 42. Pultes, the ancient food of the Romans, were specially used in the funeral feasts, see Arn. vii. v. fin. p. 242.

[i] i. e. (as note d,) φρικωδὴς, whereat men would shudder.

[k] i. e. as follows, on account of the number and dreadfulness of the dæmons then assembled, it being the custom of false-swearers to heap up the names of the gods and the most aweful invocations, (τὰς φρικωδεστάτας κλήσεις, Philo in Decal. ap. Her. Digr. i. 5.) The dreadfulness of the dæmons T. infers from the dreadfulness of the sins concentrated there; their number from the number of those whom they beset.

De Spect. IV. 14.

XIII. We have, methinks, sufficiently completed our course of proof, in how many and in what ways the shows are guilty of idolatry, in respect of their 'origins,' 'titles,' 'equipments,' 'places,' 'sacrifices,' whereby[l] we are well assured that they do in no wise assort with us, who have twice[m] renounced idols: *not that an idol is any thing*, (as saith the Apostle,) *but that the things which they sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils*, who dwell (that is) in the consecrated images, whether of dead men, or, as they suppose, of gods. On this account therefore, since both kinds of idols are of one class, seeing that their dead and their gods are one, we abstain from both kinds of idolatry, and abominate temples no less than monuments: we acknowledge neither altar; adore neither image; offer no sacrifice; make no oblation to the dead: nay we eat not of that which hath been sacrificed or offered to the dead, because we cannot eat of the Supper of God and the supper of devils. If therefore we keep the throat and the belly free from defilements, how much rather do we refrain our more honourable parts, the eyes and the ears, from the pleasures dedicated to idols and to the dead, which are not carried through us by the stomach, but are digested within the very spirit and soul, the cleanness of which pertaineth more to God than doth that of the stomach!

1 Cor 10, 19. 20.

ver. 21.

XIV. Having thus introduced the name of idolatry, the suggestion of which alone ought to be enough to make us renounce these shows, let us now treat the question superfluously, in another way, for the sake of those especially, who flatter themselves on the ground that such abstinence is not enjoined by name, as though sufficient declaration were not made touching the shows, when *the lusts of the world* are condemned. For as there is a lust of money, or of honour, or of gluttony, or of lasciviousness, or of glory, so likewise is there a lust of pleasure. But the shows are a kind of pleasure. Methinks the general name of lusts

1 John 2, 16.

[l] "de sacrificiis, quo" Edd. "quod" A, whence Rig. conjectures, "de sacrificiis quidem," "As to sacrifices indeed." The preceding however is no precise enumeration of the heads, to which he had referred the idolatry of the shows, (the 'artes' being omitted,) and sacrifices had been mentioned, c. 7. 10. and indeed the shows of gladiators (c. 12.) were founded on human sacrifices.

[m] when admitted as Catechumens, and at Baptism, see de Cor. c. 3.

containeth in itself pleasures also: in like manner pleasures, generally understood, embrace the special division of shows. But we have before made mention of the character of the 'places' for the shows, that they do not of themselves defile us, but by reason of the things which are done therein, through which as soon as they have drank in defilement, they straightway cast it forth again in the other direction.

XV. To speak no more then (as we have before said) of their chief title, idolatry, let us contrast the other qualities of the things themselves with all those of God. God hath taught us to deal with the Holy Spirit,-as being according to the goodness of His Nature, tender and delicate-tranquilly, and gently, and quietly, and peaceably: not to disquiet Him by madness, nor by wrath, nor by anger, nor by grief. How shall this possibly accord with the shows? For there is no show without disturbance of spirit. For where there is pleasure there is also partiality, through means of which, in fact, pleasure hath its relish. Where there is partiality, there is also rivalry, through which partiality hath its relish. Moreover also where there is rivalry, there is both madness, and wrath, and anger, and grief, and all the rest that cometh of these, which, like these, assort not with the rule of religion. For even though one enjoy the shows moderately and virtuously, according to the character of his rank, or age, or even natural disposition, yet is he not of an imperturbable mind and without some hidden passion of the spirit. No one cometh unto pleasure without affection. No one feeleth affection without its incidents. These very incidents are the incitements of the affection. But if the affection faileth, there is no pleasure, and he is now guilty of trifling in going thither where he gaineth nothing: and I think that with us, even trifling hath no place. What if he himself judge himself in sitting amongst those, whom, not wishing to be like them, he, without doubt, confesseth that he doth abominate! It is not enough for us that we ourselves do no such thing, unless we shun the conversation of those who do such things. *When thou sawest a thief*, saith the Scripture, *thou consentedst unto him.* I would that we did not even dwell with such in the world; but yet in *the things of the world* 1 John 2, 15.

Eph. 4, 30. 31.

De Spect. VI. 16.

we are separate from them; for the world is of God, but the things of the world are of the Devil.

XVI. When therefore madness is forbidden us, we are prohibited every show, even the Circus, where madness peculiarly presideth[n]. Behold the people coming to the show, already full of madness, already tumultuous, already blind, already agitated about their wagers[o]. The Prætor is too slow for them. Their eyes are ever rolling with the lots within his urn. Then they are in anxious suspense for the signal. The common madness hath a common voice. I perceive their madness from their trifling. 'He hath thrown it,' they say, and announce to each other what was seen at once by all. I possess the evidence of their blindness. They see not what is thrown: they think it a handkerchief but it is the gullet of the Devil cast down from on high. From thence therefore they go on to fury, passions, and dissensions, and whatsoever is unlawful for priests[p] of peace. Then come cursings, revilings, without just cause of hatred; and so too approving voices without just cause of favour. For what good can those, who are therein engaged, gain to

[n] "Madness" became a technical term in designating the Circus. Thus, Apol. c. 38. &c. Minut. F. p. 344. Salvian, l. vi. Jer. Ep. 43. (ol. 18.) ad Marcell. fin. Lact. vi. 20. ap. Lac. and Arnob. vii. "insaniam;" Sil. Ital.

Fluctuat æquoreo fremitu *rabie*que faventum,
Carceribus nondum resolutis, mobile vulgus.

S. Ambr. in Ps. 39. §. 4. "False phrenzies are, either—or the dissensions in the theatrical contests, or the party-eagerness of the games of the Circus, full of fury," [furoris.] Dio Chrys. ad Alex. (ap. Panvin. ii. 16.) "But we leaping, *mad* (*μαινόμενοι*), striking each other, speaking things not to be uttered, and often railing against the very gods, and sometimes going naked from the show." So S. Greg. Naz. Or. 36. (al. 27.) de se-ipso fin. *μεμηνίναι*. Instances are given by Onuphr. Panvin. de Lud. Circ. i. 10, 11. from the times of the first Emperors; and Bulenger de Circ. Rom. c. 47—49. (ap. Græv. Thes. t. ix.) The author of de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. 6. speaks of the "lites in coloribus." Vitellius massacred some of the people because they cursed the faction, which he favoured, (Suet. Vit. c. 14.) Caracalla did the same for some jest on a favourite charioteer, (Herodian. iv. p. 95. ed. Steph.) Gibbon also relates the savageness of the period which led to the abolition of the "factions," in his painful way, c. 40. §. 2.

[o] Amm. Marc. l. 28. "On the longed-for day of the Equestrian games, ere the clear ray of the sun yet shine, all hurry headlong, outpoured, as though they would out-speed the very chariots which are to contend, on the issue of which their eager longings being torn different ways, very many from anxiety pass sleepless nights," &c.

[p] All Christians being a "royal priesthood." 1 Pet. 2, 9. Rev. 1, 6. to which T. refers, de Monog. c. 7. de Exh. Cast. c. 7. (comp. adv. Marc. iii. 7. adv. Jud. c. 14.) The promotion of "peace" being one object of their office, he may call them "priests of peace" as Christian women, "priestesses of chastity," (de Cult. Fem. ii. 12.) without excluding the priestly character of all Christians, as distinct from the priestly office. (de Virg. Vel. c. 9. de Præscr. c. 41. fin.)

themselves, who are not themselves, unless perchance it be that alone, by means of which they are not themselves? By the ill fortune of another are they grieved: by the good fortune of another are they rejoiced. All that they desire, all that they abominate, is foreign to themselves: so that with them love is idle, and hatred unjust. Can it haply[l] be as lawful to love without a cause, as to hate without a cause? Of a surety, God, Who commandeth that *enemies* be *loved*, forbiddeth to hate even with a cause: God, Who teacheth that those who *curse* should be *blessed*, suffereth not to curse even with a cause. But what is more bitter than the Circus, wherein they spare not even their rulers nor their own citizens[q]? If any of those doings, wherewith the Circus hath gone mad, be elsewhere fitting for the saints, it will be lawful in the Circus also: but if no where, therefore not in the Circus.

[l] forsitan *restored*

Mat. 5, 24.

XVII. In like manner also we are commanded to love no immodesty. By this means therefore we are cut off from the theatre[r] likewise, which is the private council-chamber of immodesty, wherein nothing is approved save that which elsewhere is disapproved. Wherefore its chief grace is for the most part finely framed out of filthy lewdness, such as the Atellan acteth, such as the buffoon representeth even under the character of women, banishing their distinctive modesty, so that they may blush at home more easily than at the theatre; such as finally the pantomime submitteth to in his own body from his childhood, that he may be able to be an actor. The very harlots also, the victims of the public lust, are brought forward on the stage, more wretched in the presence of women, from whom alone they were wont to conceal themselves, and are bandied about by the mouths of every age and every rank: their abode, their price, their description, even in matters of which it is not good to speak, is proclaimed. I pass over the rest in silence[s], which indeed

[q] Apol. c. 35. Lact. l. vi. Theodoric Ep. ad Specios. ap. Cassiod. Variar. l. 1. (quoted by Panvin. c. 11.) "Cato's come not to shows.—The place pleads for excess, whose garrulity if they bear patiently, it is a glory to princes themselves."

[r] Apol. c. 38.

[s] "Who without violating modesty could speak of those imitations of foul things, those obscenities of words, those revolting motions, that foulness of gestures? Whose exceeding sinfulness may be collected even from this, that they preclude even their being spoken of! The impurities of the theatres alone are such, th t they admit not even of being censured with purity." Salvian, l. 6. comp. de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. 8.

De Spect. VI. 18.

it were fitting should remain hid in its own darkness and dens, lest it pollute the day. Blush the senate! Blush all ranks! let the very women, the destroyers of their own modesty, shudder[t] at their doings before the light and the public, and blush this once within the year[u]. But if all immodesty is to be abominated by us, why should it be lawful to hear those things, which it is *not lawful to speak* when we know that even *foolish jesting* and *every vain word* is *judged* by God? Why in like manner should it be lawful to behold the things, which it is sin to do? Why are those things, which when *coming forth from the mouth, defile the man*, thought not to defile the man when entering in by the eyes and the ears? seeing that the eyes and the ears wait upon the spirit, and one cannot be presented clean, whose attendants are unclean.

Eph. 5, 12. ver. 4. Mat. 12, 36. Mark 7, 20.

XVIII. Thou hast therefore, in the prohibition of immodesty, the prohibition of the theatre also. But if we despise likewise the teaching of this world's learning, as being accounted *foolishness before God*, we have here a sufficient rule concerning those kinds of shows also, which, by means of the writings of this world, make up the plays or the games of the stage. But if tragedies and comedies are the originators[x] of crimes and lusts, bloody and lascivious, impious and extravagant, that which commemorateth a thing atrocious and vile, is itself in no wise better. That which is rejected in the doing, ought not to be listened to in the recital. But if thou contendest that the race course is even named in the Scriptures, thou shalt have that indeed granted: but thou wilt not deny that the things are unfit for thee to behold, which are enacted in the race course, the blows, and the kicks, and the buffets, and all the wantonness of the hand, and all the battering of the face of man, that is, of the image of God. Thou wilt not approve in any case of vain runnings, and yet vainer shootings and leapings: strength used for an hurtful purpose, or for no purpose, will in no case please thee; nor again the training of an artificial body, as over-stepping the workmanship of God. And thou wilt

1 Cor. 3, 19.

1 Cor. 10, 24.

[t] de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. 9.

[u] because so produced once in the year at the Floralia.

[x] auctrices. Rig. (from conjecture apparently) actrices "enacters." comp. Theoph. ad Autol. iii. 15. Auct. de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. 7. Lact. vi. 20. Arnob. iv. fin.

hate men who are fattened up[y], because of the idleness of Greece. Moreover the art of wrestling is a work of the Devil. It was the Devil who hugged the first human beings to death. The very attitude is the power of the serpent, firm for taking hold, tortuous for binding fast, supple for gliding away. Thou hast no need of crowns. Why seekest thou thy pleasures in crowns?

XIX. We will now look for a reproof of the amphitheatre also from the Scriptures. If we maintain that cruelty, that impiety[z], that brutality is permitted us, let us go to the amphitheatre. If we be such as we are reported to be[a], let us delight ourselves with human blood. 'It is a good thing when the guilty are punished.' Who but a guilty man will deny this? And yet an innocent man cannot rejoice in the punishment of another, for it more befitteth the innocent to grieve, because that a man like unto himself hath become so guilty as to be so cruelly punished. But who shall be my warrant that the guilty are always sentenced to the beasts or whatever the punishment be, so that no violence is done to innocence also, either from the vengeance of the judge, or the weakness of the advocate, or the urgency of the torture? How much better therefore is it not to know when the wicked are punished, lest I should know also when the good perish, if indeed there be any savour of good among them. At all events unconvicted gladiators come to the sports, that they may become the victims of public amusement. But even as respecteth those who are condemned to the sport, what manner of thing is this that, from a lesser fault, they go on, in the way of correction, to be murderers? But this is my reply to Heathens. Far be it from my wish that the Christian should be taught at greater length how to hate this show. Although no one is able to describe all these things more completely than myself[b], unless it be one who is still a spectator, I would rather not complete the tale than call it to mind.

XX. How vain therefore, yea, how desperate, is the

[y] See Cypr. ad Donat. §. 6.

[z] Ib. p. 6. ed. Oxf. "Fathers are spectators of their own sons; a brother is in the ring, his sister close by." Impietas includes want of natural affection, natural piety.

[a] Apol. c. 9.

[b] as having been born a Heathen, see Apol. c. 18. and probably de Pœnit. c. 1. as also of Gentile sins, de Res. Carn. c. 59.

De Spect. VI. 21.

reasoning of those, who, hanging back doubtless to gain admission[c] for their pleasure, plead that no mention of such abstinence is specially marked out in the Scriptures, which directly forbiddeth the servant of God to mix with assemblages of this kind. I heard lately a new defence of a certain play-lover. 'The sun,' saith he, 'yea, even God Himself, is a spectator from Heaven, and is not defiled.' In truth the sun carrieth his rays even into the common sewer and receiveth no pollution: and would that God beheld none of the crimes of men, that we might all escape His judgments! But He beholdeth even robberies; He beholdeth also falsehoods, and adulteries, and deceits, and idolatries, and these very shows themselves! And therefore it is that we will not behold them, lest we be seen by Him, Who beholdeth all things. Thou distinguishest, O man, between the accused and the judge: the accused, who is accused because he is seen, the judge, who is the judge because he seeth. Do we therefore give our minds to madness beyond the boundaries of the circus also, and bend our thoughts to immodesty beyond the doors of the theatre, and to insolence beyond the race-course, and to merciless cruelty beyond the amphitheatre, because God hath His eyes also beyond the chambers, and the tiers, and the curtains? We do err: in no place and at no time is that excused which God condemneth: in no place and at no time is that lawful, which is not lawful at all times and in all places. Herein is the perfectness of Truth, and hence the complete subordination, and the uniform reverence, and the constant obedience which is due to it, that it changeth not its opinion, nor varieth its judgment. That, which in real truth is either good or bad, cannot be otherwise. But all things are determined by the Truth of God.

XXI. The Heathens, with whom there is no perfection of truth, because God is not their teacher of truth, define good and evil according to their own will and pleasure, making that in one case good, which in another is bad, and that in one case bad, which in another is good. Thus therefore it hath come to pass, that the very man who would hardly lift

[c] admittendæ Cod. Ag. Edd. Rig. conjectures "amittendæ," needlessly.

up his cloak in public for his bodily necessity, cannot in the circus disport himself in any other way than by obtruding all his shame upon the eyes of all: and he, who guardeth the ears of his virgin daughter from every lewd word, doth himself carry her to the theatre to such words and actions: and the very man, who in the streets restraineth or protesteth against one that carrieth on a quarrel by blows, doth in the race-course give his voice in favour of more serious battles: and he who shuddereth at the corpse of a man that hath died in common course, doth in the amphitheatre bend down most enduring eyes upon bodies mangled and torn in pieces and begrimed with their own blood: nay he who cometh to the show to testify his approval of the punishment of a murderer, doth himself with whips and rods urge on the gladiator to murder against his will: he too who demandeth the lion for each more notable murderer, demandeth for the atrocious gladiator the staff and the hat[d]: while he sendeth for him back again who is slain, for a near view of his countenance, more pleased to examine him closely whom he wished to put to death at a distance; so much the more cruel if he wished it not.

XXII. What wonder are these inconsistencies in men, who confound and interchange the nature of good and evil, through the inconstancy of their feelings, and the variableness of their judgment? The very patrons and managers of the shows degrade[e], on account of the very profession for which they honour them, the charioteers, the players, the wrestlers, and those most loving men of the arena, to whom men surrender their souls, women, or even men, their persons,

[d] The "staff" (rudis) freeing from the necessity of fighting; the "cap" (pileus) if slaves, freeing them wholly. The staff might be given after 3, the cap after 5, years. Ulpian ap. Lips. Sat. ii. 23. These being demanded by the people for distinguished gladiators, were, as T. says, the rewards of blood-shedding.

[e] See Ulpian ap. Bulenger de Theatro i. 50. (de infamia theatri) Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 14. "The Romans rejeet players from all honours." and 27. "The aetors whereof the praise-worthy temper of Roman virtue deprived of honours, degraded from the tribes, acknowledged as foul, made infamous." This seems to have been relaxed as to the "wrestlers" and "eharioteers," on the very ground of their not being players; they were "inhonestæ personæ," not "infames." Ulp. ib. A soldier, who acted, was eapitally punished. (ib.) see also Bulenger de Circo, e. 50. de venat. circi e. ult. They were mostly slaves; whenee Adrian refused the people's request to set one free, as unjust to his master. Dio ap. Onuphr. Panvin. de Lud. Circ. i. 11.

De Spect. VI. 23.

and for the sake of whom they commit the things which they condemn: yea they openly sentence them to disgrace and degradation, excluding them from the council-chamber, from the rostra, from the senate, from the knighthood, and from all other honours, and some outward adornings[f]. What perverseness! they love those whom they punish, they degrade those whom they approve; they honour the craft, they disgrace the craftsman. What sort of a judgment is this, that one should be blackened for the things whereby he hath his merit? nay, what a confession is it of the evil of a thing, when the authors of it, even when they are most approved, are not without disgrace!

XXIII. Seeing then that the reflecting mind of man, even in spite of the opposing interest of pleasure, judgeth that such persons ought to be condemned to a sort of rack of infamy, with the forfeiture of the advantages of worldly honours, how much more doth the justice of God punish the workers of such things! Shall that charioteer please God, the disquieter of so many souls, the minister to so many evil passions, to so many humours[g]: crowned like a priest, or coloured like a pimp, whom the Devil hath dressed up to be caught away, in rivalry of Elias, in a chariot[s]. Shall that man please Him, who with a razor changeth his features, an infidel towards his own countenance, which, not content with making it approximate to Saturn and Isis and Bacchus, he so submitteth to the insults of buffets, as though he were mocking the commandment of the Lord? Even the Devil forsooth, teacheth men to give their cheek patiently to be smitten. So too he hath, by means of shoes, made the Tragœdians taller, because no man *can add one cubit to his stature*. He would make Christ a liar. But again I ask whether the very use of masks can be pleasing to God, Who forbiddeth *the likeness of any thing*[h], how much more o *His own image*[i], to be made? The Author of Truth loveth not that which is false. Every thing which is feigned i adultery in His sight. Wherefore He, Who condemneth al

[g] statuum *restored*

Matt. 5. 39.

Matt. 6. 27.

Ex. 20. 4.

[f] Insignia of rank.

[s] The history of Elijah seems to have been used as a serious defence of the shows. See de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. 2. 3.

[h] See note B. on Apol. p. 110.

[i] The human countenance.

hypocrisy, will not approve of one that counterfeiteth a voice, different sexes or ages, or that maketh a show of loves, passions, groanings, tears. But when He declareth in the law that he is accursed who *putteth on a woman's garments*, how shall He judge the pantomime, who is also trained in all things pertaining to a woman! And shall that boxer forsooth escape unpunished? those scars from the cæstus, those lumps on his fists, those swellings on his ears, he received from God when he was formed! God committed those eyes to him in order that they might be put out with blows! I say nothing of him, who putteth another man in the lion's way before himself, lest he be less a murderer than[1] he who afterwards slayeth the same. Deut. 22, 5.

[1] quam *restored*

XXIV. In how many more ways must we go on to argue, that not one of those things, which come under the head of shows, is pleasing to God, and that that which is not pleasing to God doth not befit the servant of God? If we have shewn that all these things have been ordained for the sake of the Devil, and have been furnished forth from the things of the Devil, (for all things, whatsoever are not of God, or are displeasing to God, are of the Devil,) this will be that 'pomp of the Devil,' against which we make our vow in receiving the sign of Faith[k]: and of that, which we abjure, we ought not to be partakers neither in deed, nor in word, nor in beholding nigh nor afar off. But do we not renounce and rescind that sign in rescinding the testimony thereof? Doth it therefore remain that we demand an answer from the Heathens themselves? Let these now tell us in their turn, whether it be lawful for Christians to deal with a show. But hereby do they chiefly discover that a man hath become a Christian, from his renouncing the shows. He therefore clearly denieth himself to be such, who taketh away the mark whereby he is known. And what hope remaineth in a man of this sort? No one goeth over to the camp of the enemies, unless he hath thrown down his own arms, unless he hath deserted the standard of his own chief and his oaths to him, unless he hath made a covenant to perish together with them.

XXV. Will he at that season think upon God, seated where there is nothing that cometh of God? He will

[k] See above, c. 4.

De Spect. VI. 25.

have, I suppose, peace in his mind, while battling for the charioteer! He will learn modesty while gaping upon the buffoons! Nay in all the show, no offence will more meet us, than that very over-careful adorning of the men and women. The very community of feeling, their very agreement or disagreement in party-spirit, doth, by their intercourse, fan the sparks of carnal lusts. Finally, no one in entering the show, thinketh of any thing more than to be seen and to see. But while the tragœdian is ranting, will he be considering the *crying aloud* of some Prophet? And amidst the music of the effeminate player will he be meditating a psalm within himself? and when the wrestlers shall be acting, will he be ready to say that a man must not strike again? will he moreover be able to be moved with pity, whose eyes are fastened on the bites of bears, and the sponges[l] of them that fight with nets? God avert from His people so great a desire after murderous pleasure! for what manner of thing is it to go from the Church of God into the Church of the Devil? from the sky (as they say) to the stye[m]? to weary afterward, in applauding a player, those hands, which thou hast lifted up to God? to give thy testimony for the gladiator out of the mouth, with which thou hast uttered Amen to *That Holy Thing*[n]? to say, *for ever*

[l] Probably to staunch the blood.

[m] De cœlo, ut aiunt, in cœnum.

[n] Sanctum. The holy Eucharist, derived probably (as has been suggested to me) from S. Matt. 7, 5. as a reverent title, which should be understood only by Communicants, not by strangers. The name occurs, with the addition "Sanctum *Domini*" in S. Cyprian, de Unit. c. 7. de Lapsis, c. 11. and 16 bis. In the de Spectac. ap. Cypr. c. 7. ed. Bened., "Sanctum" occurs alone, explained shortly afterwards by "Eucharistiam, Christi sanctum Corpus." And this is a sort of comment on T. since the author imitates him throughout. The words are, "daring to bear with him, if he could, That Holy Thing into a brothel [the Theatre], who when dismissed from the Church hastening to the show, and yet bearing with him, after his wont, the Eucharist, carried around the Holy Body of Christ amidst the impure bodies of harlots." (In Fell's edition, (which is here altogether less accurate,) and in some MSS. "Spiritum" is inserted before "Sanctum" "bearing with him the Holy Spirit, if he could," and "Christi Sanctum Corpus" omitted. This may have been occasioned by a difficulty in the words, "if he could;" in that the Holy Eucharist would remain with him, whereas the Holy Spirit might depart from him. The author may mean, however, that although he bore about with him "That Holy Thing," it ceased to be such to him.) S. Cyprian ad Demetr. c. 1. uses "Sanctum" absolutely, in reference to S. Matt. but not to the Eucharist. S. Augustine (quoted by Rig.) speaks of the "Amen" in reference to the Holy Eucharist, Serm. ad Inf. ante Altare de Sacr. [Serm. 272. in die Pent. postrem.] "If then ye are the Body and Members of Christ, your mystery is placed on the Table of the Lord; ye receive your own mystery. To that which ye are, ye answer Amen, and by answering, subscribe. For thou hearest, THE BODY OF CHRIST, and answerest, AMEN.

and ever to any being whatsoever, save to God and Christ [o]?

XXVI. Why may not such men be in danger of devils entering into them? for the case hath happened, the Lord is witness, of that woman who went to the theatre, and returned thence with a devil. Wherefore when the unclean spirit, in the exorcism[p], was hard pressed because he had dared to attack a believer, he boldly said, 'and most righteously I did it, for I found her in mine own place.' It is well known also that there was shewn to another in her sleep, on the night of the day in which she had heard a tragedian, a linen cloth[q] upbraiding her with that tragedian by name, and that this woman at the end of five days was no longer in the world. How many other examples also have been furnished in those, who by communion with the Devil in the shows, have fallen away from the Lord! For *no man can serve two masters. What communion hath light with darkness?* What hath life with death? We ought to hate these assemblies and meetings of the Gentiles, were it only that the name of God is there blasphemed, that the lions are there every day called for against us[r], that it is thence that persecutions are decreed, thence that temptations are sent forth. Mat. 6, 24. 2 Cor. 6, 14.

XXVII. What wilt thou do, when discovered in this estuary of impious voices? not that thou canst suffer any thing there from men: no one knoweth thee for a Christian: but think what becometh of thee in Heaven. Doubtest thou that in this crisis, in which the Devil is raging against the Church, all the Angels are looking down from Heaven, and marking every man, whosoever hath spoken blasphemy, whosoever hath listened to it, whosoever hath ministered

Be thou a member of the Body of Christ, that true be thy Amen." [add Serm. 334. in Nat. Mart. "To His Pledge thou sayest daily, Amen,"] and S. Ambrose de Sacr. iv. 5. "The priest saith to thee, THE BODY OF CHRIST, and thou sayest, AMEN, that is, True. What the tongue confesses, let the affections retain."

o "Conquests shalt thou conquer from everlasting," exclamation to Commodus, Dio l. 72. (Rig.) "O king Artaxerxes, reign for ever." (δι' αἰῶνος) Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 32. (ap. Lac. ad Apol. c. 34.) The words, "O king, live for ever," would have a different meaning, as spoken by Daniel, who believed in a "life everlasting."

p See on Apol. c. 23. p. 57 and 60.

q perhaps, as a winding-sheet.

r See Apol. c. 35. 40. Ferrar. de Vet. Acclam. et plausu, l. 8. c. 18. (ap. Hav.)

De Spect. VI. 28. Ps. 1, 1. with his tongue, or with his ears, to the Devil against God? wilt thou not then flee from these chairs of the enemies of Christ, this *seat of pestilences*, and the very air which resteth upon it, defiled with the voices of the wicked? It may be that sweet things are there, and such as be pleasing, and sincere, and some which are even good. No one mixeth poison with gall and hellebore, but throweth in the evil thing amidst seasoned dainties, and things of exceeding sweet savour. So also, whatsoever deadly thing the Devil contriveth, he mixeth with the things of God, such as are most pleasing and acceptable. All things therefore which are therein, whether they be brave, or honest, or high-sounding, or melodious, or refined, account of them forthwith as of drops of honey from a venomous reptile; and deem not thy greediness after pleasure of so much moment as the danger which cometh by its sweetness.

XXVIII. On such sweets let his own guests be fattened: the places, and the times, and the bidder to the feast, are their own. Our feasts, our marriage, are not yet; we cannot sit down with them, for neither can they with us. The thing is ordered by turns. Now are they glad, we afflicted: *the world*, He saith, *shall rejoice; ye shall be sorrowful*. Let us mourn therefore, whilst the heathen rejoice, that we may rejoice, when they shall begin to mourn; lest if we now rejoice together with them, we may then mourn together with them likewise. Thou art too nice, O Christian, if thou desirest pleasure in this world also; nay thou art exceeding foolish if thou thinkest this pleasure. Certain philosophers have given this name to peace and quietness[s]; herein is their joy, herein their avocation[t], herein also their boast. Dost thou breathe me a sigh for goals and theatres, and dust and sand? Prithee tell me: cannot we live without pleasure, who are to die with pleasure? for what else is our desire but that which is the Apostle's also, *to depart* from the world and *to be* received *with the Lord?* Here is our pleasure, where is also our desire.

John 16, 20.

Phil. 1, 23.

[s] Apol. c. 38.

[t] including, by the force of the term, being "called away" from the world.

XXIX. But now suppose that thou art to pass this life in delights. Why art thou so ungrateful as not to be content with, and not to acknowledge, the pleasures, so many and such as they are, which God bestoweth upon thee? For what can be more delightful than reconciliation with God the Father and our Lord? than the revelation of the Truth? than the discovery of errors? than the forgivenesss of so many past sins? What greater pleasure than a disgust for pleasure itself? than a contempt for the whole world? than true liberty? than a pure conscience? than a sufficiency of life? than the absence of all fear of death? to beat down, as thou dost, under thy feet the gods of the nations? to cast out devils? to do cures? to seek for revelations[u]? to live unto God? These are the pleasures, these the shows of the Christians[v], holy, everlasting, free. In these, view thy games of the Circus: behold the courses of the world, the seasons gliding by; count the spaces of time; look to the goal of the consummation of all things; defend the companies of the Churches; bestir thyself at the signal of God; rise up at the trumpet of the Angel; glory in the palms of the martyrs. If knowledge, if learning delight thee, we have enough of books, we have enough of verses, enough of sentences, enough also of songs, enough of voices; not fables, but verities; not cunningly wrought, but simple strains. Wouldest thou both fightings and wrestlings? Cases are at hand, not slight but manifold[l]. Behold meleanness thrown down by chastity, perfidiousness slain by faithfulness, cruelty beaten by mercy, wantonness overlaid by modesty: and such are our games, in which we ourselves are crowned. Wouldest thou also somewhat of blood? thou hast Christ's. Rom. 5, 10. [l] non parva sed multa *restored*

XXX. But what sort of show is that near at hand[x]? the Coming of the Lord, now confessed, now glorious, now triumphant. What is that joy of the Angels? what the glory of the rising saints? what the kingdom of the

[u] 1 Cor. 12, 9. 10. "To another, the gifts of healing,—to another the working of miracles, to another, prophecy." See on Apol. c. 23. p. 57. S. Cyprian speaks of revelations to himself after this; Allix singularly finds in this mention of "revelations" a trace of Montanism. Our own Bp. Andrews has the Evening Prayer, "Visit me with the visitation of Thine own; reveal to me wisdom in the visions of the night. If not, for I am not worthy, &c."

[v] imitated in the de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. penult.

[x] the end of the world being looked for as at hand.

De Spect. VI. 30.

righteous which followeth[y]? what the city of the new Jerusalem? And yet there remain other shows: that last and eternal Day of Judgment, the unlooked for, the scorned[z] of the Nations, when all the ancient things of the world, and all that are rising into life, shall be consumed in one fire? what shall then be the expanse of the show? whereat shall I wonder[a]? whereat laugh? whereat rejoice? whereat exult? beholding so many kings, who were declared to be admitted into Heaven, with Jupiter himself and all that testify of him[b], groaning together in the lowest darkness? those rulers too, the persecutors of the Name of the Lord, melting amid insulting fires more raging than those wherewith themselves raged against the Christians: those wise philosophers moreover reddening before their own disciples, now burning together with them, whom they persuaded that there was nothing which appertained to God[c], before whom they affirmed that there were either no souls, or that they should not return again to their former bodies[d]: poets too trembling before the judgment-seat, not of Rhadamanthus, not of Minos[e], but of the unlooked-for Christ. Then will the tragic actors be the more to be heard, because more loud in their cries amidst real affliction of their own: then the players to be recognized, more dissolute by far when dissolved by fire: then the charioteer to be gazed on, all red[f] upon his fiery wheel: then the wrestlers to be viewed tossing about, not in

Is. 14, 9 sqq. Ps. 52, 6. Ps. 58, 10. Rev. 18, 20.

[y] probably the Millennium, as in Apol. c. 48.

[z] See on de Test. An. c. 4. p. 136. n. s and t.

[a] A truth lies at the basis of the following painful description, since Scripture says, "The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance;" Tertullian, however, seems to have been hurried away by his imagination, and (as happens not uncommonly to people) in the vehemence of his description to have forgotten what he was describing—endless misery. Certainly, the righteous will "rejoice" in God's vengeance upon His enemies. (Ps. 58, 10, &c. Rev. 18, 20. xix. 1—3.) but it is not for the uninspired, to joy beforehand in the justice of God of which they must stand in awe, and to expand hints, which are given for their own warning. There appears, however, throughout these treatises, an intention to act upon the minds of the heathen, (as even Gibbon implies in this case,) so that he may have used this unsubdued and fearfully vivid description, in order to impress them the more.

[b] Apol. c. 21.

[c] i. e. that He was unconcerned about the things of this world, Apol. c. 47.

[d] Apol. c. 48.

[e] Apol. c. 23.

[f] In allusion to the colours worn by the different factions, of which red was one.

the theatre, but in the fire—unless perchance I may even then not desire to see them, as wishing rather to fix my gaze, never to be satisfied, on those who have *furiously raged against the Lord.* This, I shall say, is He, *the son of the carpenter* or the harlot[g], the destroyer of the Sabbath, the *Samaritan* and Who *had a devil.* This is He, Whom ye bought of Judas: this is He, Who was smitten with a reed and with buffetings, dishonoured with spittings, drugged with gall and vinegar. This is He, Whom the disciples stole secretly away, that it might be said that He had risen again, or Whom the gardener removed, lest his lettuces should be injured by the crowds of visitors[h]. Such shows as these, such triumphs as these, what prætor, or consul[i], or quæstor, or priest, shall of his own bounty bestow upon thee? and yet we have them even now in some sort present to us, through Faith, in the imagination of the spirit. But what are those things which *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hare entered into the heart of man?* Greater joys, methinks, than the circus, and both the theatres[k], and any race-course.

Ps.2, 12. John 5, 18. John 8, 48. Mat. 28, 13. Mat. 27, 64. 1 Cor. 2, 9.

[g] Alluding to the Jewish blasphemy under the title of Panthera, Orig. c. Cels. i. 28. 32. Schabbat fol. 104, b. and Sanhedrin f. 67. a. ap. Wagenseil conf. lib. Toled. Jesch. p. 15. ubi pl. S. Jerome Ep. 14. (al. 1.) ad Heliod. §. ult. in part imitates this passage, and retains the word.

[h] This last seems to be irony of Tertullian's.

[i] "This is a spectacle, which not prætor or consul exhibiteth to them, but He Who is Alone both before all things, and above all things, yea and of Whom are all things, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." de Spect. ap. Cypr. fin.

[k] Theatre and Amphitheatre.

OF IDOLATRY.

[Lumper (l. c. Art. 15.) places the "De Idololatria" in A.D. 198, on the following grounds. It was written during a period of great public rejoicings at Rome, (c. 15.) and so probably A.D. 198, on Severus's victory over Albinus; since, of the two other occasions recorded, Severus's accession, after the death of Julian, A.D. 193, (Xiphilin. lxxiv. 2.) is too early, that on his return from the East, A.D. 203, (Xiph. lxxvi. 1. Herodian. iii. 10.) too late. 2. It appears (c. 17.) that Christians might then hold office, which is very unlikely after the commencement of Severus's persecution. 3. The expulsion also of the soothsayers from Italy (c. 9.) was probably on occasion of their being consulted about the life of Severus, just before the Parthian war, when he put many of them to death, A.D. 198. (Spartian in Sever. c. 15.)]

De Idol. vii. 1.

I. The principal sin of mankind, the chief guilt of the world, the whole cause of its judgment, is idolatry. For though each separate crime hath its own special character, and is marked out for judgment under its own proper name also, yet is it summed up under the sin of idolatry. Set aside names: consider operations. An idolater is also a murderer. Askest thou whom he hath slain? If it addeth any thing to the comprehensiveness of the title, I answer, not a stranger, nor an enemy, but himself. By what snare? by that of his own error. By what weapon? by sin against God. By how many blows? by as many as are his idolatries. He who denieth that the idolater perisheth, will deny that the idolater committeth murder. In like manner thou mayest discover in the same man adultery and fornication; for he that serveth false gods, is without doubt an adulterer of the Truth, because every falsehood is an adultery. So also is he sunk in fornication: for who that dealeth with unclean spirits doth not go about defiled and corrupted? And therefore is it that the holy Scriptures use the word "whoredom" in reproach of idolatry. It con-

stituteth fraud, methinks, if any take that which is another's, or deny to another his due; and in truth fraud committed against man is a sin of the highest rank. But idolatry defraudeth God, denying Him His own honours, and bestowing them upon others, so that with fraud it joineth insult likewise. But if fraud, as well as whoredom and adultery, bring death, then in these ways also is idolatry equally unacquitted of the crime of murder. After such sins, thus deadly, thus swallowing up salvation, all the rest also in some measure, and each in its separate place, have their proper character represented in idolatry. In this is likewise the *covetousness* of this world. For what Col.3,5. solemnity of idolatry is there without the trappings of dress and ornament? In this are all kinds of lasciviousness and drunkenness; seeing that these solemnities are chiefly frequented for the sake of feasting and gluttony and lust. In this is unrighteousness; for what is more unrighteous than that which knoweth not the Father of righteousness? In this also is vanity; for all the manner of it is vanity. In this is lying; for its whole substance is a lie. So it is that all are found in idolatry, and idolatry in all. But besides this, since all sins whatsoever are in their spirit contrary to God, and there is nothing contrary in its spirit to God, which is not accounted to belong to devils and unclean spirits, whose servants the idols are, without doubt whosoever committeth sin committeth idolatry; for he doeth that which pertaineth to the masters of idols.

II. But let all the various names of sins separate themselves unto their own proper acts, and idolatry remain for that, in which it itself consisteth; sufficient in itself is a name so much at enmity with God, a groundwork of crime so abundant, which putteth forth so many branches, diffuseth so many channels, that from hence is most fully derived the substance of the many shapes in which idolatry in all its breadth must be foreshunned. For in many ways it overthroweth the servants of God, and that not only when unrecognized, but also when disguised. Men for the most part imagine that idolatry is to be simply understood in these ways only; if a man either burn incense, or offer

De Idol. VII. 3.

sacrifice, or keep a feast, or bind himself to any sacred rites or priestly offices: just as though one should suppose that adultery should be accounted to consist in kisses, and in embraces, and in actual carnal intercourse; or that murder should be counted to lie only in the shedding of blood and the taking away of life. But we know of a surety how much more widely the Lord disposeth these things, when He

Mat. 5, 28.

noteth adultery even in desire, if a man shall throw his eye lustfully and excite his mind immodestly; while He judgeth

v. 22 sqq.

murder to consist even in a word of evil-speaking or railing, and in all violence of anger, and in neglect of charity

1 John 3, 15.

towards a brother, as John teacheth that *whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer*. Otherwise both the wisdom of the Devil in his evil designs, and that of the Lord God

[1] altitudines *restored, with* A Rev. 2, 24.

in the rule whereby He guardeth us against the *depths of the Devil*, would lie within narrow compass, if we were judged for those sins only, which even the Heathens have determined should be punished. How shall our *righteousness*

Mat. 5, 20.

abound above the Scribes and Pharisees, as the Lord hath commanded, unless we shall have thoroughly perceived the abundance of that which is opposed to it, that is, of unrighteousness? But if the head of unrighteousness be idolatry, we must first be fore-armed against the abundance of idolatry, whilst we discover it not only in those things which are manifest. In former days there was for a long time no idol. Before that the contrivers of this monstrous thing burst forth, the temples were solitary, and the shrines empty[a], even as there remain unto this day, in some places, the traces of ancient times. Yet was there carried on, not nominally, but practically, idolatry. For even at this day it can be carried on, away from a temple, and without an idol. But when the Devil brought into the world the makers of statues and images and every kind of similitude, the handy-work of this curse of mankind, yet in its infancy, obtained both its name and advancement from the idols. Henceforth every craft, which in any manner produceth an idol, became the source of idolatry. For it mattereth nothing whether the moulder form, or the sculptor carve, or the embroiderer work it, for

[a] See on Apol. c. 25.

neither doth it matter for the material, whether the idol be formed of plaster, or of colours, or of stone, or of brass, or of silver, or of needle-work. For since even without an idol there can be idolatry, surely when there is an idol, it mattereth not of what sort it be, of what material, of what form, lest any should suppose that that only is to be accounted an idol, which is consecrated under a human form. To shew this, the interpretation of the word εἶδος is necessary: in the Greek it signifieth 'form,' hence the word εἴδωλον, being made as a diminutive, hath in the same manner in our language produced 'formula.' Wherefore every form or formula claimeth to be called an idol. Hence idolatry is every office and service concerned with any idol. Hence also every maker of an idol is in one and the same sin, unless the people were guiltless of idolatry, because they consecrated for themselves the image of a calf and not of a man.

IV. God forbiddeth an idol to be made as well as to be worshipped. As a thing, to be capable of being worshipped, must first be made, so, if it may not be worshipped, the first care must be that it be not made. For this cause the Divine law, in order to the rooting out of the materials of idolatry, proclaimeth, *Thou shalt not make any image*, adding likewise, *nor the likeness of those things which are in heaven, and which are in the earth, and which are in the sea.* Such crafts as these hath it wholly forbidden to the servants of God[b]. Enoch[c] had before foretold that "the dæmons and

Ex. 20, 4.

[b] See Note B. on Apol. p. 110.

[c] The book of Enoch is quoted again, de Cult. Fem. i. 3. T. there attests "by some it is not received, since neither is it admitted into the Jewish code:" he supposes that Noah may have preserved it orally, or have been inspired to restore it; receives it because it contains propheeies of our Lord, and so belongs to us; because "all Scripture useful to edification is divinely inspired," and as being attested by the Apostle Jude: the Jews may have rejected it because speaking of Christ whom Himself speaking they rejected. S. Irenæus says on its authority, that Enoch discharged a mission to the Angels, (4. 16. 2.) By S. Clement Alex. it is not quoted; only in the spurious Theodoti, Ecl. Proph. §. 2. Origen quotes it, de Princ. i. 3. 3. iv. 35. and with the clause, "if any like to receive it as holy," tom. 6. in Joann. §. 25. but says that "the books so inscribed were not reputed Divine in the Church," c. Cels. v. 54. nor by the Jews, on which account he says he will not dwell upon it, but on undoubted Scripture, Hom. ult. in Num. §. 2. and by S. Hilary, in Ps. 132. §. 6. as "nescio cujus liber." Abp. Laurence shews (Prel. Diss. p. xxix sqq.) that it is quoted in the Zohar, and so was extant in Chaldee among the Jews, before the time of our Lord. The references to it in the Fathers are collected by Fabricius, Cod. Pseudep. V. T. p. 160 sqq.; only that he and others,

De Idol. VII. 4.

the spirits of the angels that fell away, would change into idolatry all the elements, the whole gear of the world, the things which are contained in heaven, in the sea, in the earth, so that they should be consecrated in the stead of God, in opposition to the Lord[d]." Human error therefore worshippeth all things, save the Creator Himself of all things. The images of these are idols: the consecration of those images, idolatry. Whatsoever idolatry doth, must needs be charged upon every maker of every idol. Finally, the same Enoch fore-condemneth, in his commination, both the worshippers of the idol and its makers together. And again[e], "I swear unto you, O sinners, that a just perdition is prepared against the day of blood. Ye that serve stones, and that make images of gold, and silver, and wood, and stone, and earthenware, and that serve phantoms, and devils, and spirits of ill name, and all false things not according to knowledge, ye shall find no help from them." But Esaias saith, *Ye are My witnesses whether there be any God besides Me. And they that fashion and carve images at that time were not. They are all vain, who do, according to their own pleasure, things which shall not profit them.* And so afterwards the whole of that declaration testifieth against the makers as well as the worshippers, the close of which is, *Know ye that their heart is ashes; and they do err*[1], *and no man can deliver his own soul.* On which head David in like manner saith of the makers: *Let them that make them be like unto them.* And what shall I, a man with an indifferent memory, say? what farther proof can I supply? what can I repeat from the Scriptures? as though either the word of the Holy Spirit were not enough, or there were need of con-

Is. 44, 8. LXX.

Is. 44, 20.

[1] let errant restored with LXX.

Ps. 115, 8.

suppose (it seems without authority) that the statements in Justin M. &c. as to the fallen angels are derived thence, see ab. p. 54. n. c. on Apol. c. 22. It is classed among apocryphal books in the Constt. Ap. (vi. 16.) so spoken of by S. Jerome, (de Virr. Ill. c. 4.) as also by S. Augustine strongly, de Civ. D. xv. 23. 4. (and again, xviii. 38.) Out of this book, however, S. Jude was guided to select what was a true prophecy of Enoch's, although they who have not his infallible guidance, may not rely on it; which is the view of S. Jerome, (in Tit. i. 12 sqq.) and apparently of S. Augustine, l. c.

[d] This is a quotation from the Book of Enoch, only cited in the oblique form of narration; for T. introduces the next quotation with "Denique idem Enoch," and a third, with "Et rursus." I do not however find the two first in Abp. Laurence's Translation.

[e] c. xcvii. 7. 8. Abp. Laurence's Translation.

sidering farther, whether the Lord hath first cursed and condemned the makers of those things, whose worshippers He curseth and condemneth!

V. We will surely reply with more pains to the excuses of craftsmen of this sort, who never ought to be received into the House of God, did men but know the law of that House. Now this saying which is wont to meet us, 'I have nought else whereon to live,' may be retorted somewhat sharply, 'Therefore thou must live—if according to thine own laws, what hast thou to do with God?' Then as to the proof which they dare to bring from Scripture, that the Apostle hath said, *As every man hath been found, so let him abide.* According to that interpretation then we may all abide in sin; for there is not one among us who hath not been found a sinner, since Christ came down for no other cause than to deliver sinners. Likewise they say, that the same Apostle hath taught, according to his own example, that every one should *work with* his *own hands* for his living. If this precept be maintained in respect of every sort of hands, methinks that thieves about the baths[1] live by their own hands, and even robbers *work with their hands* that whereby they may live: likewise that forgers execute false writings—not surely with their feet, but—with their hands: and that players labour for their living not with their hands only, but with all their members. Let the Church then be open to all who support themselves by their own hands and their own labour, if no exception be made of those crafts which the law of God alloweth not.

1 Cor. 7, 20.

1 Cor. 4, 12.

[1] fures balneatores

But some man saith, in answer to our assertion that it is forbidden to *make the likeness of any thing*, 'Why then did Moses in the wilderness make the likeness of a serpent in brass[f]?' Those figures are of a distinct character, which prepared the way for any hidden dispensation, not in abrogation[2] of the law, but as an emblem of that which causeth them to be made. Otherwise, if we interpret these things, as the enemies of the law, do we also ascribe, as do the Marcionites, inconsistency to the Almighty? Whom they in this manner annul as being changeable, in that He in one place forbiddeth a thing, in

[2] erogationem *restored*

[f] See adv. Jud. c. 10. adv. Marc. ii. in Justin M. Dial. §. 94. 22. S. Barn. c. 12. Jewish interlocutors

De Spect. VI. 6.

another commandeth it. But if any one feigneth not to see that that image of the brazen serpent, after the manner of one hanging, signified a type of the Cross of the Lord, which was to deliver us from serpents, that is from the angels of the Devil, while it hanged up the Devil, that is the serpent, which had been slain by its means[g], (or whatever other interpretation of that figure hath been revealed to more worthy men,) so long as the Apostle declareth that *all things happened* at that time *to the people in a figure*, I am content that the same God, Who in the law forbad any likeness to be made, should by a special precept have interposed His command[h] that the likeness of a serpent should be made. If thou obeyest the same God, thou hast His law, *Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing*, if thou regardest

1 Cor. 10, 11.

[g] See adv. Jud. l. c. adv. Marc. iii. 18. T. here seems to develope the full meaning of the type, how it at once represented sin and the author of sin destroyed and nailed to the Cross, and Him also who knew no sin, but was made sin for us. S. Greg. Naz. Or. 45. in Pasch. §. 22. looks on it as the emblem of sin and Satan slain by the Cross. So S. Aug. Tr. 12. in S. Joh. §. 11. "What is the serpent lifted up? The Death of the Lord on the Cross. For because death was by the serpent, death was figured by the likeness of a serpent. The bite of serpents is deadly; the Death of the Lord life-giving; the serpent is hung up, that the serpent may be powerless; death is hung up, that death may be powerless." c. Adim. c. 21. "Upon the wood hung that death, which through the woman came to the man by the persuasion of the serpent, whence also Moses raised up the serpent on the wood to signify His death." And Theodorus Prodromus (in Expl. Can. Cosmae Hieros. ap. Lac.) exclusively so. In another point of view, S. Aug. and other fathers regard it, as a type of Him, Who "came in the likeness of sinful flesh;" as the brazen serpent was the likeness only of the serpent; so Theodoret (qu. 38. ad Num. yet apparently combining both as Tert.) S. Cyril Alex. l. ii. in Joh. c. 10. S. Greg. Nyss. de Vit. Mos. v. fin. t. i. p. 246. Ambr. de Sp. S. iii. 8. Aug. de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. 31. Chrys. ad Joh. 3. The two views are combined in a striking passage of Origen in reference to a different subject, the hanging of the king of Ai. Hom. 8. in Jos. 63. "The Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ was two-fold; i. e. consists of a two-fold character, because visibly the Son of God was crucified in the flesh; invisibly on that Cross the Devil with his principalities and powers was nailed to the Cross. (Col. ii. 14, 15.) So then the character of the Lord's Cross was two-fold; one of which the Apostle Peter says, that Christ crucified left us an example, (1 Pet. ii. 22.) and this secondly, in which that Cross was the trophy, set up of the Devil, whereon he was to be crucified and triumphed over. Therefore, lastly, the Apostle Paul (Gal. 6, 14.) gave a two-fold character of the Cross; for he said that two contraries were crucified, himself being holy and the world sinful, no doubt after the same pattern as we said before, of Christ and the Devil." Even Philo remarkably connects this event with the fall. de Agr. p. 315. ed. Mangey. "These things seem strange, a serpent speaking with human voice deceived Eve, and again a serpent to others brought deliverance by the sight alone."

[h] Interdixit restored with A. Lac. quotes also from Isidor. Etymol. l. v. a passage in which "interdixit" is said to be = "interim dixit;" "that is 'interdictum,' which is by the judge pronounced not in perpetuity, but for correction at the moment, for a time, in the mean season."

also the command touching the likeness made afterwards, do thou also follow Moses' example, and not make any image contrary to the law, unless God command thee likewise.

VI. If no law of God had forbidden idols to be made by us; if no voice from the Holy Spirit had denounced the makers of idols, no less than their worshippers; we might conclude for ourselves, from our own Sacrament, that such crafts are contrary to the Faith. For how have we renounced the Devil and his angels[i], if we make them? what sort of a putting away have we professed of those—I do not say with whom, but—by whom we live? Into what sort of enmity have we entered with those, to whom we are bound for the sake of our own maintenance? Canst thou deny with the tongue, what thou confessest with the hand? destroy by words, what thou buildest up by deeds? preach One God, who makest so many? preach the true God, who makest false gods? 'I make them,' saith one, 'but I worship them not.' As if there were any reason why he dare not worship them, other than that for which he ought likewise not to make them, namely, the sin committed in either case against God! But verily thou dost worship them, who providest that they may be worshipped. And thou worshippest them not with the spirit of any worthless savour of sacrifice[k], but with thine own; nor at the cost of the life of a beast, but of thine own life. To these thou offerest up thy mind; for these thou makest libations of thy sweat; for these thou kindlest thy wisdom. Thou art to them more than a priest, since it is through thee that they have a priest. Thy diligence is their glory. Deniest thou that thou worshippest that which thou makest? but they deny it not, to whom thou sacrificest that richer, better gilded, and more perfect victim[l], thine own salvation!

VII. The zeal of Faith might speak on this head all the day long, mourning that the Christian should come from the idols into the Church, from the workshop of the enemy into the house of God: that he should raise to God the Father

[i] See on the de Cor. c. 3.
[k] Apol. c. 22. 23.
[l] Τέλειος. Denoting a full-grown victim, and opposed to γαλαθηνός Herod. i. 183. as major is to lactens, Liv. xxii. 1. [Tr.] Apol. c. 30.

De Spect. VI. 8.

hands that are the mothers of idols: should worship Him with those hands, which are themselves worshipped[m] out of the Church in enmity to God: that he should approach those hands to the Body of the Lord[n], which bestow bodies on dæmons. Nor is this enough. It were a small matter that they should receive from other hands That Which they defile, but they themselves also deliver to others That Which they have defiled. Makers of idols are chosen into the ministry of the Church. Horrid sin! The Jews laid violent hands but once upon Christ: these every day assault His Body. O hands worthy of being cut off! Let them now consider whether it were said only in a figure, *If thine hand offend thee, cut it off?* What hands ought more to be cut off than those by which the Body of the Lord is offended?

Mark 9, 43.

VIII. There are also many other kinds of crafts, which, although they pertain not to the making of idols, do nevertheless, with the same sinfulness, make ready those things, without which idols can do nothing. For it mattereth nothing whether thou buildest or adornest; if thou furnishest a temple, an altar, or its chapel: if thou beatest out the gold leaf, or makest the ornaments, or even the niche: a work of this sort is the greater of the two, which giveth to the idol not its form but its dignity. If the necessity of a livelihood is so strongly pleaded, they have other sorts of work, which, without transgressing the line of religious duty, that is, without helping to form an idol, may help towards a living. The plasterer knoweth how to repair roofs, and to put on coats of plaster, and to dress a cistern, to form mouldings in relief, and to wreathe walls with

[m] In that what they make is worshipped. de Res. Carnis, c. 6.

[n] See Bingham, 15. 5. 6. for other instances of the primitive custom of receiving the holy elements into the communicant's own hand, and the appeals founded thereon. Our own Divines express themselves in the same way, as Tertullian here, e. g. Bp. Andrews' Devotions, "As Thou didst not disdain that harlot, like me, who was a sinner, coming to Thee and *touching* Thee,—so me too—deign to receive to the *touch* and partaking of the immaculate, supernatural, life-giving, and saving mysteries of Thy All-holy Body and Thy precious Blood;" and in the Homily "Of the worthy receiving and reverent esteeming of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." P. I. fin. "Take thou this lesson, O thou that art desirous of this Table, of Emissenus, a godly father, that when thou goest up to the reverend Communion, thou look up with faith upon the Holy Body and Blood of Thy God, thou marvel with reverence, thou *touch* it with the mind, thou receive it with the hand of thy heart, and thou take it fully with thy inward man."

many other ornaments besides images. The painter also, and the worker in marble and in brass, and every carver knoweth much easier branches of his own art. For he that formeth a statue, how much more easily doth he polish a slab! He that out of a linden tree carveth a Mars, how much more quickly doth he build a closet! There is no art which is not the mother or the sister of some other art. There is no one thing not dependent on another. The arts have as many branches as men have wants. But (thou wilt say) there is a difference in respect of wages and the price of labour. So is there also in the labour itself. The lesser pay is made up by the greater frequency of the work. How many walls are in want of statues? how many temples and shrines are built for idols? but what abundance of dwelling-houses, and courts, and baths, and insulated buildings[o]. The sock and woman's shoe are gilded every day; Mercury and Serapis not every day. Let luxury and pride suffice for the gains of handicraft: they are more abundant than all superstition. Pride will want, sooner than superstition, dishes and goblets[p]. Luxury consumeth crowns also more than religious observance doth. Since therefore we exhort men to such kinds of craft, as touch not an idol, nor the things which belong to an idol, and since the same things are common both to man and idols, we ought to take care of this also, that nothing be required by any at our hands, with our knowledge, for the use of idols. Which thing if we allow of, and use not the means, so[1] common, of hindering it, I do not think that we are free from the contagion of idolatry, whose hands are found employed, not in ignorance, in the service or for the honour and the use of devils.

[1] tam *restored*

IX. We observe among the trades certain professions also, which minister to idolatry. Of astrologers I need not even speak. But since one in these days hath chal-

[o] insulæ; here, in its original usage, "palaces," such as were separated from the continuous lines of houses by gardens, courts, &c. and so distinct from "domus," Tac. Ann. vi. 45. Nero, having enjoined, after he burnt the city, that houses should be built detached, (Ib. xv. 43.) it came to be the common name, especially for large buildings, which in the decay of the city, were let out by floors to different persons: see Hoffmann v. Insularii Facciol. in v.

[p] Apol. c. 6.

De Idol. VII. 9.

lenged me to it, by defending his adherence to that profession, I will say a few words. I allege not that he honoureth idols, whose names he hath written in the heavens, to whom he hath assigned all the power of God, nor that on this account men think that God is not to be sought after, presuming that we are led by the unchangeable will of the stars[q]. One thing only I advance, that those angels who forsook God, who were lovers of women[r], were also the discoverers of this curious art[s], and on that account were condemned by God. O Divine sentence, that standeth fast even on the earth, to which even those who know it not, bear witness! The astrologers are cast out as are their angels. Rome and Italy are closed against astrologers, as Heaven is against their angels[t]. The same penalty of banishment belongeth both to disciples and masters. But *wise men* [Magi] and astrologers *came from the east:* (we know the connection of Magian wisdom and astrology with each other:) the interpreters of the stars therefore were the first to announce the birth of Christ: the first to bring Him gifts: on this account (methinks) they bound Christ unto them! What then? Will therefore the religion of those Magi, in these days also, plead for astrologers? Their science in these days forsooth concerneth Christ! watcheth for and foretelleth the star of Christ, not of Satan and of Mars and of every other of the same class of dead men! But in truth that science was allowed even to the days of the Gospel, that, Christ being born, none should thenceforth read the nativity of any man in the heavens. For therefore did they then offer to the infant Lord the frankincense, and the gold, and the myrrh, as the close of the sacrifices and of the glory of this world, which Christ was to take away. That therefore whereof the *dream*, no doubt by the will of God, *warned* these same wise men, namely that they should *return to their own country*, but *by another way*, not by that whereby they had come, was that they

Matt. 2, 1.

Matt. 2, 12.

[q] See Apol. c. 1.

[r] See on Apol. c. 22.

[s] De Anim. c. 57. de Cult. Fem. i. 2. Justin M. Apol. ii. §. 5. (and of their continued agency, Apol. i. 14. in the Egyptian magicians, i. 69.) S. Augustine, de Civ. Dei, iii. 7. also attributes the correct answers of astrologers to the agency of dæmons; see also Lact. ii. 17.

[t] Tac. Ann. ii. Suet. Vitell. c. 14.

should not walk according to their former sect[u], and not lest Herod should pursue them, who did not pursue them, who did not even know that they *departed by another way*, since he did not even know the way by which they had come. And so we ought to understand it to mean the right way and the right religion. Wherefore it was the rather commanded that they should thenceforward 'walk' *by another way*. So also that other kind of Magic, which worketh by miracles[x], and set itself up in rivalry even against Moses, prolonged its day through the patience[11] of God up to the times of the Gospel. For after that, Simon Magus, now become a believer[y], because he had still some thoughts remaining of the sect of sorcerers, namely, that, among the other miracles of his craft, he might sell the Holy Ghost also through the imposition of hands, was accused by the Apostles, and cast out from the faith. The other sorcerer, who was with Sergius Paullus, because he withstood the same Apostles, was punished by the loss of his eyes. And this the astrologers also, I believe, would have brought on themselves, if any had met with the Apostles. But when sorcery is punished, of which astrology is a species, surely the particular case is condemned in the general one. After the Gospel, thou canst no where find sophists[z], or Chaldæans, or enchanters, or diviners, or sorcerers, who were not manifestly punished. *Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the inquirer of this world*[a]*? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?* Thou knowest nothing, O astrologer, if thou didst not know that thou wert to become a Christian: if thou didst know it, thou oughtest to have known this also, that thou couldest afterwards have nought to do with

[11] patientia *restored*

1 Cor. 1, 20.

[u] This second and typical sense of the words, whether in reference to the Magi or ourselves, is given by S. Ambrose, Exp. Ev. sec Luc. l. ii. §. 45. S. Hilary in Matt. c. i. §. 5. S. Jerome ad loc. S. Aug. Serm. 220. de Epiph. iv. §. ult. Leo Serm. 33. (al. 32.) in Epiph. iii. §. 4. who however unites with it the literal sense, which T. seems, in his strong mode of speaking, to reject. The literal sense is given by Justin M. Dial. §. 78.

[x] Apol. c. 23.

[y] See on Simon Magus, S. Cyril Intr. 2. p. 1. and not. a. Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, p. 229 sqq. ed. 2.

[z] A title given to the Chaldæan soothsayers, de Jejun. c. 7. here, in reference to the σοφὸς, 1 Cor. 1, 20. So Clem. Al. Strom. i. The name is used by Philo also, de Josepho, and by Jul. Firm. Mathes. ii. 12. "Vates demum, magos, sophistas," Herald. Digr. i. 17.

[a] Ambrosiaster ad loc. explains the passage in the same way.

De Idol. VII. 10. Acts 8, 21.

that art. That art would teach thee thine own danger, which foretelleth the climacteries of others. *Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter.* He cannot hope for the kingdom of Heaven, whose finger or whose rod abuseth Heaven.

X. We must enquire also concerning schoolmasters, and the other professors of learning. Or rather we cannot doubt that they are akin to idolatry in many shapes. First, because they must needs proclaim the gods of the Gentiles, declare their names[z], genealogies, fables, and all such things as adorn and honour them: then must they observe also their solemn rites and festivals, as men whose own revenues are thereby supplied. What schoolmaster without a table of the seven idols[a]? Yet will he attend the five days' festival[b]. The very first payment from a new scholar he devoteth both to the honour and the name of Minerva[c]; so that, though he be unprofaned by any idol, yet in word he may be said to eat of that which is offered to an idol. Why is there less of defilement in this than in that which a trade presents which is openly called after the name and honours of an idol? The Minervalia are as much sacred to Minerva, as the Saturnalia to Saturn, which at the time of the Saturnalia must of necessity be celebrated even by menial servants. Likewise must he catch at new years' gifts, and the feasts of the seven hills[d], and of the winter solstice, and must demand all the presents pertaining to that of Caristia[e]. On the feast of Flora the schools must be hung with garlands. The flamens' wives and the ædiles offer sacrifice: the school is honoured by presents on the holidays specially appointed. The same thing is done on the birthday of an idol: every 'pomp of the Devil' is attended. Who will suppose that these things befit a Christian, save he who shall think that they are fitting also for one who is not a schoolmaster?

[z] those belonging to each god.

[a] The Planets, ad Nat. i. 13.

[b] Quinquatria, the same as the Panathenæa. The attendance brought fresh pupils, "discipulos attrahit illa novos." Ovid. Fast. iii. 830. ap. Rig. Rig. suggests the interpunction, and the adherence to the MS. reading; Quis ludimagister sine tabula vii idolorum? quinquatria tamen frequentabit, i. e. even if he have not the one, he will do the other.

[c] Minerval.

[d] of Rome. The Agonalia, a December festival.

[e] rites connected with the commemoration of the Heathen dead.

We know it may be said, 'If it be not lawful for the servants of God to teach literature, neither will it be lawful for them to learn it: and how then could any one be instructed in human wisdom, or be taught at all to think or to act, when literature is an implement for all the concerns of life? How can we set aside worldly studies, without which there can be no divine ones?' Let us enquire therefore into the necessity of a literary education. Let us consider that in part it cannot be allowed, in part cannot be avoided. The believer is more capable of learning literature than of teaching it: for the nature of learning is different from that of teaching. If the believer teacheth literature, then while he teacheth the praises of idols therein introduced, without doubt he commendeth them; while he delivereth, he affirmeth them; while he mentioneth, he beareth testimony to them. The very gods he denoteth by that name, whereas the law forbiddeth (as we have said) that *the names* of gods be *uttered*, and that that *name should be put upon a vain thing*[f]. Ex. 23, 13. xx. 7. Hence faith in the Devil first beginneth to be built up from the first beginnings of education. Ask whether he committeth idolatry, who catechizeth concerning idols! But when the believer learneth these things, if he already understandeth what he is, he neither receiveth them, nor alloweth them; much more if he hath long understood. And even where he hath but begun to understand, he must needs first understand that which he hath first learned, that is, the things concerning God and the Faith. Wherefore he will cast away these things, and receive them not, and will be as safe as one who knowingly receiveth poison from one who knoweth it not, and doth not drink it. Necessity is accounted an excuse for such an one, because he cannot learn in any other way. But it is as much more easy not to teach than not to learn letters, as it is more easy for the believing scholar not to approach all the other defilements of the schools belonging to public and private solemnities, than for the master not to frequent them.

[f] Tert. applies this commandment in the same way, c. Prax. c. 7. S. Aug. (with the same construction) to false belief in our Lord, Serm. 8. (de x Plagis et x Præc.) §. 3. S. 9. (de x Chordis) §. 3. S. Cyprian, Test. iii. 12. and S. Jerome, ad Zach. 8, 16. take it in the usual way.

De Idol. VII. 11.

XI. Suppose we consider all its other sins as touching their origins[1];—in the first place covetousness, *the root of all evil;* whereby some being ensnared, *have made shipwreck concerning faith;* (though *covetousness* is by the same Apostle called also *idolatry;*) next, lying, the servant of covetousness; (of false swearing, I say nothing, since it is not lawful to *swear at all;*)—doth commerce befit the servant of God? But if covetousness be away, which is the cause of getting gain, when the cause of getting gain ceaseth, there will be no longer need of commerce. But be it that there is some honesty in the trade, free from the anxiety of watchfulness against covetousness and falsehood; I think that that falleth into the sin of idolatry, which pertaineth to the very soul and spirit of idols, which pampereth every dæmon. Is not this, in very truth, the chief of all idolatries? No matter whether the same merchandize (I speak of frankincense, and other foreign productions used in sacrifice to idols) be used also by men for unguents in medicine, by us[g] also as aids moreover in the burial of the dead. In truth, when the processions, when the priesthoods, when the sacrifices pertaining to idols are furnished by means of your dangers, your losses, your inconveniences, your anxieties, your journeyings to and fro, and your traffic, what else art thou proved to be than a purveyor to idols. Let no one argue that in this manner one might dispute against every kind of commerce. All sins of a graver cast, in proportion to the greatness of the danger, open a wider field for diligent watchfulness, that we not only abstain from them, but from those things through which they are committed. For though a thing be done by others, it maketh no difference, if it be done through me. In nothing ought I to be necessary to another, when he doeth that which is not lawful for me to do. Inasmuch as I am forbidden to do it, I ought to understand that I must take care that it be not done through me. Finally, in another case, wherein the guilt is no lighter, I abide by the same predetermination. For, whereas I am forbidden to commit fornication, I lend neither assistance nor connivance in this thing to others; for in that I have separated mine

[1] de generationibus, si *restored* 1 Tim. 6, 10. 1 Tim. 1, 19. Col. 3, 5. Mat. 5, 34.

[g] in that Christians did not burn their dead, see Apol. c. 42.

own flesh from brothels, I acknowledge that I cannot possibly exercise the trade of pandering, or any such gainful craft, for the sake of another. So likewise the prohibition against murder sheweth me that the master-gladiator also must be shut out from the Church: nor will he be guiltless of doing himself that which he helpeth others to do. But here is a decision more in point. Suppose that the contractor for the public victims should come over to the faith, will you allow him to continue in that trade? or if a man already a believer should begin to drive the trade, will you think that he ought to be retained in the Church[h]? I trow not; unless one is also to wink at the seller of frankincense, for to one trade it belongeth to supply the blood, to another the incense. If, before idols were in the world, idolatry, as yet unembodied in a shape, was carried on by means of such merchandize; if even now the work of idolatry is chiefly wrought without an idol by the burning of incense[i], doth not the seller of frankincense do the better service even to the dæmons? for idolatry can go on more easily without an idol than without the wares of the seller of frankincense. Let us appeal to the conscience of the believer himself. With what face will a Christian seller of frankincense, if he shall pass through the temples, spit or blow[k] upon the smoking altars, for which he hath himself provided? with

[h] On the employments which excluded from the Sacraments, see Bingham, 11. 5. 7. 16. 4. 10.

[i] Arnobius (l. vii. p. 232.) speaks of frankincense as "taking the first place in the ceremonies," and that the heathen "services were maimed without it." Hence the burning incense was a chief test in the persecutions of Christians; and to this it was the more adapted, the outward, essential, act of burning it being so slight, two or three grains (turis granum, Plaut. Pœn. ii. 1. mica turis, Ov. Trist. iii. 12. Tib. El. 1. 4. ap. Brisson de Form. i. p. 20. ap. Apol. c. 30.) with two or three fingers. "It seems to them absurd to be tortured and slain rather than throw into the fire incense taken with three fingers," "with two little fingers," "duobus digitulis," Jer. Ep. 14. (al. 1.) ad Heliod. §. 5. digitis tribus, Ov. Fast. ii. 573. (comp. Apol. c. 30. p. 71.) This is urged as a ground of compliance; (ap. Prud. Perist. ix. 121;) or, through the absence of the idol, Christian soldiers were imposed upon by Julian to burn it, and then treated as apostates, Greg. Naz. Or. iv. in Jul. (i.) §. 80. Comp. Chrys. Hom. de S. Barlaam, §. 2. and Basil, Hom. 17. de eod. (ap. Kortholt ad Plin. Ep. p. 88 sqq. who furnishes the above.)

[k] Both, actions, used to express aversion and non-communion with the thing so rejected: as to the first, see ad Uxor. ii. 5. Prudent. Perist. x. 920. the second, Apol. c. 23. p. 60. and n. c. add Cæcil. ap. Minut. F. p. 77. deos despuunt, Prud. c. Symm. i. 580. "who in the city spitteth not at the gore-stained altar of Jove?" Martyrol. Vet. ap. Elmenhorst, ad Minut. "Despising them and spitting upon the images they are dragged to the theatres. After being led to sacrifice, spitting on the idol itself, they fortified their foreheads with the Cross."

De Idol. VII. 12.

what consistency will he exorcise[l] his own foster-children, to whom he hath given his own home as a store-house? If indeed he cast out a devil[m], let him not hug himself upon his faith, for he hath not cast out an enemy. He ought to prevail easily upon one whom he feedeth every day. No craft therefore, no calling, no trade, which supplieth any thing either for the furnishing or the making of idols, can be free from the name of idolatry, unless we understand idolatry to be something altogether different from the service and worship of idols.

XII. In vain we flatter ourselves about the necessity of man's subsistence, if, after having sealed our faith[n], we say, 'I have not whereon to live;' for I will now answer this abrupt statement more at large. It is spoken too late. For thou oughtest to have considered this beforehand, after the example of that most prudent *builder*, who *first counteth the cost* of the work, and his own powers, lest, failing *when he hath begun*, he be afterwards put to shame. But even now thou hast the words of the Lord, and ensamples which take from thee all excuse. For what sayest thou? 'I shall be poor.' But the Lord calleth the poor, *blessed*. 'I shall not have food.' But, saith He, *Take no thought for food*. And for clothing we have a pattern, *the lilies*. 'I had need of worldly substance.' But 'Thou must *sell all things and distribute to the poor*.' 'But I must provide for my children, and for them that come after them.' *No one putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the work*. 'But I had entered into engagements to serve.' *No man can serve two masters*. If thou *wilt be* the *disciple* of the Lord, thou must *take up thy cross and follow* the Lord: that is, thou must take up thy afflictions and crosses, or merely thy body which is after the fashion of a cross[o]. *Parents, wives, children*, will be to be *left for the sake of* God. Dost thou doubt concerning trades, and business, and professions, even for the sake of children and parents? It was plainly shewn to us that pledges, and crafts, and business must be abandoned for the Lord's sake, at the very time when

Luke 14, 28.
Luke 6, 21.
Mat. 6, 31.
ver. 28.
Mat. 19, 21.
Luke 9, 62.
Mat. 6, 24.
Mat. 16, 24.
Mat. 19, 29.

[l] see Apol. c. 23. p. 60. n. b.
[m] ib. p. 57. and note u.
[n] in Baptism, see de Spect. c. 24.
[o] see on Apol. c. 30. and Justin M. Apol. i. 55.

James and John, being *called* by the Lord, *left* both *their father and the ship:* when *Matthew* was made to *rise from the receipt of custom:* when even for a man to *bury* his *father* was too much tardiness for Faith. No one of those, whom the Lord chose to Himself, said, 'I have not whereon to live.' Faith feareth not hunger[p]; it knoweth that it must despise even hunger for the sake of God, not less than every sort of death. It hath learned not to regard *the life;* how much more the *meat.* How few have fulfilled these things! but *the things which are hard with men, are easy with God.* Mat. 4, 21, 22. Mat. 9, 9. Luke 9, 60. Mat. 6, 25. Luke 18, 27.

XIII. Nevertheless we must so comfort ourselves concerning the kindness and the mercy of God, as not to indulge our wants even to the borders of idolatry, but to shun like a pestilence every breath of it even afar off, not only in those things of which we have before spoken, but in the whole range of human superstition, (whether in the service of its own gods, or of dead men, or of kings,) as of a thing which pertaineth to the same unclean spirits, sometimes by means of sacrifices and priestly ministrations, sometimes by shows and the like, sometimes by festivals. But of sacrifices and priesthoods what need have I to speak? and as touching shows and such like pleasures, we have already filled a book specially about them[q]. In this place it is meet that we treat of festivals, and other extraordinary solemnities, in which we allow sometimes our wantonness, sometimes our fear, having fellowship with the Heathens in things pertaining to idols, contrary to the rule of our Faith. I shall first dispute this question, whether the servant of God ought to have fellowship in such matters even with the Heathens themselves, whether in respect of dress, or of meat, or any other particular of their rejoicing. The precept to *rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep*, was spoken by the Apostle concerning his brethren, when he exhorted them to *be of one mind.* But in these things *light* hath no *fellowship with darkness*, nor life with death[r]: otherwise Rom. 12, 15. v. 16. 2 Cor. 6, 14.

p Copied by S. Jerome, Ep. 14. ad Heliod. §. 10.

q The De Spectaculis.

r De Spect. c. 26.

De Idol. VII. 14. John 16, 20. we annul that which is written: *The world shall rejoice, but ye shall lament.* If we *rejoice* with *the world*, we must fear lest we *lament* also with *the world*. But let us *lament* while *the world rejoiceth*, and then shall we hereafter *rejoice* while the world *lamenteth*. So also Lazarus, when in hell he obtained *comfort* in *Abraham's bosom*, and the rich man on the other hand, when placed in the *torment* of the *flame*, did, by a rival retribution, make equal their vicissitudes of evil and good.

There are certain days for the dispensing of gifts which are the payment, with some of an honour due, with others of a debt for hired service. 'Now then,' thou sayest, 'I shall receive mine own, or repay that which is another's.' If men have, through superstition, consecrated this custom among them, why dost thou, a stranger to all their vanities, take part in ceremonies devoted to idols? as if the rule concerning the day were fixed for thee also, so that thou canst not, except thou observe the day, either pay that which thou owest to a man, or receive that which is owed unto thee by a man! Tell me the form in which thou wouldest be sued[s]. For why conceal thyself too[t], when by another's ignorance thou *defilest* thine own *conscience?* If thou art not unknown to be a Christian, then thou art tempted, and thou actest, contrary to the knowledge of the other, as though thou wert not a Christian. But then again[u] thou wilt be winked at! Thou hast been tried, and yielded up. Surely whether in the one way or the other thou art guilty of being ashamed of God. But *whosoever shall be ashamed of Me before men, of him will I also be ashamed before My Father which is in Heaven.*

1 Cor. 8, 7. Mat. 10, 33. Mark 8, 38.

XIV. But most men have now begun to think that it is pardonable if they do sometimes as the Heathen do, that

[s] i. e. is the Heathen whom thou joinest in these observances, to know thee to be a Christian, or no? If he know thee not, what gain? seeing it avails only to defile thy own conscience. If he know thee, then thou sinnest against his too, teaching him that there is no difference between Heathen and Christian.

[t] i. e. what gain in concealment, when it rather gives occasion to defile thyself?

[u] Plea of opponent, "He will not notice me, whether Christian or no. He will regard me simply as debtor or creditor." T. "Whatever thou art in man's sight, it *is* a trial, and thou wilt have failed." Addictus, is probably used as a law-term, "made over" into Satan's power, condemned.

the Name be not *blasphemed*[x]. But the blasphemy, which is by all means to be avoided by us, is, methinks, this: If any one of us lead an Heathen to blaspheme with good cause, either by deceiving, or by injuring, or by despitefully using another, or by any other cause of just complaint, for which our Name is deservedly attacked, so that the Lord also is deservedly wroth. But, if it be said of every blasphemy, *My Name is blasphemed through you*, then are we all utterly lost; since the whole circus doth by wicked voices attack that Name for no fault. Let us cease[y], and the Name will not be blasphemed. Rather let it be blasphemed, whilst we are abiding in, not falling out of, our course of duty; whilst we *are approved*, not whilst we *are reprobates*. O blasphemy akin to martyrdom! which attesteth that I am a Christian, at the very time when it for that cause protesteth against me! To speak evil of our observance of the Religion is to speak well of our Name. *If*, he saith, *I desired to please men, I should not be the servant of Christ*. But the same elsewhere commandeth that we should take care to please all men, *even as I*, saith he, *please all men in all things*. Did he forsooth please men by keeping the feast of Saturn, or the Kalends of January? or by *patience* and *meekness*, by *gravity*, by gentleness, by *sincerity?* In like manner when he saith, *I am made all things to all men, that I may gain all*, was he made an idolater to idolaters? an heathen to heathens? a worldly man to worldly men? For although he forbiddeth us not *to company with idolaters*, and adulterers, and other wicked persons, saying, *For then must ye needs go out of the world*, he doth not surely so change[z] the restraints upon our conversation, that, because we must needs live and mingle with sinners, we may therefore also sin with them. It is one thing to live together, which the Apostle alloweth: another to sin together, which no one alloweth. We may live with the heathen: we may not die with them. Let us live with all men: let us rejoice with them in that we have a common

Is. 52, 5. Rom. 2, 24.

2 Cor. 13, 7.

Gal. 1, 10. 1 Cor. 10, 32. 33.

2 Tim. 2, 25. Tit. 2, 7.

1 Cor. 9, 22.

1 Cor. 5, 10.

[x] by the Heathen, when provoked by the opposition of Christians.

[y] i. e. to be Christians.

[z] "immutat habenas." Lac. "immittit," "give the reins."

De Idol. VII. 15.

nature, not a common superstition. We have the like souls with them, not the like Religion: we share the same world, not the same error. But if we have no right of fellowship in such matters with aliens, how much more sinful is it for brethren to assort together therein! Who can endure or maintain this? The Holy Spirit reproacheth the Jews for their feast days. *Your sabbaths*, saith He, *and your new moons, and your ordinances, My soul hateth.* And do we, to whom these *sabbaths* belong not, nor *the new moons*, nor *the feast days* once beloved of God, celebrate the feasts of Saturn, and of January, and of the Winter solstice, and the feast of Matrons? For us shall offerings flow in? presents jingle? sports and feasts roar? Oh! truer fealty of the Heathen to their own religion; which taketh to itself no rite of the Christians! No Lord's Day, no Pentecost, even had they known, would they have shared with us! For they would be afraid, lest they should be thought Christians: we are not afraid lest we be openly declared to be heathens! If thou must needs have some indulgence for the flesh too[a], thou hast it; and thou hast not only as many days as they, but even more. For the heathen festival is on but one day in every year; thine upon every eighth day. Gather out the several solemn feasts of the Heathen, and set them out in order: they will not be able to make up a Pentecost.

Is. 1, 14.

Mat. 5, 16.

XV. But, saith the Scripture, *let your works shine:* yet now-a-days it is our taverns and our gates that shine. In these times thou wilt find more doors of Heathen than of Christian men without their lamps and laurels[b]. And of this kind of doings likewise what thinkest thou? If it be in honour of an idol, doubtless honour done to an idol is idolatry. If it be for the sake of a man, let us remember that all idolatry is committed for man's sake; let us remember that all idolatry is worship paid to man, seeing that it is allowed even by their own worshippers[c], that the gods of the Heathens themselves were formerly men. Therefore it mattereth nothing whether that superstitious worship be paid to the men of a former or of the present age. Idolatry

[a] During the Pentecostal season there was no fast. De Cor. c. 3.

[b] Apol. c. 35.

[c] Apol. c. 10. 11.

is condemned not on account of the persons who are set up in rivalry[1], but because of the services performed, which appertain unto dæmons. We must *render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's:* well that He hath added, *and unto God the things which are God's.* What then are *the things which are Cæsar's?* They are those, for instance, concerning which the question was then raised, whether *tribute* was to be *given to Cæsar or not.* Wherefore also the Lord required that *the tribute money* should be *shewn* to Him, and asked concerning *the image, whose* it was. And when He had heard that it was *Cæsar's*, He said, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's.* That is, *render unto Cæsar* the image *of Cæsar*, which is on the money, and *unto God*, the image *of God*, which is in man; so that thou givest unto Cæsar money, unto God thine own self. Otherwise, if all things be Cæsar's, what will be God's? Sayest thou then, 'The lamps before my doors and the laurel on my door-posts are in honour of God?' Surely it is not because they are an honour to God, but to him, who, in the stead of God, is honoured by such-like services, as far, that is, as they are seen, and saving those their effects, which are unseen, and appertain unto devils. For we ought to know of a surety, if there be any to whom, through ignorance of this world's learning, it is not known, that the Romans had gods even of their doors[d], Cardea so called from 'cardines[2],' and Foreulus from 'fores[3],' and Limentinus from 'limen[4],' and Janus himself from 'janua[5]:' and surely we know that, although these be empty and feigned names, still when they are drawn aside to superstition, dæmons and every unclean spirit take them to themselves, as bound to them, by consecration; otherwise the dæmons have no individual names; but wherever they find a token of themselves, there also they find a name. Among the Greeks also we read of Apollo Thyræus, and the dæmons called Antelii, the guardians of doors. The Holy Spirit therefore, foreseeing these things from the beginning, foretold by the most ancient of the Prophets, Enoch, that even doors[e] would become matters of superstition. For we see

[1] oppo-nuntur *restored*

Mat. 22, 21.

[2] hinges
[3] doors
[4] threshhold
[5] gate

[d] De Cor. c. 13. Scorp. c. 10. Cypr. de Idol. Van. c. 2.

[e] See above, on c. 4.

De Idol. VII. 15.

that other doors also, those in the baths[f], are worshipped. If therefore those things which are worshipped in the doors belong to these dæmons, then will both the lamps and the laurels belong to them. Whatsoever thou doest to the door, thou doest to the idol. In this place I bring a testimony from the authority even of God; for it is not safe to withhold whatsoever is revealed to one man alone, for the sake doubtless of all. I know a brother[g], who, because his servants had, on the sudden announcement of public rejoicings, hung a garland on his door, was in the same night grievously chastised in a vision. And yet he had neither himself hung the garland, nor ordered it to be hung, for he had beforehand gone abroad, and had blamed[h] the act on his return. Thus are we in these matters judged in the sight of God according to the religious conduct of our households also. Wherefore as respects the honour due to kings or emperors, we have the rule sufficiently laid down that we ought to be, according

Tit. 3, 1. to the precept of the Apostle, *subject to* magistrates and *princes and powers*, with all *obedience;* but this within the bounds of religious duty, and so long as we are separated

Dan. 3, 12, &c. from idolatry. For for this cause hath that example of the three brethren gone before, who being in other things obedient to King Nebuchadnezzar, most perseveringly refused honour to his image, proving that whatsoever exalteth the measure of human honour to the likeness of the Divine Majesty, is

Dan. 6, 5. &c. idolatry. So also Daniel, in other things leaning on[i] Darius, continued so long in his obedience as he avoided peril to his religion. For, that he might not submit to that, he feared no more the king's lions, than those did the king's fiery furnace. Let those therefore who have no light, light their lamps daily: let those over whom fires are hanging fix to their door posts laurels, hereafter to be burnt. To them such things are fitting, as proofs of darkness, and omens of

[f] See de Spect. c. 8. and n.

[g] See similar visions, de Spect. c. 26.

[h] Reprehenderat, A. &c. Others correct "deprehenderat, discovered," the two words are elsewhere interchanged in MSS. of Tertullian. In neither case is it implied that the master allowed the act; he was, in either, chastised for the disorder of his household. Comp. Clem. Al. Pædag. iii. 11. (ap. Lac.) "the dissoluteness of the maid returns back upon the mistress."

[i] Subnixus, here and de Patient. c. 4. signifies "subjection." It may be that T. had in his mind the use of "genibus nixus," and used "subnixus" as "bowed under," but in the de Pat. it is joined with an abl.

punishment. Thou art *the light of the world*, and *a tree that ever flourisheth*. If thou hast renounced temples, make not thine own door a temple. I have said too little. If thou hast renounced brothels, give not to thine own house the appearance of a new brothel[k]. Mat. 5, 14. Ps. 1, 3.

XVI. But as touching the duties which belong to private or domestic solemnities, those of putting on the plain gown[l], or those of espousals, or of nuptials, or of giving a name to a child, I cannot think that any danger need be guarded against, from the taint of the idolatry which is concerned in them. For we must consider the causes, for which the service is performed; these I think to be in themselves clean, because neither the manly dress, nor the ring, nor the nuptial union, is derived from the honour paid to any idol. Finally, I do not find any dress cursed by God, save that of a woman upon a man. *Cursed is every one*, saith He, *that putteth on a woman's garment*. But the gown, by its very name, is that of a man[m]. Nor doth God forbid a marriage to be celebrated, any more than a name to be given. 'But there are sacrifices attached to these things.' Let me be summoned thither, and let not the fulfilment of my office and service be any sign of aiding at the sacrifice, and they may do just what pleaseth themselves. Would it were just what pleaseth themselves[n]! and that we might not see those things, which it is unlawful for us to do. But since the Evil one hath so beset the world with idolatry, it will be permitted us to be present in certain matters, which admit us to do service to a man, not to an idol. Assuredly, if invited to act as a priest and to do sacrifice, I will not go, for this service properly pertaineth to the idol, nor will I ever act in such a matter by my counsel, by my purse, or by any other aid. If, being invited for the sake of the sacrifice, I stand by the sacrifice, I shall be a partaker in the idolatry. If any other cause attacheth me to him who is sacrificing, I shall be only a spectator of the sacrifice. Deut. 22, 5.

XVII. But what shall slaves and faithful freedmen do?

[k] Apol. c. 35.

[l] The white garment, taken on arriving at manhood or 17, toga pura or virilis.

[m] toga virilis.

[n] For, as it is does not please *us*, we should be exempt from attendance, if this rule were followed. [Tr.]

De Idol. VII. 18.

and officers attending upon their lords, or their patrons, or chief magistrates when offering sacrifice? Even if one delivereth the wine to him who sacrificeth, nay if he assisteth even by a single word proper to the sacrifice, he will be accounted a minister of idolatry. Mindful of this rule, we can render our services even to magistrates and powers, like the patriarchs and others before us[o], who attended upon idolatrous kings up to the borders[p] of idolatry. Hence the question arose but the other day, whether a servant of God may take upon himself the ministration of any dignity or authority, if, either through some favour, or even by cunning he can keep himself pure from every sort of idolatry, according as Joseph and Daniel, who were pure from idolatry, had the ministration both of dignity and authority, stood conspicuous in the badge and the purple[q] of all Egypt and Babylon. Let us allow then that a man may successfully contrive to move in any honourable office, and bear the name only of the office, and neither sacrifice, nor lend his authority to sacrifices, nor contract for victims, nor commit to others the care of temples, nor look after their revenues, nor exhibit shows at his own or the public expense, nor preside over their exhibition, nor make proclamation or edict for any solemnity, nor even take any oath; nor again, as respects acts of power, pass judgment on the life[r] or honour of any, (for thou mightest allow of his doing so with regard to their money,) nor sentence to punishment, nor enact the sentence beforehand, nor put any man in bonds, nor shut up any in prison, nor inflict torture upon any, if indeed it be credible that such things can be done.

XVIII. But we must now treat of the appendages alone and the outward pomp of such office[s]. Each hath his own

[o] Joseph and Daniel, as below.

[p] Not so as to set a foot within it.

[q] "Et purpura exstitere" restored, for which Rig. conjectured "præfecturæ," the Cod. Ag. having exturæ only.

[r] Lac. interprets this of enforcing the laws against Christians; but Tertullian speaks as explicitly against the execution of personal punishments by a Christian, de Cor. c. 11. and so probably equally deprecated that a Christian should adjudge to them. Yet he speaks of justice even in capital punishment by *secular* authority, as exerted "in man's behalf," and "religious in its severity," (de An. c. 33.) and contrasts "violent ends, decreed by justice, the avenger of violence" with the "savageness of tortures." (ib. c. 56.) It may then only be that he held it unlawful unless necessary, not to be discharged by a Christian, of free choice.

[s] De Spect. c. 12.

proper dress, as well for daily use, as for the honour and dignity of his office. Wherefore the purple, and the gold, the ornaments of the neck, were marks of dignity among the Ægyptians and Babylonians, in the same manner as in these days, the bordered, and the striped, and the palm-embroidered robes, and the golden crowns of the provincial priests; but not under the same conditions: for they were bestowed on those, who deserved the familiar friendship of kings, only for the sake of honour; (whence also they were called the 'empurpled' of kings[t], from 'purpura,' as men are called with us 'candidates' from 'toga candida;') but not that this appendage should be attached to priesthoods also, or any other offices pertaining to idols. For had it been so, surely men of such sanctity and constancy would at once have refused the polluted garments; and it would have appeared at once, as it did appear long afterwards, that Daniel had not served idols, and did not worship Bel and the dragon. The mere purple dress therefore was not even a mark of high office among the Barbarians, but of high birth: even as Joseph also, who had been a slave, and Daniel, who through captivity had changed his condition, obtained the rights of free-men in Babylon and Ægypt, wearing the dress of barbarian nobility. So to the believer among us, if need be, the bordered gown of boyhood, and the lady's robe might be allowed, as marks of birth not of power; of family not of honour; of rank not of superstition. But the purple or other marks of dignity and power, being from the beginning devoted to the idolatry engrafted on dignity and power, bear the stain of their own profanation; since moreover these bordered and striped robes and latielavi are put even upon the idols themselves[u], and the fasces and rods are carried before them. And with good cause: for devils are the rulers of this world: they bear the ensigns of one[1] and the same body, the fasces and the purple robes. What point then wilt thou gain, if thou usest the dress, though thou do not the works of the office? No man can be accounted clean in unclean things. If thou put on a

[1] unius *restored*

[t] e. g. Liv. 30. 42. Sopatrum ex purpuratis et propinquis regis esse.

[u] Vopisc. in vit. Firmi ap. Lac. Plin. (ix. 36.) says, "purple was used for propitiating the gods."

De Idol. VII. 17.

garment, which of itself is defiled, it may perchance not be defiled through thee, but thou canst not, through it, be clean. Moreover now thou that arguest concerning Joseph and Daniel, know that old things are not always to be compared with new, barbarous with civilized customs, things begun with things completed, things pertaining to slaves with things pertaining to free-men. For these men also were, in their estate, servants; but thou, who art no man's servant, inasmuch as thou art Christ's alone, Who hath also freed thee from the captivity of the world, oughtest to live according to the rule of the Lord. That Lord walked in humility and lowliness, having no certain home, for He saith, *The Son of Man hath not where to lay His head:* in dress unadorned, for else He would not have said, *Behold, they that wear soft clothing are in king's houses:* finally in visage and aspect without *beauty*[x], as also Esaias had foretold. If He exercised no right of power even over His own people, to whom He rendered the mean office of a servant; if finally He avoided being made a king, though knowing that He was a King; He gave most fully a rule to His people, in thus melting away the loftiness and pomp as well of dignity as of power. For who should more have used these honours than the Son of God? what fasces, and how many, would attend Him forth! what purple glisten from His shoulders! what gold gleam from His head, if he had not determined that the glory of this world was foreign to Him and to His people! That glory therefore, which He would not have, He hath rejected; that which He rejected He hath condemned; that which He condemned He hath concluded under the 'pomp of the Devil.' For He would not have condemned, save what were not His own; but the things which are not of God could not be of any other save the Devil. If thou hast 'renounced the pomp of the Devil,' know that whatsoever thereof thou touchest, is idolatry; let even this admonish thee, that all the powers and dignities of the world are not only foreign, but likewise hostile to God, because through these are punishments devised against the servants of God, through these even the penalties prepared for the wicked, unknown[1]. But thy birth and thy fortune are an hindrance to thee in

1 Cor. 7, 23.

Matt. 8, 20.

Mat. 11, 8.

Is. 53, 2.

[1] ignorantur *restored*

[x] See note F. at the end of this treatise.

resisting idolatry.' To avoid this there can be no lack of remedies, for, though they be wanting, the single one[y] at least remaineth, whereby[1] thou art thus promoted to a richer dignity, not in earth but in Heaven.

[1] quo *restored*

XIX. Under this head we might seem to have determined the rule concerning the profession of the soldier[z] also, which is something between dignity and power. But now ariseth this question, whether a believer can turn himself to the profession of a soldier, and whether a soldier can be admitted to the Christian Faith, even from the ranks, or one of a still lower grade, who is not obliged to deal with sacrifices or capital punishments. There is no agreement between the divine and human sacrament, the standard of Christ and the standard of the Devil, the camp of light and the camp of darkness. One soul cannot be bound to two masters, to God and to Cæsar. Even Moses carried a rod[a], and Aaron wore a clasp[b], and John was girt with a leather girdle[c], and Joshua the son of Naue led an army, and the people made war, if we choose to sport with the subject. But how will they make war, yea how will they be soldiers in peace[d], without the sword, which the Lord hath taken away? For even though soldiers came to John and received their rule of duty, even though a centurion was a believer, the Lord, in disarming Peter, thenceforth disarmed every soldier. No dress is lawful for us, which is assigned to an unlawful action.

Luke 3, 14. John 18, 11.

XX. But seeing that the conversation, which is according to the Divine law, is put in peril not only by acts but even by words, (for as it is written, *Behold the man and his deeds*, so is it also written, *Out of thy mouth thou shalt be justified*,) we ought to remember that the inroads of idolatry, whether through the fault of evil habit or of cowardice, must be guarded against even in words. The law forbiddeth the gods of the Heathens to be named, not indeed that we may not pronounce their names, which our daily converse com-

Mat. 12, 37.

[y] Martyrdom.
[z] de cor. c. 11.
[a] Which the centurion also bore.
[b] As the soldiers on the shoe.
[c] Answering to the soldier's belt.
[d] de cor. c. 12.
[e] The same text is quoted in the Meditations, ap. S. Aug. c. 39. Perhaps it is taken from 2 Kings ix. 11.

De Idol. VII.21. pelleth us to mention. For we must often say: 'Thou wilt find him in the temple of Æsculapius;' or 'I live in the street of Isis;' and 'he hath been appointed a priest of Jupiter;' and many other things of like sort, since names of this kind are introduced even amongst men. For I honour not Saturn, if they have so called[1] any by his name; I honour him no more than I honour Mark, if I call a man Mark. But it saith, *The name of other gods shall not be mentioned, neither shall it be heard out of thy mouth.* This hath it commanded, that we should not call them gods. For in the first part of the law also it is said, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God for a vain thing*, that is, 'for an idol.' He therefore that hath honoured an idol with the Name of God, hath fallen into idolatry. But if I must needs speak of these gods, I must add somewhat, whereby it may appear that I do not call them gods. For even Scripture nameth the gods, but addeth the words, *their* or *of the nations;* as David doth, when he had named the gods, when he saith, *All the gods of the nations are devils.* This, however, I have advanced, rather as preparatory to future remarks. But it is the fault of an evil habit to say, "by Hercules," "so help me Jupiter's son," besides the ignorance of some who know not that they are swearing by Hercules. Moreover what else will an oath be, sworn by them whom thou hast forsworn, than a juggling of faith with idolatry? for who honoureth not those, by whom he sweareth?

[1] vocavere

Exod. 23, 13.

Exod. 20, 7.

Ps. 96, 5.

XXI. But it is the fault of cowardice, when another bindeth thee by his own gods, through an oath or any other form of testimony, and thou, lest thou be discovered, remainest silent; for by remaining silent thou dost equally affirm that majesty of theirs, for the sake of which thou wilt seem to be bound. What doth it matter whether thou affirm the gods of the Heathens to be gods, by calling them, or by hearing them called so? whether thou swear by idols, or, being adjured by another, consent by thy silence? Why do we not recognize the devices of Satan, who taketh care to accomplish by the mouth of his own people, that, which he cannot accomplish by our mouth, instilling idolatry into us through our ears? Surely whosoever he be, in thus binding thee, he closeth with thee either as a friend or as an

enemy: if as an enemy, then thou art summoned to do battle, and knowest that thou hast a fight to fight: if as a friend, how much more safely wilt thou turn thine answer to the Lord, so as to break the bond of the man, through whose means the Evil one sought to bind thee to the honour of idols, that is, to idolatry! All patience of this sort is idolatry. Thou honourest those to whom, when forced upon thee, thou hast yielded compliance. I know that a man, (whom God forgive,) when it was said to him in public during a dispute, 'The wrath of Jupiter be upon thee,' answered, 'and upon thee also[e].' What else could an Heathen have done, who believed Jupiter to be a god? Even if he had not retorted the curse in the name of the same god, nor of any one like unto Jupiter, he had affirmed that Jupiter was a god, through whom being cursed he had, by cursing again, shewn himself to have been angered thereby. For why shouldest thou be angry, when cursed in the name of one whom thou knowest to be nought? For if thou art made furious, thou at once provest him to be something, and the confession of thy fear will be idolatry. How much more, when thou cursest again by the god himself, dost thou do honour to Jupiter by the same means as he who provoked thee! But the believer ought in such a case to laugh, not to become furious: yea, according to the commandment, thou oughtest not to curse again even by God, but altogether to bless in God's Name, that thou mayest both overthrow the idols, and proclaim God, and fulfil the law of righteousness.

XXII. In like manner he that hath been admitted into the Faith of Christ, will not endure to be blessed in the name of the gods of the Heathen, so that he will ever refuse the unclean blessing, and, by turning to God, will make it clean unto himself. To be blessed in the name of the gods of the Heathen is to be cursed in God's name. If I shall give alms to any one, or do him any kindness, and he shall pray that his gods, or the presiding Genius of the colony, may be propitious to me, immediately my oblation or my work will be an honour to those idols, in whose name he repayeth me

[e] imo tibi; apparently a formula used, "faciet tibi sic bene Cæsar, Sic Capitolinus Jupiter; imo tibi. Martial, l. v. ap. Lac.

De Idol. VII. 23. 1 Pet. 4, 11.

by the return of his blessing. But why should he not know that I did it for the sake of God, *that* both *God may be* th rather *glorified*, and devils not be honoured by that which did for the sake of God? But 'God seeth that I did it fo His sake.' Yea, and He likewise seeth that I was unwillin to shew that I did it for His sake, and that I have in som measure rendered that, which He hath commanded, a offering to an idol. Many say, no one is bound openly t avow himself: nor, as I think, to disown himself; fo disown himself he doth, whosoever being treated in an matter as an Heathen dissembleth. And indeed all dis owning is idolatry, even as all idolatry is disowning, eithe in deeds or in words.

XXIII. But there is a certain kind of such idolatry, bot in deeds and in words, two-edged and hurtful on both sides though it win upon thee, as though it were clear in bot respects, nothing appearing to be done, because nothing i laid hold of as said. They who borrow money from th Heathen, bound by the faith of pledges, being adjured, giv a bond of security, and so deny that they have knowledge o the oath. They want forsooth a time of persecution, an a seat of judgment, and the presence of the magistrat Mat. 5, 34. Christ teacheth that we must *swear not at all*. 'I hav written,' saith one, 'but I have spoken nothing: it is th tongue, not the writing, which killeth.' Here I appeal t Nature and to Conscience: to Nature, because although th tongue, being unmoved and silent, have no part in dictating still the hand can write nothing, which the mind doth no dictate: though even to the tongue itself the mind dictatet either that which is conceived in itself, or that which hat been delivered by another. Now, let it be said, 'anothe dictated;' I here appeal to the Conscience, whether or n the mind conceiveth that which another hath dictated, an (be the tongue partaking or quiescent) transmitteth it to th hand? And well is it that the Lord hath said that sin i cf. Mat. 5, 21 et seq. committed in the mind and in the conscience. "If," saith He, "the evil desire or the evil thought come up into th heart of a man, thou art held guilty of the act." Thou therefore hast given a bond of security, which surely hath *come up into thine heart*, since thou canst neither conten

that thou didst not know, nor that thou didst not will it. For when thou gavest the bond, thou hadst knowledge of it, and when thou knewest, thou didst assuredly also will it; and thou art guilty as well in deed as in thought; nor canst thou, by the lighter charge, bar the graver one, so as to say that it is altogether rendered false, by thy giving a bond for that which thou dost not actually perform. 'Yet I have made no denial, because I have sworn no oath.' Nay, but notwithstanding thou hadst done nothing of this kind, yet thou wouldest be said to have sworn, if thou hast consented. Hath not a word understood in writing, and a mute sound in letters, its force? Again, Zacharias when he was punished by the loss of his voice for a season, having conferred with his mind, passeth over his useless tongue, dictateth from his heart to his hands, and pronounceth without a mouth the name of his son. In his pen there speaketh, and in his waxen tablet there is heard, a hand clearer than any sound, a writing more vocal than any mouth. Ask whether he hath spoken, who is found to have uttered words. Let us pray to the Lord that the necessity of such a contract as this may never press upon us: and should it chance to do so, may He give to our brethren the means of doing good to us, or to ourselves boldness to rid ourselves of all such necessity, lest these writings which deny our Religion, standing in the place of our words, be brought forward against us in the day of judgment, sealed with the seals no longer of advocates but of angels.

XXIV. Amidst these rocks and bays, amidst these shoals and straits of idolatry, Faith wafted onwards by the Spirit of God holdeth her course: safe while on her guard, secure while in amazement. But for those who are cast overboard, there is an abyss whence none can swim; for those who strike upon a rock, there is a wreck whence none can escape; for those who are swallowed up there is in idolatry a whirlpool where none can breathe: every wave thereof choketh, every eddy sucketh down to hell. Let no man say, 'Who shall so safely guard himself? we *must needs go out of the world*.' As if it were not as good to go out, as to remain an idolater in the world. Nothing can be easier than to guard against idolatry, if the fear of it be our chief

1 Cor. 5, 10.

De Idol. VII. 24. Acts 15, 6.

fear; every necessity is of secondary account when compared with so great a peril. For this cause the Holy Spirit, when the Apostles in their days *considered of the matter*, loosened the bond and *yoke* which was upon us, that we might have nought to do, save to avoid idolatry. This shall be our law. The lighter its burden, the more perfectly should it be administered; a law proper to Christians, by which we are known and examined by Heathens. This must be propounded to such as are approaching towards the Faith, and inculcated on such as are entering upon the Faith, that they may deliberate while yet approaching, but when in the service may deny themselves. For it mattereth not whether, after the figure of the ark, the raven[f], and the kite, and the wolf, and the dog, and the serpent shall be in the Church: the idolater is assuredly not contained within the figure of the ark. No animal was made an emblem of the idolater. That which was not in the ark, may not be in the Church.

[f] The "raven" was regarded as the type of those, generally, who fell back to the world; (S. Hil. in Ps. 146. §. 11. 12. S. Aug. c. Faust. xii. 20 S. Ambr. de Myst. c. 3 see Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, p. 307. 309. ed. 2) the 'kite' of rapacity; the 'wolf' of cruelty; (feritate lupos, rapacitate milvos vincere, Jer. Ep. 68. ad Castiut. §. 1. quoted by Lac.) the 'dog' of uncleanness, (2 Pet. 2, 22. Chrys. Orat. 2. in Jud. [iv. §. 6. ed. Ben.] ap. Lac.)

Note F, on c. xviii. p. 246.

Tertullian seems to understand the words of Isaiah 53, 3. literally, as though the absence of every thing highly accounted of among men were part of His humiliation, (c. Marc. iii. 7. and adv. Jud. c. 14. "nec adspectu quidem honestus;" c. Marc. iii. 17. at length; de carne Christi c. 9. very explicitly;) T. however speaks of lowliness, of absence of any outward dignity or majesty to command respect, of what might readily be despised, not as M. Medina and others (ap. Moreau t. 1. Hæreses Tert. p. 54. Christus indecorus) say, that He was "non speciosus forma, sed fœdus et deformis." Thus in the de c. C. "These, Matt. 13, 54. were the words of persons despising His appearance. So that He had not a body even of human dignity (honestatis) much less of heavenly brightness." It is also true, (as Moreau contends) that T. uses these terms, partly, in reference to His sufferings and indignities at the hands of men; as l. c. "Were even the prophets silent as to the absence of dignity (ignobili) in His aspect,

His very sufferings, His very indignities, speak; the sufferings, of a human flesh, the indignities, of one undignified" (inhonestam), but not exclusively, since he argues that had He had the dignity of a heavenly countenance, they had not dared this; and adv. Jud. he distinguishes the "*nec* adspectu, &c." from the rest. T., on the other hand, explains Ps. 45, 2. exclusively of "spiritual beauty," adv Marc. iii. 17. The passages of S. Clem. Alex. Pæd. iii. 1. τὴν ὄψιν αἴσχρον in reference to Is. 53. (coll. Strom. ii. 5.) will from the contrast, have the same meaning, of contrast with, and absence of, human beauty. So again, very plainly, Strom. vi. 17. (p. 293. ed. Sylb.) εὐτελὴς is opposed to a beautifulness, which would fix the mind on itself; "Not without purpose did the Lord will to employ a lowly form of body, lest any praising the comeliness and admiring the beauty, should be distracted from the things said;" and Strom. iii. 17. p. 202. "He Himself, the Head of the Church, passed the life in the flesh, unattractive and without form (ἀηδὴς καὶ ἄμορφος) teaching us to look up to the invisible (ἀειδὲς) and incorporeal of the Divine Cause." In like way when Celsus had said, that whereas it was "impossible that whoso had something Divine above others, should not differ from others," but that His form "was, as they say, small and δυσειδὲς and abject" (ἀγενὲς), Origen admits the δυσειδὲς, "but not, as Celsus explains it, abject, nor is it clearly shewn that it was small," (c. Cels. vi. §. 65.) S. Basil, again, (in Ps. 44) says only negatively that it "does not celebrate beauty of person, for we have seen Him and He hath no beauty, &c." Is. 53. So S. Aug. in Ps. 43. §. 16. "As man He had neither beauty nor comeliness; but He was beautiful in form in That, whereby He is 'above the sons of men.'" Ps. 45. "Therefore manifesting that forma deformis of the flesh," &c. and on Ps. 118. "The Bridegroom Himself, lovely not in outward form but in excellency."

It appears, further, that these writers do not rest on any tradition (for Celsus', "they say," implies, at most, only a current notion in his day,) but on an exposition of a prophecy; and, therefore, their words are not to be taken further than the prophecy bears, if interpreted of the outward form, "absence of outward comeliness."

This same passage of Isaiah is by others interpreted of the "marring of His countenance" through His sufferings; (whence the Jews thought that He was near "fifty years old;") and this is evidently the meaning of Thaddæus in the document from the Syriac, ap. Eus. i. 13. "of the power of His works and the mysteries which He spake in the world—of the lowness and meanness and humiliation of the Man, Who appeared visibly, and how He humbled Himself and died and minished His Divinity." This T. himself joins with the other meaning, and S. Aug. gives it as *the* meaning, in Ps. 44. §. 3. and in Ps. 127. §. 8. "That Bridegroom than Whom nothing is more beautiful, of Whom Esaias said a little before, 'We saw Him, and He had no beauty nor comeliness.' Is then our Bridegroom unlovely? (fœdus)—He seemed unlovely to those who persecuted Him, and unless they had deemed Him unlovely, they had not assaulted, had not scourged, had not crowned with thorns, had not dishonoured Him with spittings; but because He seemed to them unlovely, they did those things unto Him, for they had not

NOTE ON DE IDOL.

the eyes to which Christ would appear lovely—Those eyes are to b cleansed, that they may be able to see that light;" which gives a sort c comment on T.'s stronger language de carne Christi, l. c. Theodore explains Is. 53. 2, 3. of His sufferings (in Ps. 44.)

This passage of S. Aug. further shews that these Fathers did not think c what we should mean by "meanness of counteuance" and the like, but onl a lowliness of the outward form, which (as is the case often now in suc degrees of moral dignity as men may reach unto) had nothing attractiv except for those who had a certain sympathy with it, and whose eyes wer purified to see the hidden Majesty. Thus Origen, who admitted th δυσιδὶς imputed by Celsus, says, (Comm. in Matt. §. 100. t. iii. p. 906. ed. d la Rue al. Tr. 35.) "A tradition has come down to us of Him, that ther were not only two forms in Him, one according to which all saw Him another, according to which He was transfigured before His disciples in th mount, when His countenance also shone as the sun, but that He appeare to each according as he was worthy. And being the Same, He appeare as though He were not the Same to all;" (which O. likens to the Manna Wisd. 16, 20. 21.) "And this tradition does not appear to me incredible whether as relates to the body, on account of Jesus Himself, that H appeared in different ways to men, or on account of the very nature of th Word, which does not appear alike to all." And S. Jerome (in Ps. 44 Ep. 65. ad Princip. §. 8.) having explained Is. 53, 2. of His sufferings and Ps. 45. of the "beauty of His excellencies in a sacred and Adorable Body," subjoins, "for had He not had in His countenance and eyes a sor of starry lustre, neither had the Apostles instantly followed Him, no they who had come to seize Him fallen to the ground," and this, (o S. Matt. 9, 9.) he explains not to belong to the human countenance, bu the Divinity gleaming through. "Certainly the very brightness and majesty of the hidden Divinity, which shone through in His human countenance, could at first sight draw beholders to Himself. For if th magnet and amber are said to have the power to join to themselves rings and straws, how much more could the Lord of all creatures draw to Himself whom He would!"

OF BAPTISM.

[The De Baptismo seems to have been written before Tertullian's fall; in that he says, c. 15, "the very privation of communion testifieth that they [heretics] are aliens," which he would hardly have said, had he himself been out of communion with the Church. Lumper (c. 3. art. 3. §. 4.) infers the same from the Bishops being placed first, whereas according to S. Jerome (Ep. 41. ol. 213. ad Marcell. c. Montan. §. 3.) the Montanists (like a modern sect) had two orders above them; he notices also a different tone in speaking of Bishops, here and in the de Pudicit. c. i.; and that the Acta Theclæ, against which Tertullian speaks, (c. 17.) were probably written by Leucius, whom Pacian says, (Ep. i. ad Sympr. init.) that the Montanists said falsely that they derived their origin "animatos a Leucio mentiuntur."]

I. Happy the Sacrament of our water! whereby being cleansed from the sins of our former blindness, we are made free unto eternal life [a]! A discussion of this matter will not be idle, as instructing both those who are most perfectly informed, and those also, who content with simply believing, without examining the bearings of traditions, carry about with them through ignorance a belief which recommendeth itself, yet untried. And therefore a certain most venomous serpent of the heresy of the Cainites [b], lately dwelling in these parts, hath carried away very many with her doctrine, beginning with the overthrow of Baptism; plainly according to her nature; for vipers, and asps, and king-serpents [c],

[a] See below, c. 2. 3. 5. Clem. Pæd. i. 6. [p. 41. 2 ed. Sylb.] S. Ambr. de El. et jejun. fin. Ep. [63] ad Vercc. Eccl. [§. 11.] S. Chrys. ap Aug. c. Jul. i. §. 21. [Pam.] Chrys. in Matt. Hom. 12.

[b] See on this sect de Præscript. c. 33. adv. omn. Hæret. c. 3. They, as well as the Manichæans, (see S. Aug. Conf. iv. §. 8. note, Oxf. Transl.) followed out the tenet of the impurity of matter, so as to reject Baptism with water. S. Jerome alludes to this rejection, (Ep. 69. ad Ocean. init.) using the same metaphors. "The Cainite heresy ariseth against me, and the viper who had once perished lifteth up her bruised head and overthroweth the Sacrament of Christ, not in part, as formerly, [i. e. as to the matter,] but wholly;" in that it was denied that all sin was forgiven in it. add S. Cypr. Ep. ad Magn. fin.

[c] The Basilisk, hasiliscus, regulus, βασιλεὺς, βασιλίσκος, ملكة, is a specially deadly serpent, and peculiar to Africa, see Bochart. (Hieroz. p. ii. l. 3. c. 9. 10.) who identifies it with the צפעני, צפע of H. Scr.; add S. Jerome, Ep. 69. ad Ocean. §. 6.

De Bapt. VIII. 1.

themselves mostly seek after places that are dry and without water. But we poor fishes, following after our IXΘΥΣ[d], Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor are we safe, except by abiding in the water. Therefore that most monstrous woman Quintilla[e], who had not the right to teach[f] even pure doctrine, knew excellently well how to kill the fishes, by taking them out of the water.

1 Tim. 2, 12.

II. But now how great is the force of perverseness in overthrowing the Faith, or in preventing its being received at all, when it impugneth it by the very arguments by which it is established! In truth there is nothing which so hardeneth the minds of men, as the simplicity of the Divine works as visible in the act, and their greatness promised in the effect: so that in this case also, because a man going down into the water, and being with few words washed therein, with so much simplicity, without pomp, without any novel preparation, and finally without expense, riseth again not much or not a whit the cleaner, therefore his gaining Eternity is thought incredible. I am much mistaken if the rites and mysteries pertaining to idols on the contrary build not their credit and authority on their equipments and their outward show and their sumptuousness. O wretched unbelief! who deniest to God His own proper qualities, simplicity and power! What then? Is it not wonderful that death should be washed away[g] by a mere bath? Yea, but if because it is wonderful, it be therefore not believed, it ought on that account the rather to be believed[h]. For what else should the works of God be but above all wonder? We ourselves also wonder, but because we believe: while un

[d] See S. Aug. Conf. xiii. c. 21. note.

[e] S. Epiphanius mentions a female so named, as the authoress of an obscure subdivision of the Montanists called Quintillians, (Hær. 49. c. 1. 2. 51. c. 33.) She is not named in Eusebius, v. 16. and 18. nor is there any ground to identify her with this person. The Montanists did not reject Baptism. Tertullian, when a Montanist, says, "Among us also, the heretic too, as on a footing with, yea, worse than a heathen, is admitted, cleansed from the old man of both (heathenism and heresy) by Baptism." The chief prophetess of the Montanists was Maximilla: the Priscilla.

[f] "A woman is not permitted to speak in the Church; neither to teach nor to baptize, nor to make the oblation, nor dare she claim any single man's, much less any priestly, office." de Virg. vel. c. 9. add inf. c. 17. de Præscr. c. 41.

[g] Below, c. 5. adv. Marc. i. 8.

[h] Such is, doubtless, the meaning of the saying "Credo, quia impossibile est," i. e. with man, and in man's sight, and to man's reason. Tertullian speaks, just below, of "impossibilia," as the materials of the Divine working.

belief wondereth and believeth not, for it wondereth at simple things, as foolish, and at great things, as impossible. And be it altogether as thou thinkest, yet hath the declaration of God sufficiently prevented thee in both points. *God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wisdom thereof*, and, *the things which are exceeding difficult with men, are easy with God.* For if God be both wise and powerful, which even those who pass Him by deny not, with good cause placeth He the materials of His operations in the contraries of wisdom and power, that is in foolishness and impossibility, since every excellence taketh its rise from those things by which it is called forth[i].

1 Cor. 1, 27. Luke 18, 27.

III. Remembering this declaration, as one precluding farther question, let us nevertheless consider this mighty foolishness and impossibility that man should be re-formed by water. How, in fact, hath this material thing deserved an office of so much dignity? We must, I suppose, demand the authority of the liquid element. But of this there is abundance, and that from the beginning. For it is one of those things which, before the world was furnished with any thing, remained as yet in a rude form, quiescent in the hands of God. *In the beginning* (he saith) *God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was over the deep, and the Spirit of God was borne over the waters.* Thou hast first, O man, to reverence the age of *the waters*, in that they are an ancient substance, next their dignity, in that they were the seat of *the Spirit of God*[k], to wit, because more pleasing to Him, even then, than the rest of the elements. For there was as yet a total shapeless darkness[l], without the adorning of the stars, and there was the gloomy deep, and the earth unprepared, and the heaven unformed: water alone, a matter ever perfect, cheerful, simple, pure of its own nature, supplied a vehicle worthy of God. What shall I say of the disposition of the world having been thereupon based in

Gen. 1, 1.

[i] i. e. His wisdom and power are the more seen in bringing wisdom out of what seems foolishness, and working by means which seem impossible.

[k] See S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Cyril Jerus. S. Hippolytus, quoted "Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism," p. 359, 60. ed. 2. (Tracts for the Times, vol. 2. No. 67.)

[l] Imitated by S. Jerome, Ep. 69. ad Ocean. ib.

De Bapt. VIII. 4. a manner by God upon water as its regulating principle For that He might suspend the *firmament* of Heaven *in th midst*, He did so by *dividing the waters*; and that He migh suspend *the dry land*, He set it free by separating *th waters*[m]. When, the world being afterwards dispose according to its elements, inhabitants were given unto i it was commanded to *the waters* first to *bring forth livin creatures;* water first brought forth that which had life, s that there might be no wonder, if in Baptism the wate should be able to give life[n]. For even the work of formin man himself was accomplished by the waters joining the aid. The material was formed of the earth, yet not f for use unless moist and full of juice, which, in fact, th waters, separated before the fourth day to their own plac had, through the moisture which remained behind, mad by their admixture, clay. If after this I were to go on t all or to any more of what I can say of the authority of thi element, how great its power or its grace, how many con trivances, how many services, how mighty an instrume it furnisheth to the world, I am afraid lest I should see rather to have collected together praises of water than argu ments for baptism, although I should thus more fully shew that we ought not to doubt whether God hath made tha matter to obey[o] Him in His own Sacraments also, which H hath disposed through all things and all His works; whethe that, which ruleth the earthly life, minister also in the heavenly

Gen. 1, 6. 7. v. 9, 10. v. 20.

IV. But it will be sufficient to have briefly premised thes things, among which is also recognized that first notice Baptism, whereby[l] even at that time it was, by the ver posture[p], fore-signified as a figure of Baptism, that *the Spir of God*, Which, *in the beginning, was borne above the water* will still abide upon the waters as the Baptizer[q]. But a

[l] qua

[m] See Fathers ib. p. 358. note 1. Liturgies ib. p. 364. note.

[n] ib. p. 358. note 2. S. Cypr. ad Donat. §. 2. p. 2. Oxf. Transl.

[o] if parēre (and then it stands in contrast with "gubernat," "*ruleth* the earthly life," which, however, is more immediately contrasted with "procurat," "*minister* in,") or if parĕre, "hath made to be the source of life," as a little before.

[p] See note r, p. 259.

[q] Intinctorem; in like way as S Augustine so frequently insists that a Baptism is not man's (not Peter's, no Paul's, as John's was his) but Christ' (see Scriptural Views, p. 192 sqq. e 2.) Rig. has intinctorum, "abid upon the waters of the baptized," i. wherein men are baptized; but this either conjecture or an erratum. Ge

Holy Thing was surely borne above an holy, or that which bore borrowed holiness from that which was borne above it; since every substance lying beneath[r] must needs catch the quality of that which lieth above: specially the bodily that of the spiritual, which, by the subtlety of its own nature, can easily penetrate and sink into it. Thus the nature of water sanctified by the Holy One, itself also received the power of sanctifying. Let no one say, 'Are we then washed in the same waters which were then, *in the beginning?*' Assuredly not in the same, unless so far as the genus is the same, while the species are many: and whatever is attributed to the genus appeareth again in the species[s] also. And therefore there is no difference whether a man be washed in the sea or in a pool, in a river or in a fountain, in a lake or in a canal: nor is there[t] any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan, and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber, unless that eunuch too, whom Philip baptized on his journey, in the water on which they chanced, received thereby more or less saving benefit. Wherefore all waters, from the ancient privilege of their origin, obtain, after prayer to God[u], the sacrament of sanctification. For the Spirit straightway cometh down from the Heavens above, and is over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and so sanctified they imbibe the power of sanctifying. Besides, for the simple act the similitude of the things may suffice, so that since we are defiled by sins, as though by dirt, we should be cleansed by water. But as our sins do not appear upon the flesh, (for no man carrieth upon his skin the stain of idolatry, or adultery, or theft[x],) so persons of this sort are filthy in the spirit, which is the author of sin. For the spirit

and Pam. have, intinctos reformaturum, "to re-form the baptized;" but the authority does not seem so good.

[r] T. perhaps uses subjecta in a twofold sense; "lying beneath," and, as implied by the position, "subject."

[s] "in specie redundat," as Cic. pro Balb. c. 25. "ut sermones—etiam ad vestras aures permanarent, et in judicio ipso redundarent," [Tr.] else it might be, specie (=speciem) "passeth over to the species."

[t] i. e. thus far; T. is speaking of the element as affecting the Baptisms, not of the Baptisms; it is an argument à fortiori; had the Jordan any special sacredness, John's had been better than Christian Baptism, whereas the contrary is strongly stated, c. 10.

[u] On the consecration of the water of Baptism, see authorities in Bingham, 11. 10.

[x] Instanced as deadly sins in the de Idol. c. 1. Murder is omitted, as having mostly some stains, c. 1.

De Bapt. VIII. 5.

ruleth, the flesh serveth; nevertheless each shareth the guil the one with the other, the spirit for commanding, the fles for obeying. Wherefore, the waters being in a certai manner endued with power to heal by the intervention of th Angel[y], the spirit is washed in the water after a carn manner, and the flesh cleansed in the same after a spiritu manner.

V. But then the heathen, who are strangers to the unde standing of spiritual things, give to their own idols a powe of equal efficacy: but they deceive themselves with me solitary water. For they are admitted by washing[z] to certai sacred rites, of a certain Isis, or Mithra. Even the gods then selves they exalt by washings[a]. For the rest, water ever where carried about, maketh expiation, by sprinkling, f town and country houses, temples and entire cities[b]. Certainl they are baptized at the games of Apollo and those Eleusis; and this they suppose that they do unto regenera tion[c], and impunity in their perjuries. So also among th ancients, whosoever had stained himself with murder wa wont to make expiation for himself by the water of purifica tion[d]. Wherefore if men make much of water, as ominou

[potestatem restored]

[y] See below, c. 6. and note.

[z] De Præscr. c. 40. Aug. c. Don. vi. 25. "In many sacrilegious rites of idols, persons are reported to be baptized." Clem. Strom. v. 11. p. 248. ed. Sylb. "Not without ground then are the purifications (τὰ καθάρσια) the commencement of the mysteries of the Greeks, as among the Barbarians [i. e. Christians], also the bath," add vii. 4. p. 303. Justin M. Apol. i. 62. Apul. Metam. ix. p. 394. Polyæn. Strateg. l. v. in Herael. Diod. Sic. l. i. ap. Marsham Chron. Sæc. 9. p. 191. (Bapt. Ebr.) Gyrald. Syntagm. 17. t. i. p. 523. Telemachus, and Penelope, in Homer, wash before praying, see Hoffm. v. Lotio.

[a] Minerva at the Plynteria; see Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 24. Cybele on the iv Kal. Apr. see Hoffm. v. Lavatio Matris Deum.

[b] in the Ambarvale (=arva ambire) amburbale (=urbem ambire) Lucan. i. 592. ap. Hoffm. in v.

[c] T. looking upon the heathen rites, as copied from the Jewish, (as, doubtless, they were, in as far as they were not the expressions of nature itself,) ar so, anticipations of the Christian Sacr ments, (in part, also, as suggested b Satan in conformity with the intim tions of propheey, see above, on Apo c. 22.) seems himself to have applie in his energetic way of speaking, th Christian term to them; for "regener tion" is no where ascribed to th heathen rite; he explains his ow meaning, by what follows when h instances the expiation of great crime They looked also for a happier futur The Schol. on Aristoph. Pax. (a Warburton Div. Leg. ii. 4.) says, "A opinion prevailed among the Athenian that whoso was taught the mysteri after his departure hence obtain Divine honour; wherefore also all eager hasted to the mysteries." See othe ibid. Marsham Chron. Sæc. xi. c. ἔδη

[d] e. g. Virg. Æn. ix. 818. "Apol ap. Pans. l. x Hercules ap. Diod. Si l. iv. Theseus ap. Plut. in eo. Be lerophon ap. Apollod. l. 2. alii." Hoffm v. lustratio. Marsham Sæc. xi. καθαρμός.

of inward cleansing, solely from its nature, because it is the proper matter for washing outwardly, how much more truly will water perform this office by the authority of God, by Whom its whole nature is framed! If they think that water receiveth an healing power from Religion, what Religion is better than that of the living God? Which being acknowledged, we here also recognize[1] the zeal of the Devil, rivalling the things of God, when even he performeth baptism upon his own people. What resemblance is there? The unclean cleanseth, the destroyer delivereth, the condemned absolveth! He will destroy forsooth his own work, washing away those sins which he himself inspireth! These things indeed are set down for a testimony against those who refuse the Faith, if they in no wise believe in those things of God, in the pretended imitations of which by the rival of God they do believe. But do not unclean spirits in other ways also, and without any religious rite, brood over the waters, pretending to imitate the up-bearing of the Divine Spirit at the beginning? Witness all shady fountains, and all unfrequented streams[e], and the pools at the baths, and all the conduits and cisterns in houses, and the wells which are said to carry men off, to wit, by the power of the noxious spirit[f]. For they call men stifled[2], and water-stricken, and hydrophobic, whom water hath killed, or hath worked upon by madness or fear[g]. To what purpose have we related these things? that none may think it too hard a thing that the holy Angel of God should be present to prepare the waters for the salvation of man, when the bad angel hath ofttimes unholy dealings with the same element for the destruction of man. If it seemeth a strange thing, that an Angel should interpose in the waters, an example of what was to be hath gone before. An angel interposing *troubled* the pool at Bethsaida[h]. They who complained

[1] recognoscimus *restored*

[2] cnectos *restored*

John 5, 4.

[e] aviis; or, according to the etymology, it might have been, "wanting a passage;" in the one case, corresponding with what precedes, in the other, with what follows.

[f] See Psellus de Dæmon. Porph. Resp. ex Orac. Apoll. ap. Pam.

[g] De Anim. c. 50. Plin. ii. 103. xxxi. 2. ap. Pam.

[h] for "Bethesda," according to a reading which has several, (though inadequate) authorities, both East and West, (see Scholz. ad loc.) It occurs also in the very ancient Gothic liturgy, (edited by Thomasius,) which also refers to the pool of Bethesda as a type of Baptism in Tertullian's language, "Thou Who, through an Angel, gavest to the waters of Bethsaida power to heal." "Angelo medicante." Tert

De Bapt. VIII. 6.

of ill health watched for him: for *whosoever first stepped down* thither, after washing ceased to complain. This figure o bodily medicine spake of a spiritual medicine, according t that rule whereby carnal things ever go before as the figure of spiritual. Wherefore, when the grace of God increased among[1] men, more was added to the waters and to the Angel. They that did cure the ills of the body, now hea the spirit: they that did work out the temporal health, now frame anew the eternal: they that did deliver one man once in the year[j], now save whole nations every day, death being abolished through the washing away of sins. For the guil being taken away, the punishment is taken away also. Thu man, who aforetime had been *in the image of God*, will be restored[2] to God *after His likeness*. The *image* is con sidered to be in his form, the *likeness* in his *eternity*: for h receiveth again that Spirit of God, which he had the received by His *breathing* upon him, but had afterwards los by sin[j].

[1] in *restored*

[2] restituetur *restored*

Gen. 1, 26. 27. Wisd. 2, 23. Gen. 2, 7.

VI. Not that we obtain the Holy Spirit[m] in the water, bu

c. 4, "medicatis quodammodo aquis per Angeli interventum." The angel of Baptism is also named there, "Let the Angel of Thy blessing descend upon these waters." (Ass. t. ii. p. 34, 5.)

[i] so κατὰ καιρὸν (Joh. 5, 4.) is explained by S. Chrysost. S. Cyril Alex. S. Ambrose; see Script. Views, p. 350. note l.

[k] It may be that T. uses the future to mark that the restoration is but commenced here, to be perfected in eternity, as he says, "the likeness is his eternity." Thus Orig. de Princ. iii. 6 init. "Moses in that he thus relates the first creation of man, 'And God said, Let Us make man after Our image and likeness,' and then adds, 'And God made man, in the image of God made He him'—in that he said, 'In the image of God made He him,' but is silent as to the 'likeness,' indicates nothing else, than that at his first creation he received the dignity of the 'image,' but that the perfection of the likeness is reserved for the consummation; but the Apostle John defines this much more clearly, 'We do not yet know what we shall be—we shall be like Him.' Whereby he most certainly points both to the end of all things, which he saith is yet unknown to him and that a likeness of God is to b looked for, which shall be bestowe according to the perfectness of deserts; and S. Aug. de Trin. xv. §. 24. quotin also 1 Joh. 3, 2. "hence it appear that in that image of God (Col. 3, 9. the full 'likeness' of Him will then tak place, when it shall receive the ful vision of Him—That image of which i is said, 'Let Us make man after Ou image and likeness,' since it is not sai 'My' or 'Thy' [but 'Our'] we believ that man was made in the image o the Trinity. And therefore thus als will that rather be to be understood which the Apostle John says, 'w shall be like Him, for we shall se Him as He is,' because he said it o him of whom he had said, 'we ar sons of God."

[l] see the Fathers cited by Bp. Bul in his Discourse 5. "The state of man before the fall," espec. p. 82 sqq 99—111. ed. Burton.

[m] i. e. not fully; His complete gift being bestowed through the Anointing c. 7. and imposition of hands as part o Baptism, (see Scriptural Views, p. 153 note.) For since Tertullian (with al other Fathers) believed Baptism to b

being cleansed in the water, under the Angel[n], we are prepared for the Holy Spirit. Here also hath a figure gone before. For thus was John aforetime the forerunner of the Lord, *preparing His way:* and so also for the Holy Spirit, about to come upon us, doth the Angel, the witness of Baptism, *make the paths straight*, by the washing away of sins, which Faith obtaineth, being sealed *in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.* For if *in three witnesses every word shall be established*, how much more doth the Number also of the Divine Names suffice for the assurance of our hope, when we have, through the blessing pronounced, the same for witnesses of our faith, whom we have also as sureties for our salvation! But since both the testimony of faith and the promise of salvation is pledged under three[o], there is necessarily a mention made besides of the Church, seeing that where three are, that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, there is the Church, which is a body of three[p].

Mal. 3, 1. Is. 40, 3. Matt. 3, 3. Mat. 28. 2 Cor. 13, 1. comp. Mat. 18, 17. 20.

the birth "of water and the Spirit," those so born could not be without the Spirit, see below, c. 13. and de Anima c. 41. "re-formed by the second birth of water and the power from above," de Pudic. c. 6. "whatsoever flesh hath in Christ put off its former defilements, is now wholly another thing; it cometh up [out of the water] new, horn of pure water and the cleansing Spirit." In like way, Pam. remarks that S. Cyprian says Ep. 62. ad Cæcil. §. 5. "By Baptism the Holy Spirit is received," and yet Ep. 69. ad Januar. "Whoso has been baptized must also needs be anointed, that having received the Chrism, i. e. the anointing, he may be the anointed of God, and have within him the grace of God."

[n] see above, p. 261. note h. The mention of an Angel of Baptism is evidently in part suggested by the ministry of an Angel at the pool of Bethesda, which is spoken of as a type of Baptism by S. Chrys. ad loc. adv. ehr. et de Res. §. 4. 5. in Paral. et de Christi Divin. c. anom. xii. §. 1. S. Cyril Alex. ad loc. S. Ambrose de Myst. c. 4. de Sacr. ii. c. 2. S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xli. 33. see Scriptural Views, p. 349 sqq. Tertullian speaks also of an angel of prayer, (de Orat. c. 12.) the angel who "calleth forth the soul" at death, (de Anim. c. 53 fin.) and those employed to form man in the womb, ib. c. 37.

[o] i. e. both "under three" witnesses, and these being, in this case, the Blessed Trinity, "under," i. e. subject to "the Three," under Whose authority Salvation is pledged.

[p] i. e. When our Lord promises His presence to "two or *three* gathered together in His Name," and so constitutes them in some sense a Church, He had, (Tert. supposes) reference to the mystery of the Trinity into Whose Name the Church is baptized. This passage has been looked upon as a token of Montanism. The error, however, did not lay in this statement, but in its abuse. T. uses the argument rightly de Pœnit. c. 10.; after his fall, he on this ground claimed for the laity, in cases of emergency, priestly functions, (de fuga in Pers. c. 14. de exhort. Cast. c. 7.) and at last maintained that three spiritual persons constituted the Church, even over-against the Church, (de Pudic. c. 21.) an abuse, which S. Cyprian refutes, de Unit. Eccl. c. 11. The text is quoted as a blessing of our Lord upon unity by S. Hil. in S. Matt. 18. §. 9. and by S. Ambrose de Cain et Ab. c. 2. and de Myst. c. 5. especially of the priesthood. But for the correspondence

De Bapt. VIII. S.

VII. After this, having come out from the bath, we are anointed thoroughly with a blessed unction[k], according to the ancient rule[l], by which they were wont to be anointed for the priesthood with oil out of an horn. Wherefore Aaron was anointed by Moses; whence Christ[m] is named from Chrism, which is "anointing," which, being made spiritual, furnished a name for the Lord, because He was anointed with the Spirit by God the Father[n]: as it is said
4, 27. in the Acts, *For of a truth against Thy Holy Child, Whom Thou hast anointed*, they were *gathered together* in that city. So in us also the anointing runneth over us bodily, but profiteth spiritually[o], as likewise in Baptism itself the act is carnal, that we are dipped in the water, the effect spiritual, that we are delivered from our sins.

VIII. Next to this, the hand is laid upon us, calling upon and inviting the Holy Spirit, through the blessing. Shall the wit of man forsooth be allowed to summon a spirit into water, and, by adjusting his hands above, to animate the compound of the two with another spirit of such dulcet sound[p], and shall not God be allowed, by means of holy hands, to tune on his own instrument[q] the lofty strains of the Spirit? But this also cometh of an ancient mystery, wherein Jacob blessed his grandsons born of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, his hands being laid upon their heads, and interchanged, and turned indeed crosswise, the one over the other, so that, representing Christ in a figure[r], they might even then foreshew the blessing to be accomplished in Christ[s]. Then that most Holy Spirit cometh

of this language, (Ecclesiam,—quam Dominus in tribus posuit,) it might have been rendered, "which is the body of the Three," (coll. Col. i. 24.) i. e. in which the Holy Trinity indwells through the Spirit; and probably T. meant to convey both at once, as he does de Pudic. l. c. "For the Church properly and mainly consists in the Spirit Himself, in Whom is the Trinity of the One Godhead, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit."

[k] see Bingham, 12. 1.

[l] i. e. the Old Testament.

[m] "or possibly 'whence he (i. e. Aaron) was called Christus,' see Lev. 6, 22. LXX. where however the term χριστὸς is applied not to Aaron but to his son, "the priest, the anointed, who is instead of him." [Tr.]

[n] see adv. Marc. iii. 15. adv. Prax. c. 28. S. Aug. de Cons. Ev. iii. 8. adv. Jud. c. 4. c. adv. Leg. et Proph. §. 12. de Trin. xv. §. 46.

[o] See S. Cyril, Lect. 21. (Myst. 3.)

[p] An hydraulic organ described by Vitruvius, l. x.

[q] Man.

[r] The Cross; in part also the Greek X. The mystical meaning of this action of the Patriarch is spoken of, S. Aug. Conf. x. §. 52. Novatian de Trin. c. 27. fin.

[s] "jam tunc portenderent benedictionem in Christum futuram;" one should have expected "in Christo;"

down willingly from the Father upon the bodies that have been cleansed and blessed, and resteth upon the waters of Baptism, as though remembering His ancient abiding place, Who *in the form of a dove* descended upon the Lord, that the nature of the Holy Spirit might be shewn forth by a creature of simplicity and innocence. For the dove wanteth the very gall[t] even in the body: and therefore He saith, *Be ye harmless as doves.* And even this was not without the token of a figure which had gone before. For as, after the waters of the flood, whereby the former iniquity was purged, after the baptism (so to speak) of the world, the herald dove[u] sent forth from the ark, and returning with an olive branch,—a sign, which even among the Gentiles foretokeneth peace,—announced to the world the appeasement of the wrath of Heaven; by the same ordering of spiritual effect, doth the Dove of the Holy Spirit fly down upon our earth, that is, our flesh, when it cometh forth from the laver after its former sins, bringing to us *the peace of God*, sent forth from the Heavens, wherein is the Church, the prefigured ark. But the world sinneth a second time, (wherein Baptism can ill be compared to the flood): and therefore it is *reserved unto fire*, as is also the man, who, after Baptism, reneweth his sins[x], so that this also ought to be received as a token of warning to us.

Mat. 10, 16.

2 Pet. 3, 7.

IX. How many pleas therefore of nature in its behalf, how many privileges of grace, how many rites of religious discipline, figures, preparatory forms, prayers, have ordained the religious use of water! First indeed when the people being at large[l] and set free from Egypt, escaped the violence of the king of Egypt by passing over the water, the water utterly destroyed the king with all his armies. What figure more manifest in the Sacrament of Baptism? The nations are delivered from the world, to wit by water, and leave the

[l] libere *restored*

perhaps T. had reference to portenderent, and meant to include the two senses, "pointed to Christ," and to "the blessing in Him;" or he may have thought of the Holy Spirit descending upon Him, and, through Him, upon the Church.

[t] This was a common ancient opinion, mentioned also by Horus Hierogl. see Suicer v. περιστερά.

[u] See on this type, S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostom, Script. Views, p. 398, 9.

[x] manifestly, if unrepented of; neither then is this any proof of Montanism.

De Bapt. viii. 10. devil, their former master, overwhelmed in the water[x]. Likewise was the water cured of its fault of bitterness, unto its own good state[y] of sweetness, by the wood of Moses[z]. That wood was Christ, curing, to wit, through His own Self, the streams of nature once poisoned and bitter, unto the most wholesome waters of Baptism. This is the water which flowed for the people from *that rock that followed them*. For if *that rock was Christ*, without doubt we see Baptism blessed by the water[a] in Christ. How great, for the confirming of Baptism, is the grace of water in the sight of God and of His Christ! Never is Christ without water. Forasmuch as He Himself is baptized in water: *called to the marriage*, He commenceth the *first beginnings* of His power in water. When He discourseth, He inviteth the thirsty to His everlasting water: when He teacheth concerning charity, He approveth among the works of love, *a cup of water* offered to a poor man: He refresheth His strength at a well: He walketh upon the water: readily *passeth over the sea:* ministereth water to His disciples. The testimony to Baptism continueth even to His Passion. When He is *delivered to be crucified*, water cometh in between: witness the hands of Pilate: when He is wounded, water breaketh forth from His Side: witness the spear of the soldier.

Exod. 15, 25.

1 Cor. 10, 4.

ib.

John 2, 2.

John 7, 37.

Mat. 10, 42.

John 4, 6.

Mat. 14, 25.

John 13, 5.

Mat. 27, 24.

John 19, 34.

X. I have spoken, as far as to my poor wit hath been permitted, concerning those things in general which lay the foundation of the Sacrament of Baptism. I shall now proceed equally, as I may be able, to treat of certain particular questions respecting what remains to be said of its character. *The baptism which John preached*[b], was, even in those days, the subject of a question, proposed indeed by the Lord Himself to the Pharisees, whether it were a baptism *from heaven* or of the earth. About which they were not able to answer consistently, as not understanding because not be-

Acts 10, 37.

Mat. 21, 25.

[x] See S. Aug., S. Basil, S. Greg. Nyss., S. Jerome, S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, S. Cyril Jerus., Theodoret, Script. Views, p. 317, 8. note 2. p. 315. note 5.

[y] "in suum commodum" *restored;* i. e. its original state of sweetness from which it had been corrupted (vitio), as man by sin.

[z] See Justin M., S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, ib. p. 355. note 1.

[a] aqua *restored*, "Aqua in Christo. If Christ be the rock, the water in the rock is in Christ, and therein we see that Baptism is blest." [Tr.]

[b] On the Baptism of John, the statements of the Fathers are collected, Scriptural Views, p. 242—271.

lieving[c]. But we with the same pittance of understanding as we have of Faith, are able to judge that that baptism was divine, but this in respect of the command, not in respect of its power also; (for we read that even John was sent by the Lord unto this office,) being nevertheless in its nature human; for it bestowed no heavenly thing, but fore-ministered unto heavenly things, being in truth set over the work of repentance, which is in the power of man. Finally, the teachers of the law and the Pharisees, who would not believe, would[1] also not repent. But if repentance be *of men*, *the baptism of repentance* also must needs be of the same nature; otherwise it would give the Holy Spirit also, and remission of sins, if it were *from heaven*. But none *forgiveth sins* or granteth the Spirit, *but God only*. Even the Lord Himself said, that the Spirit would not otherwise descend except He first ascended to the Father. What the Lord did not as yet bestow, His servant surely would not[2] be able to give. Indeed we find afterwards in the Acts of the Apostles, that they who had *John's baptism* had not *received the Holy Ghost*, Whom they knew not, *not* having *so much as heard* of Him. Wherefore this was not an heavenly thing, which gave not forth heavenly things, seeing that even that heavenly thing which was in John, the spirit of prophecy, did, after that the whole Spirit had passed to the Lord, so fall away from him, that of Him, Whom he had preached beforehand, Whom when yet coming[d] he had pointed out, he sent afterwards to ask whether it were really *He*[e]. The baptism of

[1] agere *restored*

Mark 2, 7. John 16, 7.

[2] non *restored*

Acts 19, 2.

[c] Alluding to Is. 7, 9. LXX. "Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand." See S. Cypr. Test. i. 5. S. Aug. end of note on Manichees, Conf. p. 346. Oxf. Tr.

[d] not yet fully come.

[e] Tert. repeats this statement de Præscr. c. 10. adv. Marc. iv. 18. he stands alone in the notion that S. John's enquiry was owing to any withdrawal of the Spirit (so soon before his Martyrdom) or any diminution of his faith; the contrary is expressed by Origen, Hom. 27. in Luc. (vii) S. Chrys. in Matt. xi. Auct. Op. Imp. in Matt. Hom. 27. S. Aug. Serm. 66. de Verb. Matt. &c. S. Hil. in Matt. S. Jerome in Matt. and Ep. 121. ad Algas. q. 1. S. Ambrose, lib. v. in Luc. §. 93 sqq; yet though they say mostly that the enquiry was for the sake of his disciples, many add some other result; Origen, that his faith was strengthened for martyrdom; S. Ambrose (l. c. et de fide iv. 1. §. 4.) and S. Hilary, think that he was a type of the law, sending to contemplate Christ; S. Jerome and S. Gregory (in Ezek. l. i. Hom. 1.) that he wished to know whether our Lord were "coming" to the place of departed spirits whither himself was going; in later times S. Thomas Aq. (Dist. 2. p. 2. q. 2. art. 7. ad 2.) supposes that he wished to know the mystery of the Incarnation.

De Bapt. viii. 11. repentance therefore was employed as aspiring unto the remission and the sanctification about to follow in Christ. Mark 1, 4. For in that he *preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins*, the declaration was made in respect of a future remission. Indeed since repentance goeth before, remission followeth after; and this it is to *prepare the way;* for he that *prepareth the way* doth not himself also perfect, but procureth it to be perfected by another. He himself confesseth that the heavenly things are not his, but Christ's, John 3, 31. when he saith, *He that is of the earth, speaketh of the earth, He that cometh from above, is above all:* and likewise that he himself *baptized unto repentance* alone, but that One Mat. 3, 11. should presently come, Who should *baptize with the Spirit and with fire:* to wit, because a true and stedfast faith is concerned with water, whereby it is baptized [f] unto salvation, but a pretended and a weak one is baptized with fire unto judgment [g].

XI. But behold, say they, the Lord came and baptized John 4, 2. not: for we read, *nevertheless He baptized not, but His disciples.* As if John had preached that he should Himself actually baptize with His own hands! Surely it ought

[f] Vera et stabilis aquæ fides, qua tinguitur in salutem. Rig. proposes the very probable correction, stabilis fides aqua, "a—stedfast faith is baptized with water unto salvation."

[g] The "fire," S. Matt. 3, 11. is explained as referring to the miracle of the day of Penteeost, by S. Cyril Jer. (iii. 9. xvii. 8.) by S. Jerome in Matt. (with other applications) by Euthymius in S. Matt. as "the prominent meaning," by Theophylaet in S. Luc. Auct. de Bapt. hæret. ap. Cypr. v. fin.: more frequently (or eombined with this,) of the invisible "fire" which in Christian Baptism consumeth sins, S. Ambrose do Elia et jej. e. 22. Auct. de Bapt. hæret. l. e. S. Cyprian Test. i. 12. S. Leo. Ep. 16. e. 6. S. Chrysostome Hom. xi. in S. Matt. Theodoret, Eusebius, S. Jerome, and S. Cyril Alex. (l. 1. Orat. 3.) in Is. 4. Euthym. and Theoph. in S. Matt. S. Augustine, (Serm. 71. de Verb. Ev. Matt. 12. §. 19.) S. Basil Seleue. Or. 34. the liturgies of Antioeh, Jerusalem, and S. James of Sarug. (Ass. ii. 225. 226. 258. 326. Juveneus. l. 1. S. Ambrose (de Isaac et an. §. 77.) understands "the fire of love" (comp. the Veni Creator Sp.) which S. Aug. also (and after him Bede) combine (l. c.) as a "fruit of the Spirit;" and again the "tribulations of the faithful for the Name of Christ;" (as does the author of the Op. Imp. in Matt.) From the eonuection with v. 12. the "fire" is further interpreted of a fire, to be passed through at the Day of Judgment, which should destroy the wicked, purify the righteous, S. Hil. in S. Matt. c. 3. and in Ps. 118. lit. 3. §. 5. 12. and the author of the Homilies on Isaiah ap. Basil t. 1. p. 475. (this, Origen followed by S. Ambrose in Ps. 118. lit. 3. §. 14. 15. places at the entrance of Paradise, coll. Gen. 3. 24. Matt. 19. 28. in Matt. tom. 15. §. 23. ed. de la Rue and Hom. 24. in Luc. c. 3.) or hell-fire, as Tertullian here, S. Irenæus, iv. 4. (al. 7.) 3. S. Basil adv. Eunom. l. v. p. 308. ed. Ben. Euthym. ad Luc. 3. in marg. S. Jerome also gives it as a possible meaning, that "in this life we are baptized with the spirit, in the other with fire."

not to be so understood, but as having been spoken simply by a common form of speech. As we have, for instance, 'The Emperor propounded a decree,' or, 'The Præfect beat him with clubs.' Doth the one propound, or the other beat, in person? He is always said to do the thing, for whom it is ministerially done. Wherefore, *He shall baptize you*, must be taken to signify the same as, 'ye shall be baptized through Him, or into Him.' But let it not move any that He Himself baptized not. For whereunto should He baptize? Unto repentance? to what purpose then His forerunner? Unto remission of sins? which He gave by a word! Into Himself? Whom in humility He hid! Into the Holy Ghost? Who had not as yet descended from the Father! Into the Church? which the Apostles had not as yet founded! Wherefore His disciples baptized as ministers, as John His forerunner did before, with the same *baptism of John:* for let no one suppose that it was with any other, because there doth not exist any other, save that of Christ afterwards, which surely could not then be given by His disciples, seeing that the glory of the Lord was not as yet made perfect, nor the effectual power of the laver established by His Passion and Resurrection; for neither could our death be abolished, save by the Passion of the Lord, nor our life restored, without His Resurrection [h].

XII. But since the rule is laid down that salvation cometh to none without Baptism, chiefly from that declaration of the Lord, Who saith, *Except a man be born of water, he hath not life;* up come, on the part of certain men, questions too scrupulous, yea rather too unscrupulous, how, according to that rule, salvation cometh to the Apostles, whom we do not find to have been baptized in the Lord, except Paul. Nay, that, since Paul alone among them *put on* the Baptism *of Christ*, either the peril of the rest, who are without the water of Christ, is already determined, that the rule may be maintained, or the rule is made void, if salvation be appointed even for men un-

John 3, 5.

Gal. 3, 27.

[h] On the connection of Baptism with the Resurrection of our Lord, see S. Leo, Ep. 16. c. 3. ad Episc. Sic. (quoted Scriptural Views, p. 104.) and S. Jerome adv. Lucif. §. 7. (ib. p. 248.)

De Bapt. viii. 12. baptized. I have heard, the Lord is my witness, sayings of this sort, lest any should think me so abandoned as to moot of mine own accord, in the wantonness of my pen, questions which may excite a doubt in others. And now I will, as well as I am able, make answer to those who deny that the Apostles were baptized. For suppose they had undergone the human baptism of John, and were without that of the Lord, according as the Lord Himself had determined that baptism is one[j], when He said to Peter, who was unwilling to be washed, *He that is once washed, needeth it not again;* which He surely would not have said to one unwashed, and this is a proof put forward against those who deprive the Apostles of even the baptism of John, that they may overthrow the sacrament of water[k]. Can it be thought credible that *the way of the Lord*, that is, the baptism of John, was not at that time *prepared* in these persons, who were designed to open *the way of the Lord* throughout the whole world? Was the Lord Himself, Who owed no repentance, baptized; and was it not necessary for sinners? Well! but others were not baptized. Yea, but these were not the companions of Christ, but the adversaries of the Faith, the teachers of the Law and Pharisees. Whereby also it is suggested, that, since the enemies of the Lord would not be baptized, those who followed the Lord were baptized, and were not of the same mind with their adversaries, especially when the

John 13, 8. v. 10.

[j] This text, John 13, 10. is quoted against re-baptizing by Optatus iv. [v. 3.] S. Aug. de bapt. ii. 14. and ad loc. S. Ambrose de myst. c. 6. Pacian. Ep. 1. ap. Voss. Disp. 17. de Bapt. §. 7. so also Auct. Prom. Dimid. Temp. c. 14.

[k] S. Chrysostom agrees with Tertullian, that the Apostles were baptized with water by John, "for if the publicans and harlots came to that baptism, much more they who were afterwards to be baptized by the Spirit;—with us, both [the baptism of water and the Spirit] take place in one, but then separately." Hom. i. in Actt. §. 5. S. Augustine, Ep. 265, ad Seleucian. §. 5. thinks it most probable that they were baptized by our Lord, yet that they were baptized with water, not with the Holy Ghost, ib. §. 3. S. Aug. gives his grounds, 1. The same text John 3, 5. 2. The fact that they themselves baptized. 3. The words "he which hath been washed." John 13, 10. Whence it appears that Peter had been baptized. This last text is alleged also in a homily in Ascens. et in Princ. Act. 2. ap. Chrys. t. iii. p. 770, 1. ed. Bened. S. Chrys. also hints that there were other acts, which served as water-baptism to them. "Moreover it may be shewn that they were baptized with water, and at different times." It appears then, that on this which in Tertullian's time was a novel question, there was no definite view, and T.'s answer may be the safest, that their nearness to our Lord may have made the baptism with water superfluous to them.

Lord, to Whom they clave, had by His testimony exalted John, saying, *Among those that are born of women there is not a greater than John the Baptist.* Some drop a hint, sufficiently forced surely, that the Apostles supplied the place of Baptism, at the time when they were sprinkled and covered with the waves in the ship; and that Peter himself also, when walking upon the sea, was sufficiently dipped. But to my thinking it is one thing to be sprinkled[l] and caught by the violence of the sea, and another to be washed according to the rite of Religion. Nevertheless that ship set forth a figure of the Church[m], inasmuch as it is tossed in the sea, that is in the world, by the waves, that is by persecution and temptations, while the Lord is, as it were, patiently sleeping, until, being awakened in the last extremity by the prayers of the saints[n], He stilleth the world, and giveth again *a calm* to His own. Now whether they were, by whatever means, baptized, or whether they continued unbaptized, so that that saying of the Lord touching the one washing pertaineth only to us under the person of Peter, nevertheless it is sufficiently rash to judge concerning the salvation of the Apostles, as though even the privilege of their being first chosen unto Christ, and of their inseparable and familiar companionship with Him afterwards, could not bestow upon them at once all the benefit of

Mat. 11, 11.

Mat. 8, 24.

[l] A trace of the rite of Baptism by adspersion.

[m] comp. S. Hil. ad loc. Baronius, of the melancholy state of the see of Rome in the beginning of the tenth century. (Ann. 912. n. 14. t. 10. p. 663.) "Then was Christ altogether asleep, as it seemed, in a deep slumber, in the ship, when these mighty winds blowing, the ship itself was covered with waves. He was asleep, I say, Who making as though He saw not these things, allowed them to take place, in that He arose not to avenge. And what seemed yet worse, there were no disciples by their cries to arouse the Lord thus sleeping, all being in a heavy sleep: and that all these had one wish, that the Lord were asleep for ever, and might never arise to judgment, never awake to take knowledge and punish their abominations, who sees not? Yet the godly had this one comfort left, that although the Lord slept, yet was He sleeping in the same ship; He abode in that same ship, which bore a type of the Church, nor did He depart from it, but ever remained in the Church," &c.

[n] Rig. says, "by that petition, namely, 'Thy kingdom come,'" he seems then to understand it of "the end;" "until awakened at the end—He subdueth the world, and giveth peace to His own," i. e. in Heaven. The words might perhaps bear this, (donec orationibus sanctorum in ultimis suscitatus compescat sæculum, et tranquillitatem suis reddat;) it is also T.'s habit of mind to look at once to the end; but he is here speaking in the present, not the future, and so, probably, of our Lord's giving "rest," from time to time, to the Church, types and earnests of its final rest.

De Bapt. viii. 13. Baptism, seeing that they, as I think, followed Him Who promised salvation to every believer. *Thy faith*, said He, Luke 7, 50. *hath saved thee*, and *thy sins be forgiven thee:* and this v. 48. to one believing, yet not baptized. If this were wanting to the Apostles, I know not to whom belongeth faith Matt. 9, 9. Stirred up[o] by a single word of the Lord, a man left *the receipt of custom*, abandoned father and ship, and the trade Mark 1, 20. by which he supported life; disregarded the burial of a Matt. 8, 22. father; fulfilled, even before he heard, the chief command of that [t] illius *restored.* Lord, *He that preferreth father or mother Mat. 10, 37. to Me, is not worthy of Me.*

XIII. Here then these most wicked men provoke questions. Indeed they say, 'Baptism is not necessary for those for whom Faith is sufficient: for Abraham also pleased God by a sacrament wherein was no water, but only faith. But in all cases, the things which come last determine the question, and the things which follow overrule those which go before. Be it that salvation was once through bare faith before the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord: but when faith grew up to a belief in His Birth, Passion, and Resurrection, an enlargement was added to the sacrament, the sealing of Baptism[p], the clothing, in a manner, of that Faith which before was naked. Nor doth it now avail without its own condition: for the condition of Baptism was imposed Mat. 28, 19. and the form prescribed. *Go*, saith He, *teach the nations baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.* When with this law is compared John 3, 5. that limitation, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven*, this hath bound down faith to the necessity of Baptism[q]. Wherefore from that time all believers were baptized. Then also was Paul, as soon as he believed, baptized: and this it was which the Lord had commanded during that afflicting Acts 22, 10. bereavement, saying, *Arise, and go into Damascus: there it*

[o] Id si Apostolis defuit, nescio quorum fides. Uno verbo Domini suscitatus teloneum dereliquit, &c. Rig. adopts Ursini's conjecture, suscitata, and points, nescio; quorum fides uno verbo Domini suscitata," an easier reading, and the irony is like T., but without authority; "Whether this were wanting to Apostles, I know not; whose faith stirred up, &c."

[p] De Pœnit. c. 6.

[q] On the universality of this interpretation, see Scrip. Views, p. 28—53. ed. 2.

shall be shewn thee what thou oughtest to do, to wit, to be baptized, which was the only thing wanting to him. For the rest, he had learned enough, and had believed that He of Nazareth was the Lord, the Son of God.

XIV. But they turn back upon us the case of the Apostle himself, in that he said, *for Christ sent me not to baptize*, as if Baptism were overthrown by this argument[r]! For why did he baptize *Gaius and Crispus*, and *the household of Stephanas?* Besides, although *Christ* had *not sent* him *to baptize*, yet He had commanded the other Apostles to baptize. But these words were written to the Corinthians according to the circumstances of that time, because[1] that *divisions* and dissensions *were* stirred up *among* them, when *one* called himself *of Paul, another of Apollos.* Wherefore the peace-making Apostle, that he might not seem to claim every thing to himself, saith that he was *not sent to baptize but to preach.* For preaching moreover cometh first, Baptism afterwards. But be it that he first preached, I suppose that he, who was permitted to preach, was permitted also to baptize.

1 Cor. 1, 17.

[1] quoniam *restored*

1 Cor. 3, 4.

XV. I know not whether any farther show be made of calling Baptism into question. For my own part, I shall go through what I have hitherto omitted, lest I should seem to break off the train of thoughts immediately pressing. To us, in any case, there is *one Baptism*, as well according to the Gospel of the Lord, as the letters of the Apostle: seeing that there is *one God*, and *one Baptism*[2], one Church in the Heavens. But certainly one may well enquire what ought to be maintained about hereties; for this saying was directed to ourselves. Now hereties have no fellowship in our discipline, of whom indeed the very privation of Communion testifieth that they are aliens. I am not bound to admit in their case that which hath been taught to me, because we

John 13. ab. c. 12. Eph. 4, 5.

[2] et *omitted*

[r] See S. Chrys. ad loc. Hom. 3. p. 28. Oxf. Tr. Theodoret says also, "But He commanded both, [Mat. 28, 19.] but to preach is more honourable than to baptize. For to baptize is easy to all who have been counted worthy of the priesthood; but to preach belongs to few, who have received this gift of God," ad loc. Ambrosiaster alleges the same, "because the words pronounced in Baptism are a fixed form:" and Bede ad loc. (the whole context is from S. Aug.) that the saying the more exalts Baptism, "since Baptism given by one of no account is of the same avail as by an Apostle, it is known not to be his but Christ's."

De Bapt. viii. 16.

and they have not the same God, nor One, that is the same Christ. And therefore neither have we one, because not the same, Baptism with them, which, since they have it no rightly, without doubt they have not at all[s], nor can that be counted, which is not there: and so also they cannot receive it, since they have it not[t]. But this hath been already more fully discussed by me in Greek. We enter then the laver but once: our sins are washed away once, because these ought not to be repeated. But Jewish[u] Israel washeth daily[x], because he is daily defiled: and that this may not be practised amongst us also, on this very account is the rule laid down about the one washing. Happy the water which washeth once for all, which is not a mockery unto sinners which doth not, being stained by continual filth, defile again those whom it hath washed!

XVI. We have indeed, besides, a second washing, itself also *one*, to wit that of blood, whereof the Lord saith, *I have a Baptism to be baptized with*, when He had been already baptized. For He *had come by water and Blood*, as John hath written, that He might be washed by water, *glorified* by Blood. Wherefore that He might[y] make us to be *called* by water, *chosen* by blood, He sent forth these two Baptisms from the wound of His pierced Side; so far as that those who believed in His Blood might be washed with water, and that those who had been washed with water, might also drink His Blood[z]. This is that Baptism which both standeth in the place of the laver, when not received, and restored it when lost[a].

Luke 12, 50.

1 John 5, 6. John 13, 31. 32. Mat. 20, 16.

XVII. To conclude my little work, it remaineth that I give an admonition also concerning the right rule of giving and receiving Baptism. The right of giving it indeed hath the chief Priest, which is the Bishop: then the Presbyter

[s] See note G. at the end of this book.

[t] i. e. to give.

[u] as opposed to the true, i. e. Christian, Israel.

[x] see de Orat. c. 11. Constt. Ap. vi. 18. fin. 23. 30. S. Ambr. de Sacr. ii. 1. §. 2. and on it as a type, Script. Views, p. 340 sqq.

[y] Proinde ut nos faceret aqua vocatos, sanguine electos, hos &c. U. Rig. omits "ut," joins the clause with the preceding, and stops at electos. It would then be, "glorified by Blood, and thereafter make us 'called' by water 'chosen' by blood. These two," &c.

[z] On this two-fold meaning of the Blood which flowed from our Lord's Side, see Script. Views, p. 294 sqq. not. 4.

[a] see on Apol. c. 50. p. 106. not. 1. add de Pudic. c. 22. S. Ambr. in Ps. 118. lit. 3. §. 14.

and Deacons[b], yet not without the authority of the Bishops[c], for the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Otherwise laymen have also the right, for that which is equally received may equally be given[d], unless the name *disciples*[e] denote at once Bishops or Priests or Deacons. The word of God ought not to be hidden from any: wherefore also Baptism, which is equally derived from God, may be administered by all. But how much more incumbent on laymen is the duty of reverence and modesty! Seeing that these things belong to those of higher estate, let them not take upon themselves the office of the Bishoprick set apart for the Bishops. Emulation is the mother of divisions. A most holy Apostle hath said that *all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient*. Let it in truth suffice thee to use such things in thy necessities, whensoever the circumstances of place, or time, or person compel thee. For then is a boldness, in him that aideth, admissible, when the case of him that is in danger is urgent. For he will be guilty of destroying a man, if he shall forbear to do that for him which he had free power to do. But the wantonness of woman[1] which hath taken upon itself to teach, will not surely bring forth for itself the right of baptizing also, unless some new monster shall arise like unto the former[f], so that, as one hath taken away Baptism, in like manner some other may of her own self confer it[g]. But if they claim those writings, which have been wrongly ascribed to Paul, the writing of Tecla[h], as giving licence

John 4, 2.

1 Cor. 6, 12.

[1] mulierum *restored.*

[b] On the power of Deacons to baptize, see Bingham, 2. 20. 9.

[c] see S. Cypr. ad Fortunat. Pref. p. 280. Oxf. Tr. and not.

[d] S. Jerome (adv. Lucif. §. 9. ed. Vall.) repeats this whole statement, in nearly the words, and even the maxim, "Ut enim accipit quis, ita et dare potest." The extract from the Ep. ad Fortunat. given to S. Aug. by Gratian, Pars 3. de Consecr. Dist. 4. c. 21. also retains it, "etiam laicos solere *dare* sacramentum, quod *acceperunt*, solemus audire." S. Augustine himself speaks more doubtingly, "it is either no, or a venial fault." c. ep. Parm. ii. 13. Gelasius (Ep. ad Episc. per Lucan. c. 9. 10.) as being "generally allowed" when "extreme necessity compels." add Constt. Ap. viii. 46.

[e] "discentes" for "dicentes," is a conjecture of Latinius, adopted by Rig. but required.

[f] Quintilla.

[g] see ab. on c. 1. Constt. Ap. iii. 9. Epiph. Hær. 42. c. 4. H. 79. c. 3. 7. Chrys. Hom. de Bernic. &c. [§. 6. t. 2. p. 643. ed. Ben.] quoted by Cot. l. c. This is now allowed by both the Roman (Ritual. Rom. jussu Pauli v. edit. ap. Ass. ii. 11.) and Greek Churches. (Confession of Faith, printed 1662, ap. Smith Account of Greek Church, p. 110.) It was prohibited by Statutt. Eccl. Ant. quoted as Conc. Carth. iv. ap. Gratian. l. e. c. 20. to which Gratian added of his own "nisi necessitate cogente."

[h] "scriptum Teclæ," Ga. U. "ex-

De Bapt. viii. 18.

to women to teach and to baptize, let them know tha the Presbyter in Asia, who framed that writing, heaping up as it were, from his own store unto the name of Paul having been convicted[k], and having confessed that he di this out of love for Paul, yielded up his place; for how nea would it seem to approach to a thing credible, that he shoul give to a woman the power of teaching and of baptizing who *suffered not a woman* to be bold even in learning

1 Cor. 14, 35.

Let them, saith he, *keep silence*, and *ask their husbands a home.*

[1] sciunt *restored* Luke 6, 30.

XVIII. But they, to whom the office belongeth, know that Baptism must not be rashly entrusted. *Give to ever man that asketh of thee*, cometh under its own proper head which in truth pertaineth to almsgiving. Nay rather w

Mat. 7, 6. 1 Tim. 5, 22.

should consider this saying, *Give not that which is holy unt the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine:* and, *La hands suddenly on no man, lest thou be partaker of othe*

Acts 8, 26. &c.

men's sins. If Philip so *suddenly* baptized the eunuch, le us remember that the sanction of the Lord, clear and dis tinctly put forward, had intervened. The Spirit had com manded Philip to turn his course that way: the eunuc himself also was not found in a state of listlessness, nor on desirous on a sudden of being baptized, but he had gone u to the Temple *for to worship*, was intent upon the Divin Scriptures: so ought he to be found, to whom God had o His own will sent an Apostle, whom the Spirit a secon time commanded to *join himself to the chariot* of th eunuch: a Scripture falleth in with the man's own faith being in due season exhorted, he is received as a disciple the Lord is shewn to him: Faith delayeth not: water is no to seek: the Apostle having fulfilled his task is *caught away*

emplum T." Ge. Pa. Rig. omits it as a gloss, but without authority. In the extant Acta Pauli et Theclæ, S. Paul is made to say to her, "Go and preach the word of God," and she is related to have "*enlightened* many by the word of God," (which is explained in the de Vita S. Theclæ, l. 1. fin. ap. Basil. Seleuc. "having preached the saving word, and instructed many and *sealed* and enrolled them to Christ," i. e. baptized.) She also baptizes herself, Grabe Spicileg. t. i. p. 91. 2. 114—16 This passage of T. is quoted by S Jerome, (de Virr. Ill. c. 7.) as con demning the στιγιόδοι Pauli et Theclæ.

[1] quasi de suo cumulans. "sarcastic 'in order to enhance the Apostle's re putation, he must, forsooth, give hi some of his own.'" [Tr.] T. by choos ing the word "cumulans," probabl also meant to convey that it was a loa upon the Apostle.

[k] "before John," S. Jerome, l. c.

But Paul too was really baptized suddenly. Yes: for his host Simon[l] had come suddenly to know that he was appointed *a chosen vessel.* God's good pleasure usheretb itself in by its own special claims: in every petition there may be both deceit and self-deception[m]. Wherefore the delaying of Baptism is more profitable according to the condition, and disposition, and moreover the age of each person, but especially in the case of children. For why is it necessary[n], if the thing[l] be not so necessary, that the sponsors also be brought into danger? for both they themselves may, from their mortal nature, fail of their promises, and they may be disappointed by the growing up of a bad disposition. The Lord indeed saith, *Forbid them not to come unto Me.* Let them come then when they are of riper years: let them come when they are disciples, when they are taught whither they are coming: let them become Christians when they are able to know Christ. Why is the age of innocence[o] in haste for *the remission of sins?* Men will act more cautiously in worldly matters, so that to one, to whom no earthly substance is committed, that which is Divine is committed! Let them know how to *ask* for salvation, that thou mayest seem to *give to him that asketh.* With no less reason unmarried persons also should be put

Acts 9, 15.

[l] si non tam necesse est *restored*

Mark 10, 14.

[l] put for Ananias, who was also not his host but Judas, Acts ix. 11.

[m] i. e. when God specially vouchsafes (as in the cases of S. Paul and the Eunuch) He specially provides also; and manifest tokens of His Power and Providence usher in His Will; when it is man's desire only, he may deceive or be deceived.

[n] i. e. if very early Baptism be not so exceeding urgent, what need that sponsors, &c. T. had already said (c. 12.) that Baptism was essential to salvation, and (de Anim. c. 39.) he speaks of children of Christian parents, as "born unclean, as it were candidates for holiness."

[o] i. e. having no actual sins, in which sense it occurs also, adv. Marc. iv. 23. "an age still innocent" as opposed to "pueri, which had obtained the power of judging, and could revile, not to say blaspheme," (2 Kings 2, 23.) S. Cyprian uses the very words in the same way, (Ep. 16. Fell; 10 Pam.) "besides visions by night, by day also the *innocent age* of children is, amongst us, filled with the Holy Ghost." T. had in this same treatise (c. 5.) spoken of the loss of the Holy Spirit by the fall, its restoration by Baptism; and so perhaps ventured the rather on unguarded language; he seems to mean that it was time enough to have recourse to Baptism as a preservative against sin, when they were capable of it. T. speaks of original sin, de Pudic. c. 9. de Anima c. 41; he speaks also of its transmission, de Test. An. c. 3. ab. p. 135. de Jej. c. 3. and de Patient. c. 5. (below,) and that, as an "infection" of nature (de Test. An.) through the natural birth of "the offspring of Adam," (ib. de Exh. Cast. c. 2. de Pudic. c. 6. fin.) of the soul's being "accounted in Adam," (de An. c. 40 beg.) of our being "by nature children of wrath," (c. Marc. 5, 17 mid.) in the same way as S. Augustine. See the passages in Bp. Kaye, Tertull. on Art. ix.

De Bapt. viii. 20.

off, within whom temptation is already prepared, as well in virgins by reason of their ripe age, as in widows by reason of their *wandering about*[p], until they either marry or be confirmed in continency. They that understand the weighty nature of Baptism will fear its attainment rather than its postponement. Faith unimpaired[q] is assured of salvation.

XIX. Easter furnisheth the most solemn day for Baptism, at which time likewise the Passion of the Lord, into which we are baptized, was finished[r]. Nor would any one interpret it unsuitably as a figure, that when the Lord was about to keep His last Passover, in sending His disciples to *make ready*, He saith, *Ye shall find a man bearing water*. He sheweth the place for celebrating the Passover by the sign of water. Next the Pentecost is a very large space of time for the appointment of Baptisms, during which the Resurrection of the Lord was frequently manifested among the disciples, and the grace of the Holy Spirit was solemnly consigned to them, and the hope of the coming of the Lord suggested, because at that time when He was received up into Heaven, the Angels said to the Apostles that He should *so come in like manner as He went up to Heaven*, that is, at the Pentecost. But moreover when Jeremiah saith, *And I will gather them from the uttermost parts of the earth on an holy day*, he signifieth the day of the Passover and that of the Pentecost, which is specially an holy day. But every day is the Lord's: every hour, every season, is meet for Baptism[s]. If there be a difference as touching its solemnity, there is none as touching its grace.

Rom. 6, 3.

Luke 22, 10.

Acts 1, 11.

Jer. 31, 8.

XX. They who are about to enter upon Baptism ought to

[p] vagationem from 1 Tim. 5, 13. Rig. adopts Ursini's conjecture "vacationem" "widowhood." The reference will still be to the same passage of S. Paul. The g is often put for the c in MSS. "Vacant," moreover, is the specific term used by T.

[q] fides integra; i. e. the remission of sins, then received by faith, if unimpaired by subsequent life, is secure of salvation; see S. Aug. Conf. i. 11. The Fathers had often to meet this excuse for delaying Baptism. S. Basil Exh. ad Bapt. §. 7. S. Greg. Naz. Or. 40. §. 17. Rig. explains the passage of those who by deferring Baptism, died unbaptized as though "fides integra" "perfect sincere, faith," were assured of salvation whether baptized or no.

[r] See above, on c. 11. S. Greg. Naz. adds the Epiphany (see Bingham 11. 6, 7.) and the Sicilian Bishops, whom Leo reproves (Ep. ad Episc. Sic. c. 1.) Walafr. Strabo de reb. Eccl. c. 26 (ap. Voss. Disp. 16. §. 6.) quotes the Council of Gironne (A. 417.) as sanctioning the Nativity of our Lord (though excluded by its canons (c. 4.) as it now stands).

[s] S. Basil Exh. ad Bapt. init.

pray with frequent prayers, fastings[t], and bowings of the knee, and long watchings, and with confession of all their past sins[u], that they may shew forth even the baptism of John. *They were baptized*, saith the Scripture, *confessing their sins.* We have cause to be thankful, if we do not confess in public our iniquities or our infamies: for, by the afflictings of flesh and the spirit we at the same time both make satisfaction for things past, and build up beforehand a barrier against temptations to come. *Watch and pray*, saith He, *that ye fall not into temptation.* And it was, I think, because they slept that they were so tempted that they forsook the Lord when He was seized, and that he who continued with Him, and used his sword, denied Him also thrice: for this saying had gone before, that no one should gain the kingdom of Heaven without temptations. Temptations beset the Lord Himself immediately after Baptism, after that He had passed forty days in fasting[x]. 'It is after Baptism then rather,' some men will say, 'that we too ought to fast[a]?' And who hindereth, pray, save the necessity of rejoicing, and thanksgiving for our salvation? But the Lord, to my poor thinking[1] taking occasion of the type of Israel, cast a reproach upon him[y]. For the people having passed over the

Matt. 3, 6.

Mat. 26, 41.

Luke 22, 28. 29.

[1] quantulum æstimo *restored*

[t] Prayers and fasting are mentioned as preparations for Baptism by Justin Martyr, (Apol. i. §. 61. the Apostol. Constt. xii. 22. Recog. iii. 67. vi. ult. vii. 34—37. &c. S. Cyril Jerus. (iii. 7. 16. iv. 37.) (with watchings, tears, lying on the ground,) S. Greg. Naz. Or. 40. §. 31. S. Aug. de fide et op. c. 6. (especially for the 40 days of Lent S. Cyril. i. 5. S. Greg. Naz. l. c. §. 30. S. Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. fin. Serm. 210 in Quadr. 6. §. 2. S. Leo Ep. ad Episc. Sic. c. 6. S. Greg. M. Ep. viii. 23.) S. Augustine also speaks of a formal act of repentance before Baptism, (Ep. 265. ad Seleucian. §. 7.) Ambrosiaster (ad Rom. xi. 29.) viewing it in another way, says, "The grace of God in Baptism seeketh not groans or mourning, or any act, but only profession from the heart—for the gift of God freely remitteth sins in Baptism."

[u] S. Cyril (i. 5.) and S. Greg. Naz. (l. c. §. 27.) exhort to confession of sins before Baptism; it is alluded to by S. Basil Exh. ad Bapt. §. 5. S. Chrys. (Cat. 2. ad Illum. §. 4. ed. Ben.) and Cæsarius, (ap. Aug. §. 267. App.) (quoted by Bingham, 11. 8. 14.) imply it not to be necessary.

[x] "The Lord was not baptized into His own Passion, or Death, or Resurrection; for none of these had yet taken place, but for another ordinance. Wherefore also, as a mark of power, He fasts after Baptism, as the Lord of John, but he who is entered into His Death, ought first to fast, then to be baptized. For it is not right that he who hath been buried with, and hath risen with, Him, should be downcast at the very Resurrection. For man is not lord of the ordinance of the Saviour, for He is the Master, man the subject." Apost. Const. vii. 22.

[y] i. e. our Lord's fasting after His Baptism was not a pattern for us to follow to the letter, (His Baptism and ours being wholly different,) but a stigma upon the sins into which Israel fell after the deliverance, which was a type of our Baptism, and a warning how we might escape them. comp. de jej. c. 8.

sea, and being carried about in the wilderness for forty years, while they were there nourished with divine stores, thought no less of their belly and their gluttonous throat than of God. After this the Lord being alone in the wilderness after His Baptism, having measured out a fast of forty days, shewed that the *man* of God doth not live by bread alone, but *by the word of God;* and that the temptations which attend upon fulness and excessive indulgence of the belly are stifled by abstinency[z]. Do ye therefore, blessed men, for whom the grace of God waiteth, when ye arise out of that most holy laver of your new birth, and spread your hands for the first time together with your brethren in your mother's presence, ask of the Father, ask of the Lord, Who supplieth goods, graces, *diversities of gifts. Ask*, saith He, *and ye shall receive*, for ye have *sought*, and ye have *found;* ye have *knocked*, and it hath been *opened unto you.* Only I beseech you that, when ye ask, ye remember also the sinner Tertullian.

Luke 4, 4.

1 Cor. 12, 4. Matt. 7, 7. 8.

[z] "It is not to be thought that Christ because He fasted immediately after receiving John's baptism, gave it as a rule that we must needs fast immediately after receiving the Baptism of Christ; but He taught by that example that we should fast, whenever we engage in any sharper conflict with the tempter. Whether therefore immediately after Baptism, or at any interval, when the like strife of temptation is brought upon man, he must fast, that both the body may accomplish its warfare by chastening, and the mind obtain victory from humiliation. In that example then of the Lord, not the Baptism in Jordan but the temptation of the devil was the cause of His fast." S. Aug. Serm. 210. de Quadr. 6. §. 3.

Note G. on c. xv. p. 274.

Tertullian lays down two grounds, why the baptizing of those already baptized out of the Church is no second Baptism, the one excluding all schismatical baptism, the second, that of heretics who rejected the true faith as to any of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity: the first, that the non-communicating with the Church shewed them to be aliens; the second, that they had not the same God nor the same Christ. Heretical baptism is excluded, not as using a wrong form of words, but as not having the same Object of Faith. They had not "One Lord," and so neither "one Baptism."

The Baptism then of the Church was no second Baptism, because there had been no first. On this question there were three views in the ancient Church; first, that of the early African Church and of Asia Minor, in the time of Firmilian, which rejected all baptism out of the Church, schismatical as well as heretical; second, that of the Greek Church generally, stated fully by S. Basil, which accepted schismatical, but rejected heretical baptism; third, that first mentioned by Stephen, Bishop of Rome, who accepted all baptism, even of heretics, which had been given in the name of the Trinity. The second continues to be the rule of the Greek, the third (with some modifications) of the Latin, Church. (In both, it was presupposed that the Minister had at one time received the commission to baptize; the case of schismatical baptism, as it is now found among us, not occurring.)

Of these three, the two views which lasted, were founded on the respective traditions, or ancient practice of the East and West; that which excluded schismatical baptism seems, as it were, an offshoot of the original Greek tradition. The point at issue between the two views was, whether a wrong belief in the Object of Faith vitiated the Baptism conferred in Their Name, although the words were sound, (which the Greeks held,) or whether the Baptism, deriving its efficacy from the Name of the Blessed Trinity being pronounced over the baptized, was valid, although understood in an heretical sense by the baptizing priest, and by the baptized. This was the view of Stephen, and afterwards adopted by the Council of Arles, and developed and defended by S. Augustine.

The Greek view first occurs in the Apostolical Canons. Canon 46. "A Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who admitteth the baptism or sacrifice of heretics, we command to be deposed. For what concord has Christ with Belial, or what part has a believer with an infidel?" Canon 47. "Let a Bishop or Presbyter, who baptizes anew one who hath true Baptism, or does not baptize one defiled by the ungodly, be deposed, as mocking the Cross and the Death of the Lord, (Rom. 6, 3.) or [in the second case] not distinguishing priests from false priests." Canon 68. "If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, receive a second imposition of hands from any one, let both him, and he who laid on hands, be deposed; unless he shew that he had imposition of hands from heretics; for neither can those baptized by such be believers, nor those who have imposition of hands from them be Clergy." Heretical baptism is accordingly rejected in the Greek Churches by S. Clement of Alexandria, (Strom. i. 19. fin. p. 137. ed. Sylb.) "'strange waters,' i. e. heretical baptism, not regarding it water belonging to herself [Wisdom] or genuine." In the third century S. Dionysius of Alexandria (ap. Euseb. H. E. vii.) speaks of the rejection of heretical baptism as an ancient tradition in Egypt or the East altogether; he states that he had "received from Heraclas, their Bishop of blessed memory," that those who having been baptized in the Church, fell away into heresy, "needed no second Baptism, for they had before received the Holy Spirit through it;" and subjoins, (after a fuller discussion which Eusebius omits,) "I have learnt this also, that not they in Africa only have now brought in this practice,

Note on De Bapt.

but that it was approved of, and that long ago, under the Bishops amongst us, in the most populous Churches, and in the Synods of brethren at Iconium and Synnada, and among many others, whose decrees I cannot endure to subvert, so casting strife and contention among them; for it is written, 'thou shalt not remove the land-mark of thy neighbour, which thy fathers have set.'" It is plain from this on which side S. Dionysius was, both from the ground alleged for not baptizing those, who having fallen into heresy, had recovered, viz. because *these* (having been baptized in the Church) had received the Holy Ghost, (implying that in heretical baptism It would not have been conveyed) and in that he maintains the custom of baptizing heretics as the ancient usage of the Eastern Church. S. Jerome also distinctly asserts that he agreed with S. Cyprian and Firmilian[a]. In his letter to Xystus, successor of Stephen, S. Dionysius mentions that Stephen had "rejected the communion of Helenus and Firmilian, and all those of Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and Galatia, and all the neighbouring nations, in succession; on the ground, as he alleged, that they re-baptized heretics." "Consider," he subjoins, "the greatness of this matter. For indeed decrees, as I hear, have been made thereon in the largest Synods of Bishops, to the effect that they who come over from heresy, having been first instructed, should then wash and purge away the defilement of the old impure leaven." (ib. c. 6.) Firmilian, at the same time, states it to have been an Apostolic tradition, and that there was no trace of any other practice. "We [in the East], to the ground of truth," [the tenor of Scripture on which the African Church rested,] "add that of received custom, and to the Roman custom we oppose custom, but the custom of truth, holding this from the beginning which hath been delivered by Christ and the Apostles. Nor have we any memory of this custom having begun among us, inasmuch as it has

[a] De Virr. Ill. c. 69. "Agreeing with the doctrine of Cyprian and the African Synod on the re-baptizing of heretics, he wrote to different persons many Epistles, which are extant to this day." The Romanists, in order to get rid of his authority allege chiefly two things; 1. his own letter (ap. Eus. vii. 9.) stating that he had refused to baptize one, who had been many years a communicant, who discovered that his own baptism by heretics had been full of ungodliness and blasphemies. But this is wholly a different case; Dionysius lays the whole ground of his refusal on his not daring to treat as unregenerate one who had been so long a communicant. "Which I did not dare to do, saying that his Communion for so long a period had become in itself sufficient thereto [to "cleanse," and "bestow adoption and grace."] For he who had heard the Eucharist, and joined in the Amen, and stood by the Table, and stretched forth his hands to receive the Holy Food, and had received It, and been long time partaker of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, I could not dare now wholly to remould;" (as indeed it would be very shocking to treat as wholly unregenerate, and seek to have re-made the whole self of one, who, one might hope, had been in some degree, one with his Lord.) 2. S. Basil's statement, that he had admitted Montanist baptism, (whom they represent, accordingly, as directly contradicting S. Jerome.) But the surprise which S. Basil expresses (see below) that it had escaped Dionysius, implies the direct contrary, that he was misinformed as to the Montanists; otherwise, he had not admitted their baptism.

ever been observed there, that we recognize one only Church of God, and account Baptism to belong only to the Holy Church. Of a truth, because some doubted of the baptism of such as, although they do not receive the prophets as we, yet seem to acknowledge the same Father and Son with us, very many of us, meeting together at Iconium, treated thereon most diligently, and set firm that all baptism whatever, out of the Church, was to be rejected." (Ep. ap. Cypr. §. 19.) In an earlier part of the Epistle §. 6. he speaks of this Synod as having been held "some time before;" "all which, (some being in doubt on this matter,) we some time since (jampridem) being collected together in Iconium, a place in Phrygia, out of Galatia and Cilicia, and the other neighbouring provinces, established was to be held firmly and maintained against heretics." If Firmilian, in using the first person in each place, means that the Synod of Iconium was in his own time, and that he assisted in its decrees, (which seems probable,) it seems also, as though a distinction were to be made between the decrees of that Synod, and the tradition upon which it was founded. Its decree would then seem to be a particular application of the ancient practice; heretical baptism had never been acknowledged in the Eastern Church; but since the line between heresy and schism is sometimes indistinct, a doubt had arisen in the minds of some, as Firmilian states, and the Synod decided against all baptism given out of the Church. And this is, perhaps, the more probable, on account of the very grievous nature of the heresies, which harassed the Eastern Church, so that the lasting rents from her seem to have been caused by heresy rather than by schism. And Firmilian himself, towards the close of his Epistle, does seem to consider schismatical, a less clear case than heretical, baptism; "We have judged that those also are to be accounted unbaptized, whom these have baptized, who were once Bishops in the Catholic Church, and afterwards claimed to themselves the power of their clerical ordination. And this is observed among us, that whosoever come from them to us having been dipped, are, as being aliens and having obtained nothing, baptized among us with the one true Baptism of the Catholic Church, and obtain the regeneration of the lifegiving laver. And yet there is much difference between him who sunk unwilling and overpowered by the constraining of persecution, (alluding perhaps to the occasion of the Novatian schism,) and him who, with sacrilegious will, daringly rebels against the Church, or with impious voice blasphemes the Father and God of Christ, and the Creator of the whole world." If this were so, S. Dionysius and Firmilian in speaking of the Synod as "long ago," (πρὸ πολλοῦ, jampridem,) would mean, long before this present question was raised by Stephen, at the beginning of Firmilian's Episcopate. Firmilian was *distinguished* as a Bishop, in the tenth year of Alexander Severus, i. e. 232, (Eus. vi. 26.) and so, twenty-four years before the question on Baptism was raised by Stephen in the West (256.) Firmilian's statement of the Eastern tradition would thus agree with the more explicit one of S. Basil in the same Diocese. (Ep. 188. ad Amphil. [Can. i.] can. i.) He says "those of old decided to admit such Baptism,

NOTE ON DE BAPT.

as no ways departed from the Faith. Whence they called some heresies, some schisms, some conventicles.—Heresies, such as were wholly broken off, and estranged from the Faith itself; schisms, such as disagree as to certain ecclesiastical matters, and questions which may be healed; conventicles, congregations formed by insubordinate Presbyters or Bishops, and undisciplined laity. Thus, if one convicted of a fall, were suspended from officiating, and would not submit to the Canons, but claimed to himself preeminence and the right to officiate, and certain leaving the Catholic Church went off with him, this were a conventicle; a schism were to hold differently from the Church as to Repentance; heresies are such as of the Manichees, Valentinians, Marcionites, and these same Pepuzenes; for their difference relates directly to the Faith itself toward God. It seemed good then to those from the beginning, wholly to annul the baptism of heretics, but admit that of those who separate, as being yet of the Church[c], but those in conventicles to join on again to the Church, when amended by adequate repentance and conversion, and that so as oftentimes to admit to the same rank, after repentance, such as having order in the Church, went off with the insubordinate." In the same place, S. Basil distinguishes from this tradition the decision of Firmilian as something of his own; "Nevertheless it seemed good to the ancients, Cyprian and his colleagues and our Firmilian, to subject all these to one sentence—on the ground that the beginning of the separation took place through schism; but they who fell away from the Church, had no longer the grace of the Holy Spirit with them; for that by cutting off the connection, the transmission failed; they then who first departed received the laying on of hands from the fathers, and through the imposition of their hands, had the spiritual gift; but they who were rent off having become lay, had neither the power of baptizing, nor of ordaining, being unable any longer to impart the grace of the Holy Spirit to others, out of which they had fallen themselves." It is remarkable in this respect, that Firmilian throughout his letter refers to "heretics," except in the passages above cited, relating not to the tradition, but to the acts of the Synods; his principles extend further; but that which seems chiefly on his mind, (and in that of S. Cyprian also,) is, that Stephen had maintained the validity of all "heretical" baptism: that which he speaks against, even in the passage apparently alluded to by S. Basil, is "heretical." "Nay, all other heretics if they cut themselves off from the Church, [not the Cataphrygians, or Montanists only] can have no power or grace, inasmuch as all power and grace is deposited in the Church, where the elders preside, who have the power both of baptizing, and of laying on of hands, and of ordaining. For as a

[c] This expression is explained by passages of S. Augustine and Optatus, quoted by the Benedictine editor of S. Basil. Opt. iii. 9. coll. iv. 2. "That which is rent, is divided in part, not wholly; because we and you have one Church-life; though the minds of men are at strife, the Sacraments have no strife." S. Aug. De Bapt. i. 3. "They then (heretics and schismatics) in some things are with us; and wherein they are not with us, we exhort them that coming they would receive, or returning, receive back."

heretic may not ordain or lay on hands, so neither may he baptize, nor do any holy or spiritual act, as being an alien from the spiritual and deifying holiness." This looks as if what Firmilian chiefly had been accustomed to and had most in his mind was "heretical" baptism; as it will often happen that the principles upon which we maintain a traditional truth, being our own, will go beyond the truth which we maintain.

Further witnesses for the rejection of heretical baptism in the Eastern Church, are, in the Church of Jerusalem, S. Cyril, its Bishop, (Catech. Introd. Lect. §. 7. p. 4. Oxf. Transl.) S. Athanasius and S. Epiphanius, and even in the Western Church, (the practice of Milan in other points differing from that of Rome,) S. Ambrose [e], Bishop of Milan.

S. Athanasius thus speaks, (Orat. 2. c. Ariann. §. 42. t. i. p. 510. ed. Ben.) "But these [the Arians] risk the very fulness of Mystery, I mean of Baptism. For since this perfecting is conferred 'into the Name of the Father and the Son,' but these acknowledge not the true Father because they deny That Which is derived of, and Consubstantial with Him; and deny again the true Son, and feign to themselves another, created out of things which were not, and name Him; how should not what they administer be wholly vain and profitless, having a semblance but nothing real as an aid to holiness; for the Arians impart not Baptism into the Father and the Son, but into Creator and creature, Maker and made? But as their 'created' is different from the Son, so would that which they are thought to give, be from the reality, although, on account of what is written, they affect to name the Name of the Father and the Son. For not he who merely saith 'Lord,' imparteth also, but he who with the Name, has also the right Faith. For this cause did the Saviour also not merely com-

[e] Launoy, who alleges the above, (de Notione Concil. Plenar. Diss. Confirm. p. 43—51.) cites also S. Ambrose, de Initiandis [de Myster.] c. 4. "The baptism of the misbelieving (perfidorum) does not heal, does not cleanse, but defiles." This is questioned by the Benedictine Editor, who supposes that S. Ambrose is speaking of Jewish baptisms, of which he does go on to speak, and of which he speaks again in the de Sacr. ii. 1. §. 2. In that place, however, it is remarkable that S. Ambrose uses the *past*, alluding to the washings of the Jewish ritual, and those blamed in the New Testament, whereas here he employs the present. "There *were* Jewish baptisms, but some superfluous," (those in the New Testament, Mark 7, 3—8.) "some in a figure," (the Old Testament.) The word "perfida," also belongs more appropriately to falsification of the faith than to rejection of it. But what seems to put it beyond all question is, that the language is borrowed apparently from S. Cyprian, where he is speaking of heretical baptism, (Ep. 72. ad Jubaianum, §. 5.) "The Holy Spirit makes mention by the prophet (Jer. 15, 18.) of 'deceitful water and which hath no faith.' What is this deceitful and faithless water? (mendax et perfida.) That surely which falsely assumes the likeness of Baptism, and by the shadowy pretence annulleth the grace of faith." Just before, he had used the term of the Marcionites and other heretics; "Very different (from the Faith of the Creed) is the faith with Marcion and the other heretics, yea, there is among them nothing but faithlessness (perfidia) and blasphemy," &c. S. Ambrose uses S. Cyprian's word "perfida" in explanation of the same passage of Jeremiah (aqua mendax) in reference also to false baptism.

NOTE ON DE BAPT.

mand to baptize, but saith first, 'teach,' then on this wise, 'baptize in the Name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost;' that through the teaching the Faith may be right, and with the Faith the perfecting of Baptism may be added. Many other heresies, moreover, which pronounce the Names only, but are not right-minded, as was said, nor have the sound Faith, make unprofitable the water which they also bestow, as wanting in godliness, so even that whoso is sprinkled by them, is rather defiled by them in ungodliness, than redeemed. Thus also the Heathen, although with the lips speaking of God, are charged with ungodliness, because they know not Him Who is indeed the True God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the Manichæans and Phrygians, and the disciples of him (Paul) of Samosata, naming the Names, are not the less heretics: thus also in their order they also who think with Arius, although they rehearse what is written and say the Names, they, too, mock those who receive (Baptism) from them, being more ungodly far than other heresies."

The Romanist editor of S. Athanasius attempts to conform this with the Western view, in that S. Augustine says that Baptism out of the Church is profitless, tending only to condemnation; but it is distinctly the Greek view as opposed to the Western; for, 1. the Western held that all in which the sacred Names were pronounced was valid Baptism, though unprofitable out of the Church, whether in heresy or schism; the Eastern held, that Baptism, even if administered in the Sacred Names, was invalid and empty, if administered with a wrong belief as to Them, which is just what S. Athanasius here insists upon: 2. the instances which he gives, at least the Phrygians and Paulianists, are those rejected, as invalid, as being heretical.

The same is evinced by the principle upon which Epiphanius admits Arian Baptism. He speaks against the rashness of those, who "without the decision of an Œcumenical Council, venture to rebaptize those who come to them from the Arians, the matter not having been as yet, as I said, decided by the judgment of a Council, because the people continue unseparated until now, and that many are orthodox, but are feignedly joined to those who exercise the priesthood until a separation of such a blasphemous heresy take place, and then it will be decided concerning it." (adv. Hær. l. 3. t. 2. Expos. Fid. Eccl. c. 13.)

S. Epiphanius, then, blames the rejection of Arian baptism as being a private unauthorized act, and because the Arians were not yet formally put out of the Church, and many who were accounted such, were sound in the Faith, so that if their baptism were rejected, there would be risk of rejecting valid Baptism along with it; thereby, as well as by the last hint, shewing that if they were altogether separated, so as to be purely heretics and deriving no benefit from what connection they still had with the Church, he would have thought their baptism altogether invalid. And this corresponds with S. Athanasius' expression, "they *risk* the very fulness of the Mystery," leaving some doubt, though expressing his own conviction, whereas of the other sects, who had been severed altogether as

heretics, the Montanists, Paulianites, Manichees, he declares the baptism altogether void.

The Greek rule, which rejected heretical Baptism, extended very widely, including under the term, "difference of Faith in God" not only such misbelief as involved the rejection of the very doctrine of the Trinity, in Whose Name they were baptized, but serious error as to the several Persons in the Trinity. Thus S. Basil declares that the baptism of the Encratites and others was to be rejected, because, although they used the form of sound words, by condemning wine and marriage they made God the author of evil. "The Eucratites, and Saccophori, and Apotactites" [names assumed as if they were eminently ascetics, "the Abstinent," "Sackcloth-wearers," "Renouncers,"] are [not] subjected to the same rule, as the Novatians, because as to these a canon has been published, though variously; but silence kept as to the others. We then rebaptize all such equally; and if among you rebaptizing is forbidden, as among the Romans for some reason of convenience (οἰκονομίας τινὸς), yet let our rule prevail, for, since their heresy is a sort of off-shoot of the Marcionites, who abhor marriage and reject wine, and say that the creature of God is defiled, we do not receive them into the Church, unless they be baptized with our Baptism. For let them not say, 'We have been baptized into Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' who under this form understand God to be the author of evil, according to the Marcionite and other heresies." (Ep. 199. [Can. 2.] can. 47.) In like way he rejects Montanist baptism, because they gave to Montanus and Priscilla the title of "The Paraclete," and so virtually baptized to Montanus instead of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. "The Pepuzenes then are manifestly heretics. For they blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, wickedly and shamefully ascribing to Montanus and Priscilla the appellation of 'The Paraclete.' Whether then as making of men a god, they are condemned; or as guilty of contumely against the Holy Ghost, by comparing Him with men, and thus subject to eternal condemnation, in that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is unpardonable. What reason then hath it, that their baptism should be accounted of, who baptize to the Father, the Son, and Montanus or Priscilla? For they who baptize into what has not been delivered to us, baptize not."

The Eastern rule, in consequence of this very extent, had some difficulty; S. Dionysius' distinction is indeed clear, in that heresy implied blasphemy against God, as in the case of Marcion against the Father, or the Arians against the Son, or the Montanists against the Holy Ghost, whereas the Novatian doctrine did not change men's thoughts of God, but only their views of His dealings with men; yet the lines would often approach very close, for S. Cyprian accounts the Novatians heretics, as going against an article of the Creed; and when the doctrine (as in the case of the Encratites) did not so directly relate to the very Being of God, doubt might arise whether it were heresy or schism. The rule, then, was differently applied in different Bishoprics, and the Greek Church held that it had the power of enforcing re-baptizing or accepting the previous

NOTE ON DE BAPT.

baptism, as it saw best for the good of the whole. Thus S. Basil expresses his surprise that the "nullity of Montanist baptism" should have "escaped the great Dionysius," "being well versed in the canons;" [probably, as being at a distance from the seat of the heresy;] "still," he adds, "we must guard against imitating his mistake. For how unreasonable it is, is at once manifest and evident to all, who have ever so little reasoning power." Even as to the Cathari or Novatians, although schismatics only, S. Basil does not speak decisively, but, at the outset, adopts the suggestion of Amphilochius, "thou hast well suggested, that the practice of each country should be followed, because they who then decided these points, held differently as to their baptism;" afterwards he says, "since it seemed good to some of those in Asia, out of a kindly regard to the people (οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα τῶν πολλῶν) that their baptism should be received, be it received." With regard to the Eneratites, S. Basil says, "since nothing has been publicly decided about them, we ought to annul their baptism; and if any have received it of them, to baptize him when he comes to the Church. Should this however be likely to be injurious to the well-being of the whole, the practice must be adhered to, and the fathers who ordered things among us, be followed. For I have some fear lest, while we wish to make them more slow to baptize, we may by the rigidness of our sentence place hindrance in the way of the saved. But if they respect our Baptism[f], let not this shame us out of our rule. For we are not bound to requite them with the like, but to follow the canons precisely. But in any case, be it enacted, that they who come from their baptism receive the Chrism in presence of the faithful, and so approach to the Mysteries. I know we have received the brethren, Izoin and Saturninus, out of their orders to the Episcopal chair; so that we can no longer separate from the Church those joined to their orders, in that we have set forth a sort of Canon of communion with them, by receiving their Bishops."

S. Basil himself, then, in all cases leans to the stricter side as the side of propriety, but thinks that in these lighter cases, the strictness, in itself

[f] S. Basil says a little before, "We ought to be aware of an evil device of the Eneratites. For, in order that they may not be admissible in the Church, they have undertaken to anticipate it by a baptism of their own; whence also they have violated their own practice." This corresponds with what Tillemont says from the Cod. Theod. (16. t. 5. l. 7. 9. p. 121. 124.) that the Eneratites were a name of the Manichees, since these, according to their own principles, rejected Baptism altogether, (see on S. Aug. Confessions iv. 8. note a, Oxf. Tr.) as S. Basil here says, "they violated their own practice" in hopes that the Church, which regarded real re-baptizing as profanation, would not admit them. At all events, the ἰδίῳ βαπτίσματι does not imply that they used any peculiar or wrong form of Baptism, which would have been no hindrance to their being baptized in the Church; and Stephen Bishop of Rome uses the corresponding term "proprie baptizent" of baptism into any sect. "If any then come to you from whatever heresy, let no innovation be made other than has been handed down, that hands be laid on to repentance, since the heretics themselves do not give any baptism of their own to each other, when they come to them, but only admit them to communion," (ap. Cypr. ep. 73. ad Pomp.) i. e. they accepted each other's baptism as valid, and did not themselves baptize; à fortiori therefore, argues Stephen, ought not the Church.

desirable, may be dispensed with for some greater good. This may account perhaps for the apparent want of distinct rule in the Eastern Church, in their rejection or admission of the baptism of different heretics. Thus the baptism of the Cathari or Novatians was admitted by the Councils of Laodicea (can. 7.), Constantinople 1. (can. 7.), as was also the Quartodeciman at Laodicea and Constantinople; which last also admitted the Arian, Macedonian, and Apollinarian; rejecting that of "all other heretics," and by name that of the Montanists and Sabellians; the Montanists were also rejected at Laodicea (can. 8.) and the Paulianists[g] at Nice (can. 19.) The Council in Trullo (A.D. 692.) instances the Eunomians, Montanists, Sabellians, and Paulianists as *among* those who were to be baptized, without specifying whose baptism it accounted valid, (can. 95.)

S. Cyprian and Firmilian both have traces of the Greek rule, though they extend it further. Thus Firmilian uses the same instance as S. Basil, of the Montanist heretics: "It suffices to say briefly that they who hold not the true God the Father, cannot hold the truth of the Son or the Holy Spirit, according to which they also who are called Cataphryges, and essay to maintain new prophecies, can have neither the Father nor the Son; of whom if we ask what Christ they preach, they will answer that they preach Him Who sent the Spirit by Montanus and Prisca. In whom when we perceive that there is a spirit not of truth but of error, we know that they who maintain a false prophecy against the faith of Christ, cannot have Christ." §. 6.

In like way S. Cyprian, although he joins schismatics and heretics together, in the detail of his arguments dwells chiefly on heretical baptism, and his great earnestness in this question seems to have been called out by Stephen's broad declaration in favour not of schismatical, but of all heretical, baptism; "from whatever heresy." Thus to Jubaianus, §. 4. "Since I found it written in an Epistle, of which you transmitted a copy to me, that no enquiry is to be made who baptized, since the baptized person may receive remission of sins according to his belief, I thought this topic not to be passed over, *especially* when in the same Epistle, I observed mention to be made of Marcion also, saying that not even such as came from him were to be baptized, as appearing to have been already baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ. We ought therefore to consider the faith of those who believe out of the Church, whether according to that same faith they can obtain any grace. *For if we have one Faith with heretics, there may be one grace also.* If the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church, is confessed by Patripassians, Anthropians, Valentinians, Appelletians, Ophites, Marcionites, and the other pests and swords and poisons for the destruction of the truth, then also may there

[g] S. Augustine conjectures ("unde credendum est") that the Paulianist baptism was rejected "because they did not retain the form of Baptism, which many other heretics, when departing from the Catholic Church, took with them and keep it." Innocent, Bishop of Rome, asserts it, (Ep. 22. ad Episc. Maced. c. 5.) This is however only applying the Latin rule to the Greek Church, and arguing that they acted upon it.

NOTE ON DE BAPT.

be 'one Baptism,' if there is 'one Faith.' Of these S. Cyprian takes the case of Marcion mentioned in the letter, and having laid down as the rule, the Form of Baptism given by our Lord after the Resurrection, he says, "He conveys the Trinity, in Whose sacrament the nations were to be baptized. Does then Marcion hold this Trinity? Does he maintain the same Father, the Creator, as we? Does he know the same Son, Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, Who being 'the Word, was made flesh,' Who 'bore our sins,' Who by dying overcame death, Who first by Himself commenced 'the Resurrection of the flesh,' and shewed His disciples, that He had risen in the same flesh? Far other is the faith with Marcion, yea and with the other heretics:—How then can he who is baptized among them seem to have obtained remission of sins and the grace of the Divine pardon through his faith, who hath not the truth of the Faith itself? For if, as some think, one could receive any thing out of the Church according to his faith, he hath assuredly received that which he believed. But believing what is false, he could not receive the true, but rather things adulterous and profane, like his belief?" and later, (§. 16.) "What then is it other than to become partaker with blaspheming heretics, to undertake to maintain, that he can receive remission of sins in the Name of Christ, who blasphemes and sins heavily against the Father and Lord and God of Christ? What then, what sort of thing is, that he who 'denieth the Son' of God, 'hath not the Father,' and he who denieth the Father hath the Son, when the Son Himself solemnly pronounceth, 'No one can come unto Me unless it were given him of the Father?'—Believest thou that Christ giveth remission to the impious and sacrilegious and blasphemous against His Father, and in Baptism remitteth sins to them who are known, when baptized, to heap up the same blasphemies against the Person of the Father?—It is an execrable and detestable thing, which is by some asserted, that He Who threateneth that whoso blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost shall be guilty of an eternal sin, should be said to sanctify in saving Baptism blasphemers against God the Father;" and a little later, (§. 18.) "Wherefore we and heretics cannot have a common Baptism, since we have neither God the Father, nor the Son Christ, nor the Holy Ghost, nor the faith, nor the Church in common." In like way in the Epistle to Pompeius, (Ep. 73. §. 7.) "Whereas then no heresy whatever, nor even any schism can know the sanctification of saving Baptism out of the Church, how is it that the harsh obduracy of our brother Stephen has burst forth so vehemently, as to affirm that even of the baptism of Marcion, of Valentinus again and Apelles and the other blasphemers against God the Father, sons of God are born, and that remission of sins is given them in the Name of Jesus Christ, when they blaspheme against the Father and the Lord God Christ?" [? "of Christ," as before.]

Thus far S. Cyprian speaks quite according to the tenor of the Greek rule; and even the rejection of Novatian baptism seems rather an extension of the application of that rule, than the adoption of a new one. "Heresy," according to S. Basil, was misbelief in the Blessed Trinity

according to S. Cyprian, it seems to have been rejection of any article of the Creed, and so obstinate rejection of the Church became heresy as well as schism. Thus the Council argues, (Ep. 69. ad Januar. &c. de Bapt. Hæret.) "But the very interrogatory in Baptism is a witness of the truth. For when we say, 'Believest thou in everlasting life and remission of sins through the holy Church?' we mean that remission of sins is not given except in the Church, but that among heretics, where there is no Church, sins cannot be forgiven. They then who affirm that heretics can baptize, let them either change the interrogatory, or maintain the truth, unless they ascribe also a Church to those, whom they contend to have a baptism;" and of Novatian himself, (Ep. 75. ad Magn. §. 6.) "But if any object that Novatian holds the same rule as the Catholic Church, baptizes with the same Creed as we, knoweth the same God the Father, the same Son Christ, the same Holy Spirit, and on that account may claim the power of baptizing, because in the interrogatory of Baptism he seemeth not to differ from us, whosoever objecteth this, let him know, in the first instance, that we and schismatics have not one rule of the Creed, nor the same interrogatory. For when they say, 'Believest thou remission of sins and life eternal through the holy Church?' they lie in the interrogatory, since they have not a Church. Then further by their own words, themselves confess that remission of sins cannot be given save through the holy Church; which not having, they shew that sins cannot be remitted among them."

The origin of this modification of the Greek view [h] (as it may be considered) is not known; we see it to be as old as Tertullian; S. Cyprian only states it to have been settled many years before him by a Council under Agrippinus; his date or the grounds upon which he went we know not. "This did Agrippinus, a man of excellent memory, with the rest of his co-Bishops, who at that time governed the Church of the Lord in the provinces of Africa and Numidia, set fast and establish by the well-weighed investigation of a common Council;" (Ep. 70. ad Quint. §. 4.) and again, (Ep. 72. ad Jub. §. 3.) "Among us it is no new or sudden thing, that we hold that they who from the heretics come to the Church, should be baptized, since it is now many years and a long period, since the Bishops assembling together with Agrippinus, a man of excellent memory, established this, and thenceforward to the present day have so many thousands of heretics in our provinces, being converted to the Church, not disdained or hesitated, yea rather have reasonably and readily embraced the reception of the grace of the life-giving Washing and saving Baptism."

S. Cyprian does not, however, appeal to tradition; rather he is so fully persuaded that the African practice was that required by Holy Scripture, that he hesitates not to call that alleged by Stephen a "human tradition," as, of course, any must be which really opposed Holy Scripture. And herein we may see again, how the question of schismatical baptism was in

[h] Perhaps it is to this modification of the Greek rule that Eusebius refers, (H. E. vii. 2.) "no small question having been stirred at this time, whether those converted *from any heresy whatsoever* (ἐξ ὁἱασδ' οὖν αἱρέσεως) should be cleansed by Baptism." Eus. is speaking of S. Cyprian only.

NOTE ON DE BAPT.

S. Cyprian's mind incidental and subordinate to that of heretical; for the passages of Scripture, on which he maintains the rejection of the baptism, are those in which Scripture strongly rejects the heretics themselves, "If heretics are no otherwise named than as adversaries and antichrists, and are pronounced persons to be avoided, and perverse, and condemned of themselves, what manner of thing is this, that it is not to be thought good that they be condemned by us, of whom it is certain by the Apostolic witness, that they are condemned of themselves? So that no one ought to impute to the Apostles, as though they had approved of the baptism of heretics or received them to communion without the Baptism of the Church, when the Apostles wrote such things of heretics, and this, when the more grievous heretical plagues had not burst out; for not as yet had Marcion of Pontus raised his head from Pontus—who, more shamelessly and rudely than the rest, formed his blasphemies against God the Father, the Creator.—Since then it is certain that more and worse heresies arose afterwards, and since in times past, it was no where commanded that the heretics receive imposition of hands only to repentance, and since 'Baptism' is 'one' only, that with us, and within, and by the Divine mercy vouchsafed to the Church, what is that obduracy or that presumption of preferring a human tradition to the Divine ordinances?" (Ep. 73. ad Pomp. §. 2. 3.) and again, (ad Jubaian. §. 13.) "But if we consider what the Apostles thought of heretics, we shall find that in all their Epistles they execrated and abhorred the sacrilegious pravity of heretics. For when they say that 'their word creepeth as doth a cancre,' how can that 'word' give remission of sins, which 'like a cancre' creepeth to the ears of the hearers? And when they say that 'righteousness hath no fellowship with unrighteousness, light no communion with darkness,' how can either 'darkness' enlighten, or 'unrighteousness' justify? And when they say that they are 'not of God,' but are of the 'spirit of Anti-Christ,' how do they bear spiritual and Divine things, who are enemies of God, and whose breast the 'spirit of Anti-Christ' has possessed? Wherefore if laying aside the errors of human contention, we go back with pure and holy faithfulness to the authority of the Gospel and tradition of the Apostles, we shall understand that they have no power as to the saving grace in the Church, who, scattering and opposing the Church of Christ, are by Christ Himself called 'adversaries,' by His Apostles, Anti-Christs."

S. Cyprian then, declares the claim of Stephen for the Roman practice to be an Apostolic tradition to be erroneous; he speaks of it as "a practice which had crept in among certain," (ad Pomp. §. 9.) as Firmilian adverts to other points in which the practice of Rome was no proof of genuine tradition, (§. 5.) S. Cyprian also seems to account for the absence of a tradition strictly Apostolic, in that the case itself would scarcely occur in Apostolic times. (Ep. 70. ad Quint. §. 2.) "And they say that in this they follow ancient practice when among the ancients heresy and schism were yet in their first beginnings, so that those involved therein were such as departed from the Church, and had been baptized in her, whom when they returned to the Church and performed penitence, there was then ye

no need to baptize." "This we also," subjoins S. Cyprian, "observe to this day, so that for those, of whom it is known that they were baptized in the Church, and went over from us to the heretics, if afterward perceiving their sin—they return to the truth and to their original, imposition of hands to repentance sufficeth; so that, because it had been a sheep, the Shepherd may receive back this estranged and wandering sheep into His fold. But if he who cometh from the heretics, was not before baptized in the Church, but comes, being altogether an alien and profane, he is to be baptized that he may become a sheep, because there is one water in the holy Church, which maketh sheep." This is the same principle as Dionysius states that he had received from Heraclas, and this may have been, as S. Cyprian seems to suggest, the origin of the Roman practice, that it continued to apply to all cases what was the practice in all cases, so long as heresy was in its infancy, and the only heretics were such as had "gone out" (1 John 2, 19.) from the Church.

The principle of the Roman practice is contained in the few fragments of the Epistle of Stephen, Bp. of Rome, preserved in Firmilian and S. Cyprian; it is the same as that developed by S. Augustine, though its *known* date is much more modern than the Greek view, A. 256. It is, as before said, that the invocation of the Sacred Names with the use of water, constitutes valid Baptism, whatever may have been the mind of the officiating Priest; (a view at variance with their modern doctrine, that the "intention" of the Priest is essential to the efficacy of the Sacrament.) Firmilian says, (§. 8.) "That also is unreasonable that they hold that no enquiry is to be made who is the baptizer, because the baptized may obtain the grace, by the invocation of the Names of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." And this by virtue of that Invocation, (ib. §. 18.) "But, he saith, the Name of Christ availeth much to faith and the sanctification of Baptism, so that whosoever is wheresoever baptized in the Name of Christ forthwith obtains the grace of Christ." And S. Cyprian meets the same statement, "Or if they ascribe the effect of Baptism to the majesty of the Name, so that they who are wheresoever and howsoever baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, are judged to be renewed and sanctified," (ad Pomp. §. 5.) And this is again probably the meaning of Stephen, in the saying quoted by Firmilian, (§. 11.) "Of what sort is that which Stephen will have to be, that to those who are baptized by heretics, there cometh the Presence and Holiness (sanctimoniam) of Christ?"

Two limitations of this view, which are afterwards found in S. Augustine, seem fairly to be supplied in this statement of Stephen. 1. That where he insists, that persons shall be received "from whatever heresy," he meant that the greatness of the heresy did not alone preclude their reception, provided that the holy words had been used; so that there is no ground for thinking that he would have admitted baptism, not in the Name of the Trinity, from which he derived its validity. 2. That he did not hold that the baptism was sufficient without being received into the Church, but that birth was then given, yet in order that it might grow up into life, those so born must be brought up in the Church. On this Firmilian says,

NOTE ON DE BAPT.

(§. 13.) "Unless indeed, as Stephen thinks, heresy gives birth and exposes her children, and when exposed the Church adopts, and nourishes as her own, those whom she bare not, seeing she cannot be the mother of alien children."

The Roman view was established in the West[h] by the Council of Arles, (A. 314.) Can. 8. "With regard to the Africans, who act on a rule of their own, in rebaptizing, it hath seemed good, that if any come to the Church out of heresy, he be asked the Creed, and if they see that he was baptized in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, let him receive imposition of hands, that he may receive the Holy Ghost; but if when interrogated, he answer not this Trinity, let him be baptized."

To this Council it seems most probable[i] that S. Augustine refers, in the many places, when he speaks of the question having been settled by a full Council of the whole Church; at least, the Council of Arles is the only Council which speaks directly upon it. If we supposed S. Augustine to refer to the Council of Nice, we must have concluded that he made the same inference as S. Jerome[k], that in that the Council (Can. 19.) only commanded the Paulianists to be rebaptized, the Fathers there meant that all other heretics might be admitted by laying on of hands only, which is contrary to the Greek practice, both before and after.

The Council of Carthage[l] (A. 349.) enforced (against the Dona-

[h] Bellarmine (de Sacram. i. 26.) quotes S. Augustine, Ep. 48, (93. §. 58.) ad Vincent. as saying that S. Cyprian changed his views; S. Augustine only conjectures that he *may* so have done, but that at all events he did not (like the Donatists) make a schism. S. Jerome (c. Lucif. c. 25.) says that the Bishops of the Council of Carthage changed their practice and reversed their decree; but S. Augustine, on the spot, could not have been ignorant of this, nor, if true, would have failed to urge it.

[i] See Launoy, Diss. de vera plenarii apud Augustinum Concilii notione, and his defences of it. Before him, Sirmond took the same view Præf. ad Concil. Gall. T. 1. He is followed by the Benedictines on S. Aug. de Bapt. c. Donat. ii. 9. note b. Tillemont (H. E. t. 4. Notes sur S. Cyprian Note 44.) states the difficulties fairly on both sides, and inclines to the opinion of "a very enlightened and wise person," that the Council of Arles was very little known in S. Augustine's time except in the practice founded on its decisions, that he being educated in the African Church, which acted in obedience to it, thought that the authority to which the African Church deferred, was that of a General Council, and that the more, since it was not disputed by the Donatists, but without any definite knowledge of it. And certainly it is remarkable, as he observes, that S. Augustine, in general so precise, no where names this Council, though he does the Council of Nice (Ep. 110.) nor alleges its words, but quotes it vaguely as a Council "after the martyrdom of Cyprian, but before himself was born." de Bapt. c. Don. ii. 9. S. Augustine also quotes the Nicene Council by name on the very Canon in question as to the Paulianists. de Har. c. 44.

[k] c. Lucif. fin. "The Nicene Council, which we have just mentioned, admitted all heretics except the disciples of Paul of Samosata," i.e. commanded no others to be baptized but these. Siricius Bp. of Rome seems to have made the same inferences, (Ep. ad Himer. Can. 5. Concil. t. 2. p. 1018, quoted by Tillemont. l. c.) "whom [the Arians] with the Novatians and other heretics, we, as was established in the Council, receive into the congregation of the Catholics, through the invocation alone of the seven-fold Spirit, by the laying-on of the hands of the Bishop," but the 8th Canon, to which this seems in part to refer, says nothing of any other heretics, nor of the baptism of the Novatians, but only of their Orders; and S. Basil, well acquainted with its Canons, does not speak decisively about it.

[l] Can. 1. That whoso was baptized,

tists) the decision of that of Arles; the adherence of that Church became the more fixed, through the misapplication made by the Donatists of S. Cypriau's rule and authority: nor would she be tempted to violate the principles she had adopted, by the advantage taken by the Donatists, who represented that it was the safer side to receive their baptism, since the Church, by not rebaptizing, acknowledged its validity, whereas the Donatists, by rebaptizing, disallowed that of the Church. Adherence to her rule under this disadvantage would strengthen the Church's stedfastness iu it. The validity then of all Baptism, wherein the right "matter" and "words" had been used, became thenceforth the rule of the Latin Church, except that in the later times, the Roman Church has left it to her Bishops to dispense with her rule, when there seems to them "reasonable cause[m]," and virtually (among ourselves at least) has adopted conditional rebaptizing as her rule; the Scotch branch of our Church has formally sanctioned[n] conditional Baptism, wherever the parties themselves entertain doubts of their schismatical baptism; and such is the growing practice in our own.

The Greek Church continued their rule, retaining the tradition both of the rule, and of the cases in which it had been enforced, without defining it in the same formal way as the Latin Church. The Council iu Trullo (Quini-sextum) formally acknowledged as part of its code, not the Apostolic Canons only, but those of S. Basil, (Can. 2.) while in a subsequent Canon, (95) it speaks generally of "heretics whose Baptism is accounted valid," i. e. according to the tradition of the Church, and of others "whose Baptism is not accounted valid," but of these it mentions only some cases[o], (see ab. p. 289.) The same is observable in the lists given by Timotheus Presbyter, (A. 500.) afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople[p], who divides heretics into three classes, according as they were [1]) baptized on returning

having been interrogated as to the Trinity, according to the faith of the Gospel and doctrine of the Apostles, and confessed a good conscience toward God as to the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, might not again be interrogated as to that faith, nor again baptized."

[m] "Heretics coming to the Catholic Church, in whose Baptism the due 'form' or 'matter' has not been retained, are to be duly baptized—but where the due 'form' and 'matter' have been retained, let only those things be supplied which were omitted, *unless for a reasonable cause it seem otherwise to the Bishop.*" Rubric on Baptism of Adults in Roman Ritual, set forth by Paul v. ap. Ass. ii. 20.

[n] Synod of 1838, Can. 17.

[o] Writers, who assume that the Greek Church acted upon the Latin rule, (of which there is no trace in the Greek Church, but the contrary,) regard these Canons as contradictory; and that the Council adopted and rejected S. Basil's Canon at the same time: so Bingham, "Remarks on the author of the second part of Lay-Baptism invalid." Works, t. 2. p. 595. 6.

[p] Nicephorus ap. Voss. de Bapt. Addend. §. 7. ad Disp. 20. who cites the following authors also.

The letter, published by Balsamon, t. i. p. 1098, 9, and filled up by Possevini (Apparatus S. t. 2. v. Timotheus) classes heretics thus, [1] Tascodrugi Marcionites, Saccophori, Apotactites [Encratites,] (see S. Basil, sup. p. 287.) Valentinians, or Basilidians, or Hermæans, Nicolaitans, Montanists, Pepuzenes, Manichæans, Eunomians or Anomœans, Paulianists, Photinians, Sabellians, [Marcellians,] Cerinthians, Menandrians, Ebionites, Simonians (from Simon M.), Carpocratians, Saturnians [Saturnilians, Epiph.], and those derived from the impious Marcus, and Apelles, and Theodotus the tanner,

NOTE ON DE BAPT.

to the Church, or [2]) received the Chrism only, or [3]) only anathematized their errors. Yet we cannot see for the most part on what principle they are so distributed, but Timotheus asserts it to be traditionary. "We then, considering all these things with the wise fathers, have been taught by them, that as the Catholic Church of old received, and as our practice is preserved in the patriarchates and metropolitan Churches, so we also ought to follow." And this traditionary character of the rule is the more implied, in that heresies are enumerated, as falling under the different heads, which have for many centuries been extinct in the Church, and which would have been forgotten, had the Greek, like the Roman Church, proceeded on a precise well-defined line, and not rather on what had been done in former times.

The same classification is retained, and the same persons ranked in each class by Theodorus Studites, (A.D. 817.) who is less accurate however in details [q].

In later times, we find the Romanists complaining (Conc. Lat. iv. Can. 43.) that in times past "the Greeks presumed, with a rash boldness, even to re-baptize those who had been baptized by Latins, and some (as we have heard) still do not fear to do this." This the Greeks did, in conformity with their old practice, regarding the Latins as heretical as to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, in that they added Filioque to the Nicene Creed.

Possibly, the difference of the Greek and Roman practice may be accounted for (as far as conjecture may be allowed in a point so obscure) by the more grievous character of the heresies, with which the Greek Church was harassed; so that the original rule may have been to reject heretical, accept schismatical Baptism, (as S. Basil states it to have been in the East,) and this having been acted upon with regard to heretics in the East,

the Helcesaites, those from Nepos, and Pelagius, and Celestius, [as agreeing with Nestorius,] and the Melchisedekites. [2] The Tessaresdekitæ, Novatians or Sabbatians, Arians, Macedonians, and Apollinarians. [3] The Meletians, (schismatics) Nestorians, Eutychians, and their companion Dioscorus, Severus, Jacobus, and the rest of the Acephali, [i. e. Theodosians, Tritheites, Gaianites or Julianites, Anthropomorphites, Barsumphites, Esaianites, Petrians, Damianites, Sergians,] Marcionites, (from Marcion the Trapezite,) Messalians or Euchites, Enthusiastæ, Choreutæ, Lampetians, Adelphians, Eustathians, Aposchistæ or Dosarii. Timotheus subjoins that "in the Patriarchate or Metropolitan Churches, the Armenians, Jacobites, and Nestorians, and the rest of the Acephali and those like them, who were converted to the orthodox faith, received the Chrism not Baptism, and that this had been recently introduced for good reasons," which seems to be a continuance of the same dispensing power, implied by S. Basil.

[q] He says the Marcionites, Tascodrugi, Manichees, and those who rank with them down to the Melchisedekites, twenty-five heresies, are baptized. The Tessareseaidekatites, Novatians, Arians, Macedonians, and Apollinarians, together five, receive the holy Chrism. But they who are neither baptized, nor receive the Chrism, but only anathematize their own and every other heresy, are the Meletians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and those classed with these down to the present heresy, which for the present is not numbered by me, on account of the many divisions of the Acephali." Theodorus, however, applies the Latin rule, "the Apostolic Canon calls them heretics, who are not baptized or baptize not in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," instead of S. Basil's of the absence of sound faith in Them.

schismatics in the West, the one practice may have been extended to heretics by Stephen, as the other to schismatics by the Bishops in the time of Firmilian, when the validity of schismatic baptism was a novel question.

The practice now adopted by the Scotch Church and in our own, with regard to persons baptized by such as are not only in schism, but never received any commission to baptize, (a case to which there is no parallel in the early Church,) unites the advantages of the Latin and Greek practice; of the Latin, in that it avoids the risk of real re-baptizing, which the ancients regarded as a profanation of the Sacred Names; of the Greek, in that it does what it in us lies, to provide that none of the blessings and grace of Baptism be lost through our omission, and is an act of piety towards God, desiring that whatever may have hitherto been lacking, be supplied.

OF PRAYER.

[The different tone in which Tertullian speaks on the Shepherd of Hermas and on fasting in the De Oratione, (c. 16. 18.) and in his Montanist works, (De Pudic. c. 10. 20. and De Jej. c. 2.) is decisive that it was written before his fall, (see Lumper. c. 2. art. 3. §. 2. who adds other grounds not so valid; he thinks also that T. calls Hermas "Scripture," "almost Scripture," but wrongly, see c. 16.) S. Hilary also speaks of it, as written, while sound in the faith. "On the Sacrament of prayer, Cyprian, of holy memory, has freed us from the need of writing. Although Tertullian also wrote a most suitable treatise thereon; but the subsequent error of the man, deprived of authority even his approved writings." in Matt. c. 5. init.]

De Orat. IX. 1.

I. The Spirit[a] of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God—Word of Reason, and Reason of Word, and Spirit of both[b]—Jesus Christ our Lord hath ordained for us, the disciples of the New Testament, a new form of Prayer. For it was meet that, in this kind also, *new wine should be laid up in new bottles*, and *a new piece sewn to a new garment*. But whatever had been in time past, hath been either changed, as circumcision; or fulfilled, as the rest of the law; or accomplished, as prophecy; or perfected, as Faith itself. The new grace of God hath fashioned anew all things from carnal to spiritual, in bringing in, over all, the Gospel, the abolisher of all the ancient bygone things. In which our Lord Jesus

Mat. 9, 16. 17.

[a] See note H, at the end of this treatise.

[b] i. e. our Lord is not only The Spirit and the Word and the Reason of God, but, when contemplated as The Reason, He is also The Word; as The Word, He is also The Reason; and as Both, Spirit, i. e. of the Very Essence of the Father, Who "is a Spirit." The words are "Sermo Rationis et Ratio Sermonis et Spiritus utrumque" (=utrorumque sc. Rationis et Sermonis.) Thus each clause corresponds to the preceding. Muratori, (Anecdota, t. iii. p. 6.) joins utrumque with what follows, but then "et spiritus" stands unconnected. Muratori supposes this to be a passage in which the Father is called Ratio and Sermo, as though "Sermo Rationis" were the same as S. Ambrose's "Verbum de Verbo," (see note H,) but the identity of the words "Verbum de Verbo," is the very peculiarity which, according to S. Ambrose, justifies the mode of speech.

Christ hath been approved as the Spirit of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God: the Spirit, by which He prevailed; the Word, by which He taught; the Reason, by which He came[c]. Thus, therefore, the Prayer framed by Christ hath been framed out of three things—the Word, by which it is expressed; the Spirit, by which alone it hath power[d]; the Reason, by which it is conceived. John also had taught his disciples to pray; but all that was of John was a *preparing of the way* for Christ, until when Himself should have increased, (as the same John foretold that *He must increase but himself decrease,*) the whole work of the forerunner together with the Spirit Itself, should pass to the Lord[e]. And therefore it doth not appear in what words John taught them to pray, because that earthly things have given place to heavenly. *He that is of the earth,* he saith, *speaketh the things of the earth; and He that is of Heaven speaketh the things which He hath seen.* And what is there that is of the Lord Christ, as is this instruction in prayer also, which is not heavenly? Let us consider then, blessed sirs, first, His heavenly wisdom in the commandment to pray in secret, wherein He both exacted the faith of man, in surely believing that the eye and the ear of Almighty God are present under coverings, and even in secret places[f], and required also a modesty in faith, in offering his religious service to Him alone, Who, he trusteth, heareth and seeth every where: next, His wisdom in the next commandment, which though it pertaineth in like manner to Faith and the modesty of Faith, that we should not think that God must be approached with a multitude of words, Who, we are sure, provideth for His own of His own accord, yet is this brevity (and this formeth the third step in the said wisdom) upheld by the support of a large and blessed interpretation, and is as much expanded in meaning as it is compressed in words. For it hath embraced not only the proper offices of

John 6, 63.

John 3, 30. ib. 1, 33.

ib. 3, 31. 32.

Matt. 6, 6.

v. 7.

v. 8.

[c] i. e. as He, "in Whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," "Who manifested the Name of the Father," (John 17, 6.) in Whom "were hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," (Col. 2, 3.) Who is "the Wisdom of God," (1 Cor. 1, 24.) &c. "ratio *qua* venit" seems a necessary correction for "quo venit."

[d] see c. 9.

[e] See de Bapt. c. 10, and note.

[f] S. Cyprian de Orat. §. 2.

De Orat. IX. 3.

Prayer, or [1] reverence of God, or the petition of man, but almost every discourse of the Lord, every record of His rule of life, so that, in truth, there is comprehended in the Prayer a summary of the whole Gospel.

[1] vel

II. It beginneth with a testimony to God, and with the reward of Faith, when we say, Our Father, which art in Heaven. For herein we both pray to God, and commend the Faith whose reward it is thus to entitle Him. It is written, *To them that believed on Him gave He power to be called the sons of God.* And, indeed, the Lord hath very frequently proclaimed God to us as a Father; yea, and hath taught us to *call no man father upon earth, but Him only Whom we have in Heaven.* Wherefore in thus praying we obey also a commandment. Happy they who acknowledge Him as a Father! This it is with which Israel is reproached, when the Spirit calleth *Heaven* and *earth* to witness, saying, *I have begotten children, and they have not acknowledged me.* But, in calling Him Father, we entitle Him also God. This title is one both of affection and authority. Moreover, in the Father, the Son also is called upon; for, saith He, *I and the Father are one.* Nor is even our Mother Church passed by, that is, if in the Father and the Son be recognized the mother also, of whom it is that the names both of Father and Son exist [g]. Under one kind then, or indeed one word, we both honour God with His own [h], and remember a commandment, and set a mark upon those that forget the Father [i].

John 1, 12.

Mat. 23, 9.

Is. 1, 2.

John 10, 30.

III. The Name of God the Father had been disclosed to none. Even Moses, who had asked it of Himself, had heard in truth another name. To us it hath been revealed in the Son. For now is the Son a new Name of the Father. *I am*

John 5, 43.

[g] i. e. in Himself, the Name of God the Father implies the Son, Who is One with Him; with relation to us, it implies a mother, i. e. the Church; whence in S. Cypr. de Unit. c. 5. "he can no longer have God for a Father who had not the Church for a mother," and he paraphrases this passage, de Orat. Dom. §. 6. p. 182. Oxf. Transl. "Father of those who being sanctified by Him, and made again by a nativity of spiritual grace, have begun to be the sons of God."

[h] suis. His Son and His Church.

[i] S. Cyprian l. c. explains this of the Jews, with reference to S. John 8, 44.

come, saith He, *in the Father's Name.* And again: *Father, glorify Thy Name:* and more plainly: *I have manifested Thy Name unto men.* We ask therefore that this NAME may BE HALLOWED: not that it becometh men to wish well to God, as though there were Any Other[i] from Whom it could be wished for Him, or He were hindered of it unless we wished. Meet indeed is it that God should be blessed in every place and time by every man, for the remembrance, ever due, of His benefits. But this too standeth in the place of blessing. And yet when hath not the Name of God been holy and sanctified by Himself, seeing that of Himself He sanctifieth all others? to Whom that company of angels *round about rest not saying, Holy, Holy, Holy!* In like manner therefore we also, looking to be angels, if we so deserve[k], even from hence[l] learn that heavenly address to God, the office also of future glory. Thus much as respecteth the glory of God. On the other hand, as respecteth our own petition, when we say, HALLOWED BE THY NAME, we pray that It may *be hallowed* in us, who are in Him, and at the same time in all others also, whom the grace of God yet awaiteth, that we may in this also obey a commandment in praying for all, even for our enemies. And therefore stopping short in our expression, and not saying, be It hallowed "in us," we say (in effect) be It hallowed "in all."

John 12, 28. 17, 6.

[i] alius

Rev. 4, 8.

Mat. 5, 44.

IV. Next to this clause we add, THY WILL BE DONE IN HEAVEN AND IN EARTH: not that any can hinder the doing of His will, and that we pray for Him that His will may have success, but we ask that His will may be done in all men. For, by a figurative interpretation of the flesh and the spirit, we are the Heaven and the Earth[m]. Although even if it be to be understood simply, yet is the sense of the petition the same, that in us, the *will* of God may *be done in earth*, to wit, that it may hereafter be done *in Heaven* also. And what doth God will, but that we should walk according to His rule? We ask therefore that He supply us with the substance and power of His will, that we may be saved[n] both *in Heaven*

[k] meruerimus A. meminerimus Gel. Rig. Mur. "if we be mindful" i. e. of our calling.

[l] i. e. from this earth.

[m] S. Cypr. l. c. c. 11. Greg. Naz. Or. 1. [2.] ap Lac.

[n] S. Greg. Nyss. de Orat. Dom. c. 4. "The will of God is the salvation of

De Orat. IX. 5.

and *in earth*, seeing that the sum of His will is the salvation of those whom He hath adopted. That also is the will of God, which the Lord hath executed in preaching, in working, in suffering[o]. For so hath He Himself declared, that He John 6, 38; 5, 30. *did not His own will, but the will of the Father.* Without doubt the things which He did, they were *the will of the Father*, to the which, as to ensamples, are we now called forth, that we may both preach, and work, and suffer, even unto death. The which that we may be able to fulfil, we have need of the will of God[p]. Likewise when we say, Thy will be done, even in this we wish well to ourselves, because there is no evil in the will of God, even though there be somewhat contrariwise inflicted according to the deserts of each. By the very saying of this we premonish ourselves unto patience. The Lord also, when, by the reality[q] of His Passion, He had now willed to shew in His own flesh the Luke 22, 42. weakness of the flesh, saith, *Father, remove this cup,*—and then remembering Himself—*nevertheless, not My will but Thine be done.* He was Himself the Will[r] and the Power[s] of the Father, and yet, for the shewing forth of the patience which He owed, He committed Himself to the will of the Father.

V. Thy Kingdom come, likewise hath the same reference as hath also Thy Will be done; to wit, in ourselves. For Prov. 21, 1. when is God not a King, *in Whose hand is the heart of all kings?* But whatsoever we wish for ourselves, we divine to be His, and to Him attribute, what from Him we expect. Wherefore, if the present coming of the Lord's Kingdom Rom. 8, 19. pertain to the will of God, and to our *earnest expectation*, how pray some for a sort of prolonging of the world[t], when

man." Cassian Coll. ix. 19. "or thus, the will of God is the salvation of all, according to the saying of the blessed Paul, 1 Tim. 2, 4."

[o] S. Cypr. l. c. c. 10.

[p] S. Cypr. l. c. c. 9.

[q] cum substantia restored. This may be tacitly opposed to the Gnostics. Rig. substitutes "sub instantiam" "at the instant approach of;" a conjecture of Ursini's. S. Cypr. l. c. "The Lord, manifesting the infirmity of that human nature, which He bare."

[r] See Note I, at the end of this Treatise.

[s] 1 Cor. 1, 24. Clem. Al. Strom. vii. p. 703. ap. Bull iv. 2. 1. "But the whole operation of the Son hath reference to the Almighty, and the Son is, as it were, an Operation of the Father," (πατρικὴ τις ἐνέργεια.)

[t] See on Apol. c. 32. p. 72. n. u. Rig. with A. omits "in" "a prolonged existence in the world;" and T. in the other places is speaking of the delay of the consummation of all things, not of

the *Kingdom* of God, which we pray may *come*, looketh to the consummation of the world? We desire to reign the sooner, and not to serve the longer. Even were it not prescribed in the Prayer about praying for the *coming* of the *Kingdom*, we should of our own accord put forth His word, pressing forward towards the apprehending of our hope. The souls of the martyrs cry unto the Lord reproachfully[u] under the altar, *How long, O Lord, dost Thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?* For doubtless the avenging[x] of these is regulated by the end of the world. Yea, with all speed, O Lord, *Thy Kingdom come!* the prayer of the Christians, the confusion of the Heathen, the joy of the Angels[y], for which we strive, yea rather for which we pray. Rev. 6, 9. 10.

VI. But how choicely hath Divine Wisdom drawn up the order of the Prayer, that after heavenly things, that is, after the *Name* of God, the *Will* of God, and the *Kingdom* of God, it should give to the petition a place for earthly wants likewise! For the Lord had also declared, *Seek ye first the Kingdom, and then these things also shall be added unto you.* Mat. 6, 33. Although we may rather understand spiritually, GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD. For Christ is our Bread, because Christ is life, and bread is life. *I am*, saith He, *the Bread of life*: and a little above, *The Bread is the Word of the living God Which cometh down from Heaven.* Then again because in the Bread is understood His Body[z]: *This is My Body.* Wherefore in praying for *daily bread*, we pray to be John 6, 35. cf. 33. Luke 22, 19.

the close, a little sooner or later, of our own lives. S. Cyprian (de Mortal. c. 13. p. 225, 6. Oxf. Tr.) uses the same language of individual continuance in life.

[u] so Rig. with A. Gel. and others "in visu" "in the vision."

[x] S. Cypr. de Bono Pat. c. 15. 16. p. 263, 4. Oxf. Tr.

[y] See de Spect. fin.

[z] This petition is understood of the Holy Eucharist by S. Cyprian also l. c. c. 13. S. Cyril Jer. xxiii. 15. S. Athanas. de Incarn. et c. Arian. §. 16. t. i. p. 883. S. Ambrose de Sacr. v. 4. §. 24. 25. S. Chrys. in Cat. Nicetæ, S. Aug. Ep. 130. ad Prob. (as one meaning) Serm. 58. in Matt. 6. c. 4. (but in the de Serm. Dom. in Mont. ii. 7. he rejects this and takes one meaning only, inferring also that the Greeks could not so understand it, since they did not receive It daily,) Jerome adv. Pel. l. 3. §. 15. Marius Victorin. l. i. ii. iii. adv. Arian. Pet. Chrysol. Serm. 67. 68. 70. 72. ad Orat. Dom. Greg. Mor. l. 33. c. 5. Sedul. l. 2. Op. Pasch. c. 11. p. 480. Chromat. and Juvencus ad loc. Theophyl. ad loc. Procop. ad Levit. Damasc. de Fid. Orth. iv. 13. It is interpreted of our Lord without further explanation by S. Jerome ad loc. in Ep. ad Tit. 2, 11. 12. Orig. Hom. 14 in Ezek. fin. Maximus Taur. in Caten. Nicetæ, Cassian Coll. ix. 20. Isidor. Pel. Ep. 281. S. Cyril of Alex. l. 13. de Adorat. p. 471. says "all is divine and spiritual." See Suicer v. ἐπιούσιος, Pfeiffer de v. ἐπιούσιος, Thes. Theol. Phil. App. ad Crit. S. t. ii. p. 122.

De Orat. IX. 7.

perpetually in Christ, and undivided from His Body[a]. But because this word also hath a carnal meaning, this cannot be without a religious regard for a spiritual rule likewise. For He commandeth *bread* to be prayed for, which thing alone is necessary[b] for the faithful, *For after the rest do the Gentiles seek.* And this again He impresseth by examples, and treateth of in parables, when He saith, *Doth a father take bread from his children, and give it unto dogs?* And again: *When a son asketh bread, doth he give him a stone?* For He sheweth what sons may expect from a father. Moreover also that one, that knocked at the door by night, asked for bread. But with good cause hath He added, GIVE US THIS DAY, seeing that He had said before, *Take no thought for the morrow*[c] *what ye shall eat.* To which matter He hath also applied the parable of that man, who, when his fruits were coming in, *thought within himself* of *building greater barns*, and of times for long *taking his ease*: on that very night he dieth.

Mat. 6, 32. cf. Mat. 15, 26. Mat. 7, 9. Luke 11, 5. Mat. 6, 34. Luke 12, 22. ver. 16.

VII. It followed that, having noted the bounty of God, we should pray for His mercy also. For what will meats profit, if we be reckoned, as touching them[d], in very deed as a bull for the slaughter? The Lord knew that Himself only was *without sin.* He teacheth therefore that we pray that OUR DEBTS *be* FORGIVEN *us.* Prayer for forgiveness is confession, for he that asketh forgiveness confesseth sin. Thus also is repentance manifested, acceptable to God, because *He willeth* this *rather* than *the death of a sinner.* But a *debt* is, in the Scriptures, a figure for a sin, because payment is in like manner by just sentence due, and by the same demanded, nor can it evade the justice of the demand, unless the demand be remitted, as the Lord *forgave* that servant *the debt.* For the example of the whole parable looketh this way. For, whereas *the same servant*, when *loosed* by *his lord*, doth not in like manner spare his own debtor, and, being on that account accused before his lord, is *delivered to the tormentor*

Heb. 4, 15. Ezek. 18, 23. Mat. 18, 27.

[a] S. Cypr. l. c.

[b] S. Greg. Nyss. Serm. 4. in Orat. Dom. S. Cypr. l. c. S. Aug. Ep. 130. S. Chrys.

[c] S. Greg. Nyss. l. c. S. Cypr. l. c. c. 14.

[d] illis *restored* with A. i. e. if food is only given us as to animals fed to be slaughtered, if all be but indulgence for a time, to end in Death. Rig. corrects illi "in His sight" needlessly.

till he should pay the uttermost farthing, that is, the very least sin, with this agreeth that we also profess to FORGIVE OUR DEBTORS. Moreover He saith also in another place, according to this kind of Prayer, *Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you.* And when Peter had asked whether he should *forgive his brother until seven times*, *Yea*, saith He, *until seventy times seven*, that He might remould the law for the better; because in Genesis the *avenging of Cain* is reckoned at *sevenfold*, but that of Lamech at *seventy and seven fold*[e]. Luke 6, 37. Mat. 18, 22. Gen. 4, 24.

VIII. For the completing of this so brief Prayer, that we might pray, not only for the forgiveness, but also for the entire turning away of sins, He hath added, LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION: that is, suffer us not to be led, to wit by him who tempteth. But God forbid that *the Lord* should be thought to *tempt*, as though He were ignorant concerning the faith of any man, or were consenting[f] to its overthrow. Both infirmity and malice are of the Devil. For even Abraham He had commanded to make an offering of his son, for the sake not of tempting, but of proving, his faith; that through him He might set forth an example of His own precept, wherein He would afterwards command that not even children must be accounted dearer than God. He Himself *being tempted of the Devil*, shewed who was the head and contriver of temptation. This passage He confirmeth by His after words, when He saith, *Pray lest ye be tempted.* And so they were tempted, in forsaking the Lord, who had given themselves to sleep[g] rather than to prayer. With this correspondeth the clause, which interpreteth the meaning of *Lead us not into temptation;* for this is, *But deliver us from Evil*[h]. James 1, 13. Mat. 10, 37. Luke 4, 2. Mat. 26, 41. ver. 56. ver. 40.

[e] Orig. and S. Hilary in Matt. and Theoph. Aut. ap. Huet. ad Orig. explain the passage of S. Matt. also with reference to Lamech.

[f] dejicere sit consentiens. editt. ante-Rig. In A. there remains deicere nstiens, (i. e. [co]nsentiens) the intermediate letters being worn out. Rig.'s "aut dejicere gestiens" is a conjecture.

[g] see de Bapt. c. ult.

[h] i. e. "from the evil one," Satan. see de Fuga in Pers. c. 2. where T. uses the word "malignus," but he also uses "malus ille" = *ὁ πονηρός*, of Satan de Cult. Fem. ii. 5. and "malus" de Idol. c. 16. and 21. de Pat. c. 11. 14. and so interprets "malum," de Test. An. c. 3. n. p. comp. S. Greg. Nyss. Orat. 5. fin. S. Cyril Jer. xxiii. (Myst. 5.) §. 18. S. Chrys. Hom. 19. in S. Matt. S. Jerome adv. Jov. §. 3. Cassian, Coll. ix. 23. Chromat. ad loc. S. Ambrose de Sacr. v. §. pen. gives both "from the Enemy, from sin," S. Cyprian includes both in one, c. 18. p. 192. Oxf. Tr.

De Orat. IX. 11.

IX. In the brief summary of a few words, how many sayings of the Prophets, Gospels, Apostles, discourses of the Lord, parables, examples, precepts, are touched upon[i]! How many duties are at once discharged! The honouring of God in the Father, the testimony of Faith in the Name, the offering of obedience in the Will, the remembrance of hope in the Kingdom, the petition for life in the Bread, the confession of debts in the prayer to forgive, the anxious care about temptations in the call for defence. What wonder? God alone could teach how He would have Himself prayed to. The sacred duty therefore of Prayer, ordained by Himself, and animated by His own Spirit, even at the time when it proceeded from the Divine mouth, ascendeth, of its own right, unto Heaven, commending to the Father what the Son hath taught.

Mat. 7, 7.

X. Yet since the Lord, Who foreseeth human wants, after delivering the rule of Prayer, saith separately, *Ask, and ye shall receive,* and since there are things which be desired according to the case of each, after that the regular and set form of prayer hath been first used, there is a liberty allowed to desires[k] added as it were to the foundation, there is a liberty to build thereupon extraneous petitions, yet with remembrance of the commandments, lest the farther from the commandments, the farther we be from the ears of God.

Mat. 5, 23.

XI. The remembrance of the commandments paveth the way to Heaven for prayers, of which commandments the chief is, that we go not up to the altar of God before that we undo whatever quarrel or enmity we may have contracted with our brethren. For what is it to retire[l] unto *the peace of God*, without peace? unto the remission of debts, retaining debts? How shall he appease the Father, who is angry with his brother, seeing that all anger is, from the beginning, forbidden us? For Joseph also, when he sendeth away his brethren to bring their father to him, saith, *and fall*

Gen 45, 24.

not out by the way. Verily he admonished us, for our

[i] S. Cypr. de Or. Dom. c. 5.

[k] quasi fundamento accedentium desideriorum, cod. Mediol. (containing the de oratione only) which so corresponds with the cod. Agob. that it is probably derived from the same source.

[l] i. e. from a brother, and so approach to God, recedere A. although the same hand corrects "accedere" "approach unto."

Religion is elsewhere called a *way*: and again that, when set in *the way* of Prayer, we should not approach the *Father* with anger. Next, the Lord, when enlarging the Law, doth in plain words add to murder anger against a brother, alloweth not that it should quit itself even by an ill-word. Even if one must needs *be angry*, it must not be beyond the *going down of the sun*, as the Apostle admonisheth. But how rash a thing is it either to pass a day without prayer, while thou delayest to make satisfaction to a brother, or by persisting in wrath, to undo prayer!

Mat. 5, 22.

Eph. 4, 26.

XII. Nor ought the intention of Prayer to be free from anger only, but from all disorder of the mind whatever, being sent forth from such a spirit, as is The Spirit to Whom it is sent. For the defiled spirit cannot be acknowledged by The Holy Spirit, nor the gloomy by the joyful, nor the thralled by the free. No one entertaineth an adversary: no one admitteth any, save his own compeer.

XIII. But again what reason is there in entering upon Prayer with the hands indeed washed[m], but the spirit foul? whereas even to the hands spiritual cleanness is necessary, that they may be lifted up pure from deceit, from murder, from cruelty, from witchcrafts, from idolatry, and the rest of those defilements, which, conceived by the spirit, are wrought by the operation of the hands. This is the true cleanness, not such as most men superstitiously care for, using water before all prayer, even to the washing of the whole body. This when I scrupulously enquired into, and sought after the reason of it, I found it to be a commemoration of the delivering up[n] of the Lord. We adore the Lord, not deliver Him up. Nay, we ought even to act contrary to the example of him who delivered Him up, and not therefore to wash the hands, unless, for conscience sake, we wash away the defilement of the conversation of men.

[m] The rite of early washing before private prayer is mentioned in the Ap. Constt. 8, 32. of washing the hands before public prayer by S. Chrysostom frequently; Paulinus, Eusebius, &c. see Bingham 8, 3. 6. S. Chrys. also speaks against it, like Tert., without inward purity, (Hom. 6 in 1 Tim.) see also Baron. Ann. t. i. p. 459.

[n] by Pilate to be crucified. The cod. Med. adds "Pilatum manus abluisse" "a commemoration of Pilate's having washed his hands, for the delivering up of the Lord" [i. e. with a safe conscience]. It seems a gloss.

De Orat. IX. 15. cf. John 13, 10.

XIV. But the hands are *clean* enough, which we have *washed* once[o] for all, with the whole body, in Christ. Although Israel wash daily in every member, yet is he never clean. Surely his hands are ever unclean, stained eternally with the blood of the Prophets and of the Lord Himself. And therefore sinners by inheritance, through consciousness of their fathers, they dare not so much as lift them up unto the Lord, lest some Isaiah cry out, lest Christ shudder. But we not only lift them up, but even spread them out, modelling them after the Lord's Passion[p], and, while we pray, confess Christ.

cf. Mat. 23, 31. Is. 1, 15.

XV. But since we have touched upon one point of empty ceremony, we shall not think it ill to note the rest also, which may justly be upbraided with vanity, if, that is, they be done without the authority of any command either of the Lord or the Apostles. For such like things are set down not to Religion but to superstition, being affected, and forced, and pertaining rather to an over-curious, than to a *reasonable service;* certainly to be restrained, if only because they level us with the Gentiles. As for instance, it is the way with some to make their prayer with their cloaks put off, for thus approach the Heathen their idols[q]. Which, were it meet to be done, the Apostles surely, who teach concerning the habit befitting Prayer, would have included, unless any think that Paul *left his cloak with Carpus* during prayer. God forsooth may not hear men in their cloaks, Who heard three Saints in the furnace of the king of Babylon praying in *their coats and their hats!*

Rom. 12, 1.

2 Tim. 4, 13.

Dan. 3, 21.

XVI. Moreover I see not clearly the reason why it is the custom with some, prayer being concluded, to sit down: unless, if that Hermas, whose writing is commonly entitled 'The Shepherd,' having finished his prayer, had not set down upon his bed, but had done something else, we might insist on the observance of this also. Surely not: for even here "When I had prayed and set down upon my bed"[r] is put simply in the course of narration, not as a model of discipline. Otherwise one must pray no where

[o] See on de Bapt. c. 12. n. i.
[p] See on Apol. c. 30. Naz. Or. iv. 71.
[q] Æsch. Sept. c. Theb. 98. ap. Her. Digr.
[r] Herm. Past. l. 2. Proœm.

save where there is a bed: nay one will act contrary to the writing[s], if he sit down on a chair or a bench. Moreover seeing that the Heathen do likewise, in sitting down after[t] praying to their puppets, it deserveth to be blamed in us, were it only that it is observed in the case of idols. To this is added a charge of irreverence also, to be understood even by the Gentiles, if they had any understanding. If indeed it be irreverent to sit under the eye, and directly in the eye, of him, whom thou especially reverest and veneratest, how much more exceedingly irreligious is that act under the eye of the Living God, the *Angel* of Prayer still *standing by*, unless we are reproaching God for that our prayer hath wearied us! Luke 1, 11.

XVII. But in praying with modesty and humility, we shall the rather commend our prayers unto God, not even our hands being lifted up too high, but being lifted up with moderation and seemliness; not even our face being raised upward with boldness. For that Publican, who prayed humbled and abased, not only in his prayer but even in his countenance, went away *justified rather* than that most impudent Pharisee. Meet it is also that we do it subduing the tone of the voice: otherwise of what windpipes have we need, if we be heard according to our loudness[v]! But not of Luke 18, 10.

[s] Scripturæ. i. e. the Pastor itself, upon which they professed to act. Origen, in the same way, says, "provided however persons think that writing (scriptura) ought to be received," (Hom. 8. in Num.) In a corresponding place, (Hom. 1. in Ps. 37.) he substitutes the word "libellus," Hom. 35. in Luc. he has "hujusmodi scripturam." S. Irenæus indeed does quote it as Scripture (iv. 3.) probably ascribing to it the same degree of secondary inspiration, as the fathers and our homilies do to the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament. It is, in a remarkable way, joined with those books as of the same character, by Origen de Princ. ii. 1. (where he speaks of both as Scripture) iii. 2. in Joh. t. 1. (as "divinely inspired"); by S. Athanasius Epist. Fest. 39. t. i. p. 693. ed. Ben.; Rufinus Expos. Symb. Ap.; S. Jerome Prol. Galeat. In the same sense, it is spoken of as "speaking divinely," Clem. Al. Strom. i. fin. p. 356. S. Athanasius de Incarn. §. 3. (though not canonical, de Decr. Nic. Syn. §. 18.) It was read in Churches (Eus. H. E. iii. 3.) in the East (S. Jerome Script. Eccl. Cat.)

[t] Pind. Isthm. 6. 81. It was a law of Numa (Plutarch. in vit.) still followed in Plutarch's time, Id. Quæstt. Rom. ap. Cotel. ad Herm. see also La Cerd. in Æn. ix. 4.

[v] "Hence the fathers observe that the 'loud crying' which the prophets sent forth to God was not of the lips but the eagerness of the soul." Theodoret ap. Murat. add S. Cypr. de Orat. c. 2. Basil in Ps. 33, 16. Macarius Hom. 6. S. Aug. in Ps. 30. Enarr. 4. §. 10. "Loud crying to God is not with the voice but the heart. Many silent with their lips have cried aloud with their heart; many, noisy with their lips, could with heart turned away

De Orat. IX. 18.

the voice but of the heart is God the hearer, as He is the seer. The demon of the Pythian oracle[u] saith, 'I both understand the dumb, and hear him that speaketh not.' Do the ears of God wait for sound? How then could the prayer of Jonah from the inmost belly of the whale, through the bowels of so great a creature, out of the very bottomless depths, through so great a mass of waters, make its way to Heaven? What more shall they gain, who pray more loudly than others, save that they stun their neighbours[x]? Nay, in publishing abroad their prayers, what do they less than if they should pray in public?

XVIII. Another custom hath now gained strength. They that are fasting, having prayed with their brethren, withdraw the kiss of peace, which is the seal of Prayer. For at what time should peace rather be exchanged with the brethren, than when prayer, the rather thereby commanded, ascendeth up, so that they, being made partakers of our deed, may now dare to treat with a brother touching their own peace[y]? What prayer is perfect when severed from the holy kiss? Whom doth peace hinder in rendering his service to God? What sort of sacrifice is that, from which one returneth without peace? Of whatever sort be the action, it will not be better than the observance of that precept, wherein we are commanded to have our fasts *in secret*. For, by abstaining from the kiss, we are at once known to be fasting. But even if there be any reason in it, yet, that thou be not guilty touching this commandment, thou canst at home, if so it chance, delay thy peace with those amongst whom it is not possible that thy fast should be altogether secret. But in what other place soever thou canst hide thy action, thou oughtest to remember the commandment: so shalt thou satisfy both thy rule abroad, and thy custom at home. So

Matt. 6, 18.

obtain nothing. If then thou criest, cry within, where God heareth." comp. in Ps. 3. §. 4. Ps. 4. §. 5. Ps. 5. §. 2. &c. S. Hil. in Ps. 129. §. 2. "Prayer is intercourse with God. Wherefore whether in whisper, or not even opening the lips, we speak with silence, we cry aloud within." Clem. Al. Strom. vii. 7. p. 306.

[u] Herod. i. 47.

[x] Cassian, Coll. ix. 34.

[y] i. e. as Herald. explains it (Digr. ii. 3,) that our brethren partaking of the benefit of our prayer (and that, the more acceptable to God through fasting, coll. S. Cypr. de Orat. c. 27.) as sealed to them with the kiss of peace, may be the more encouraged to be at peace with others. Operatio is used of the fast immediately afterwards and in the de Jejun. c. 8. 9. and by S. Cypr. l. c.

also on the Paschal Day[z], on which the strict observance of the fast is general, and as it were public, with good cause we lay aside the kiss, caring nothing about hiding that, which we are doing in common with all.

XIX. In like manner also most think, that on the days of stations[a] they ought not to attend the prayers at the sacrifices, because, when the Body of the Lord hath been re-

[z] i. e. of the Passion; Good-Friday; adv. Jud. c. 10. "the Pascha is the Passion of the Lord," the *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον* as opposed to the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον* or Easter-Day, see Suicer v. *πάσχα* ii. 1. p. 621 sqq. The *νηστεία τοῦ πάσχα* is used also of the whole of Passion-week, Constt. Ap. v. 14. Berno, c. 7. ap. Murat. assigns the reason "we abstain from the kiss on account of the act of the traitor Judas, who by a kiss of pretended peace betrayed the Lord Jesus Christ." Muratori is inclined to infer from this passage and the de Jej. c. 2, that the two days of the Crucifixion and Burial of our Lord were alone observed as fasts in the African Church in Tertullian's time. But T. himself in the de Jejuniis c. 13. attests that "the Catholics" [and this must have been not individuals among them but the whole Church] "did fast besides the Paschal times, beyond those days in which the Bridegroom was taken away, both interposing the half-fasts of the stationary days, and sometimes living on bread and water, [the *ξηροφαγία*] as to each seemed good." The differences then were, 1. That this fast was looked upon as most directly commanded by the Lord; this and Easter Even were the days on which the Bridegroom was taken away: 2. They were stricter fasts, of entire abstinence, continuing to the evening, whereas on the stationary days, food might be taken at 3. (And this falls in with T.'s argument here, that the kiss seemed to dissolve the fast, as others he says *in like way* imagined that the receiving of the Holy Eucharist did on the stationary days: so that he contemplated a longer and stricter fast.) 3. It may have been also that persons were left to their own discretion, such as omitted to fast being free from ecclesiastical censures, whence T. in the de Jej. l. c. goes on to represent the Catholics as arguing, "Lastly ye say that this is to be done of choice not of command," and replies that whether of choice or command, they did *observe* these further fasts, and so had nothing to urge against the Montanists. "Ye have shifted your ground then, by exceeding the tradition, when ye observe what has not been appointed." Bp. Beveridge has shewn that the forty-days of Lent are presupposed by the Council of Nice, Can. 5. [and also Can. 1.] were kept in the time of S. Athanasius; were held to be an Apostolic institution by Eusebius as well as S. Jerome, S. Augustine, S. Basil, Theophilus, and S. Cyril Alex. &c.; were accounted by S. Irenæus as the accurate way of observing it, and also as ancient, (although he also mentions that of keeping one or two days only,) and are mentioned by Origen (contemporary with T.) Hom. x. in Levit. Bev. Can. Cod. l. 3. de Jej. Quadrag. add Bp. G. Hooper, Hist. Account of Lent.

[a] The Wednesday and Friday of each week, so called from מעמד (see Buxt. Lex. Talm. in v.) They are alluded to again de Jej. c. 14. in the Ap. Can. 69. Hermas Pastor. l. 3. sim. 5. S. Clem. Al. Strom. vii. §. 12. p. 316. Origen Hom. 10 in Lev.; and the Friday c. Cels. l. viii. 22. Peter Alex. Can. 15. Victorinus Mart. de Fabr. Mundi. S. Basil, Ep. 289, ad Cæsar. S. Jerome in Gal. c. 4. S. Epiphanius Expos. Fid. Constt. Ap. v. 15. vii. 33. S. Aug. Ep. 36 ad Casulan. The Holy Communion is mentioned to have been celebrated on these same days by S. Basil, S. Epiphanius, Prudentius, Cathem. Hymn. 8. S. Ambrose, Hom. 8. in Ps. 118, 62. see Bev. l. c. c. 10. Bingham, 21. 3. There is perhaps here a trace of a wish to lengthen out the fast of these days, upon which, as a Montanist, T. insisted, de Jej. c. 10.

De Orat. IX. 21.

ceived, the station must be broken up. Doth then the Eucharist break up a service devoted to God? Doth it not the more bind to God? Will not thy station be the more solemn, if thou standest also at the altar of God? When the Body of the Lord hath been received and reserved[b], both are saved, both the partaking of the sacrifice, and the fulfilment of the service. If the station taketh its name from the model of war, (for we are also the soldiers of God,) surely no joy, or sorrow, that cometh upon the camp, cutteth short the stations of the soldiers. For joy will the more willingly, sorrow the more painfully, attend to discipline.

2 Tim. 2, 3. 4.

XX. But on the single point of the dress of women, the variety of observance maketh me act shamelessly in treating of it—a man, as I am, so utterly of no account—after the most holy Apostle, save that it is not shamelessly, if I treat it according to the Apostle. Touching modesty of dress and ornament, the rule of Peter is also plain, who forbiddeth with the same voice, because with the same Spirit also, as Paul, both the vain glory of *apparel*, and the pride of *gold*, and the meretricious pains-taking with *the hair*.

1 Tim. 2, 9. 1 Pet. 3, 3.

XXI. But that which is commonly observed throughout the Churches, must needs be treated as a point undetermined, whether virgins ought to be veiled or no. For they who allow virgins to have the head *uncovered*, seem to lean upon this, that the Apostle hath not particularly specified[c] that virgins, but that *women* should *be covered*, not the sex, as though he said 'females,' but a class of the sex by saying *women*. For had he named the sex by saying 'females,' he would have laid down the rule absolutely for every woman. Again, when he nameth one class of the sex, he excepteth, by his silence, another. For, say they, he might have named either 'virgins' specially, or, by a comprehensive term, 'females' generally.

1 Cor. 11, 6.

XXII. They who allow this, ought to consider the case

[b] See ad Ux. ii. 5. The Communion being a daily duty as well as privilege (see ab. on c. 6. n. z.) the Holy Eucharist was taken home by such as could not come to the daily assemblies, that they might partake of it in private. This practice had the obvious danger that it would be received with less reverence because with less solemnity, whence probably in later and less reverent times, the custom was abolished: see Bingham 15, 4. 13.

[c] Comp. de Virg. vel. c. 4.

of the word itself, what is a 'woman' from the earliest writings of the Sacred Records; for they there find that it is a name for the sex, not a class of the sex; if so be that God called Eve, who had not yet known a man, both *woman* and *female*[d]. Wherefore Eve, while yet unmarried, was already entitled *woman:* this title was made common to the virgin also. And no wonder, that the Apostle, moved surely by the same Spirit by Which, as *all* Divine *Scripture*, so also that Book of Genesis was composed, hath, in putting *woman*, used the same word which, because of the instance of Eve unmarried, belongeth to the virgin also. All the other passages moreover sound not like it[f]; for, by the very fact of his not having named virgins, (as in another place[g], where he teacheth concerning marriage,) he sufficiently declareth that the thing is said of every woman, and of the whole sex, and that there is no distinction made of the virgin: he doth not name her at all. For he, who elsewhere remembereth to make a distinction, to wit when the difference requireth it, (and he distinguisheth each class by denoting them by their proper titles,) where he distinguisheth not, in not naming each, wisheth no difference to be understood. What if it be the practice in the Greek language, in which the Apostle wrote his letters, to call women as well as females, that is γυναῖκες, as θηλεῖαι[h]. Wherefore if this word be often

Gen. 1, 27. 2, 2.

2 Tim. 3, 16.

[d] The words feminam qua sexum generaliter, mulierem qua gradus sexus specialiter, "'female' for the sex generally, 'woman' for the class of the sex specially," have been omitted, as being probably a gloss, in that in their plainest sense they contradict the context, in which T. is shewing that "mulier" is used of the sex generally. Eve also did not at that time belong to the class, intended by "mulier" in its specific sense "woman," comp. de Virg. vel. c. 5. In the same book c. 4. T. speaks of both as generic terms, and contrasted with the specific terms, "virgin," "married," "widow." "Naturale vocabulum est femina. Naturalis vocabuli generale mulier. Generalis etiam speciale, virgo vel nupta, vel vidua, vel quot etiam ætatis nomina accedunt."

[e] quo cum omnis Scriptura divinitatum, et illa Genesis, may be construed; but Dr. Routh's neat correction 'with the same sense' seems much more probable, cum omnis Scriptura Divina, tum et illa.

[f] i. e. like the idea of virgins being excepted. [Tr.]

[g] i. e. since in 1 Cor. 7, 34. where he meant to distinguish between a "woman" (i. e. a wife) and a "virgin," he names the "virgin;" here, where he does not name her, he means no such distinction.

[h] usui est mulieres vocare tam fœminas id est γυναῖκας quam θηλείας. T.'s meaning is clear, that the Greek word which the Apostle used, γυνὴ, is taken both in the specific sense of a "married woman" and the more general "female." But unless he has used the words vaguely, there must be some transposition, since mulier and γυνὴ are

De Orat. IX. 22. used for the name of the sex, which is by interpretation use for that which is a female, in saying '*γυνὴ*,' he hath name the sex. And in the sex the virgin also is touched upo

1 Cor. 11, 5. But there is also a clear declaration: *Every woman*, sait he, *that prayeth and prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head.* What is *every* woman, but of ever age, of every rank, of every condition? In saying *every* he exceepteth nothing of 'womankind,' as neither doth he e 'man' who is not to be veiled, for he saith in like manne

ver. 4. *every man.* As therefore, in the male sex, under the nam of *man*, the boy also is forbidden to be veiled[1], so also, i the female, under the name of *woman*, the virgin also i commanded to be veiled. In either sex equally let th younger age follow the rule of the elder: let the virgi males too be veiled, if the virgin females be unveiled, fo neither are these included by name. Let the man and th boy be distinct, if the woman and the virgin be distinct. I

ver. 10. is in truth *because of the Angels* that he saith they ought t

Gen. 6, 2. be veiled, since the Angels fell from God[k] because of *th daughters of men.* Who then would contend that *wome* alone, that is already married, and dead to the virgin stat were objects of desire[l], except it be that virgins cann excel in beauty and find lovers? Yea, I am considerin

[1] videmus ne MS. Med. whether[1] they did not desire virgins alone, when the Scrip ture saith *the daughters of men*, because it could have calle them the wives of men, or women indifferently. That to which it saith, *And they took them for wives*, maketh fo this, because such are taken for wives, to wit, such as ar

the more specific names, signifying the married state as well as the sex, fœmina and *θηλεία* the more general. Mur. comments as though it had stood "quam fœminas," "to use the specific term 'mulier' more than 'fœmina,' i. e. *γυνὴ* more than *θηλεία*;" i. e. to use in the general sense of "woman" the term which is specifically used of the "married woman," *γυνὴ* rather than the more general term *θηλεία*; which is so. In the de Virg. vel. c. 5. T. says, "The Greeks, who more [than we] use the word mulier, *γυνὴ*, of a wife."

[1] The MS. has Nihil mulieris excipit, dicendo omnis, sicut nec vir [viri] nec velandi; proinde enim 'omnis vir' desit. "The translator has hazarded th conjecture 'viri,' which is in some de gree favoured by an almost identica passage, where the words correspond ing to 'sicut nec vir nec velandi' ar 'æque et de viro nec velando.' Th words 'nec velandi' may then b paraphrased 'qui cum vir sit, ideire non velandus est.' The form of th negative is illative as in Soph. An *χρὴ γυναῖκας εἶναι τάσδε μηδ' ἀνιμένας.* [Tr.]

[k] See on Apol. c. 22. n. c. de Virg vel. c. 7.

[l] "concupiscentiæ" rendered a though it were "esse concupisc."

free: whereas it would have expressed it otherwise concerning such as are not free. They are free then as well through widowhood as through virginity; and so, by calling the sex generally *daughters*, it hath also mixed together the species in the genus. Also when he saith that *nature itself* 1 Cor. 11, 14. *teacheth* that women should be veiled, in that it hath *given* 15. *hair to women for a covering* and an ornament, hath not the same *covering* and the same *glory* of the head been assigned to virgins also? If it be *a shame for a woman to be shorn*, ver. 6. it is equally so for a virgin[m]. For those therefore, to whom one condition of the head is reckoned, one law also for the head is required, even for those virgins, whom their childhood excuseth, for from the first she is called a female. Finally, Israel also thus observeth the law[n]. But if he observed it not, our law, enlarged and completed, would justify itself in the addition, in imposing the veil on virgins also. Let now that age be excused, which knoweth not its own sex: let it keep the privilege of its simplicity. For both Adam and Eve, when *knowledge* came to them, forthwith made coverings for themselves, because they had come to *know*. Yet surely in those, in whom childhood hath Gen. 3, 7. passed away, age ought to fulfil its duty, as to Nature, so also to Discipline. For both in their bodies and their functions they are transferred to the class of women. None is a virgin from the time when she is able to marry, since age, in her, hath already married its own husband, that is, time. But 'some one hath devoted herself to God.' Forthwith from that moment she both refashioneth her hair, and changeth all her dress to the way of women[o]. Let her therefore assert the whole character, and perform the whole part of a virgin. That which she hideth for the sake of God, let her completely cover over. It concerneth us to commend that, which the grace of God worketh, to the knowledge of God alone, lest we get from man the amends which we hope from God. Why barest thou before God what thou hidest before men? Wilt thou be more bashful in the public way than in the Church? If it be the grace of God, and *thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory*, saith 1 Cor. 4, 7.

[m] Comp. de Virg. vel. c. 7.

[n] See de Cor. c. 4. de Virg. vel. c. 11.

[o] i. e. the matronly habit, instead of the flowing locks of the unmarried.

De Orat. IX. 22.

he, *as if thou hadst not received it?* Why, by vaunting of thyself, dost thou judge others? Dost thou, by thy glorying, invite others to good? Nay, but thou thyself art in peril of losing it, if thou gloriest, and thou drivest others upon the same perils. That is easily plucked away, which is taken up through vain-glorious display. Be veiled, O virgin, if virgin thou art, for thou oughtest to be ashamed. If thou art a virgin, subject not thyself to many eyes. Let none wonder at thy face: let none discover thy feint. Thou feignest well the married woman, if thou veilest thy head. Nay, thou art not thought to feign, for thou hast wedded Christ[p]: to Him thou hast delivered up thy body. Act according to the rule of thy Husband. If He commandeth the married of others to be veiled, much more surely His own. But let no man think that she ought to be influenced by the rule of a predecessor[q]. Many[r] surrender to the custom of others their own sober judgment, and the strictness of it, so far as that these should not be compelled to be veiled. In any case it is fit that they who are so[s] of their own accord be not prevented, who now cannot deny themselves to be virgins, content to be misrepresented in the report of them, through the confidence of their conscience before God. Nevertheless as touching those who are assigned to their betrothed husbands[t], I can affirm and testify resolutely, above my measure, that they ought to be veiled from that day on which they trembled at the

[p] See de vel. Virg. c. 3. 9. 11. 16. ad Ux. i. 4. de Exh. Cast. fin. de Res. Carn. c. 8. de Monog. c. 13. S. Ambrose remarks on the number of consecrated virgins in Africa and the East, de Virginit. c. 7. §. 36. "Learn how many the Church of Alexandria and of the whole East and Africa is wont to consecrate yearly. Fewer of the human race are born here, than virgins are consecrated there," see on S. Aug. Conf. viii. 15. n. p.

[q] T. has the same argument on the same subject in the de Virg. vel. c. 1. where he contends (in favour of the Montanist revelations) that the articles of the Creed alone are immutable, in all other points, improvement is admissible, prescription no argument of truth. "Antecessoris" however need mean nothing more than some individual Bishop who preceded.

[r] multi. Many, who have the power of regulating, i. e. the Bishops, give up their own better judgment to a contrary practice.

[s] i. e. veiled; at least, virgins, who take the better course should not be hindered. So Dr. Routh. Mur. understands by "voluntariæ" "they who of their own accord are virgins," which he explains to be such as are neither married in the world or to Christ, but were waiting for earthly marriage; but these are less "voluntariæ" than those they are supposed to be opposed to, those who of their own will remain virgins altogether.

[t] De Virg. vel. c. 11.

first bodily touch of a man, in the kiss and the right hand. For in them, all hath already married, age through ripeness, and flesh through age, and spirit through consciousness, and modesty through trial of the kiss, and hope through expectation, and mind through will. And Rebecca is sufficient instance for us, who, her spouse being shewn her, veiled herself, married by the mere knowledge of him.

XXIII. As touching kneeling also, Prayer is subjected to a variation in the observance, through certain, a scanty few, who keep from their knees on the Sabbath[u]. Which disagreement being exceedingly criminated in the Churches, the Lord will give grace that they may either yield, or hold their own opinion without offence to others. But we, as we have received, ought, on the day of the Lord's[1] Resurrection alone, to keep from not only that[x], but every posture of painfulness, and to forbear offices, deferring even our business, that we *give no place to the Devil.* Equally in the period of Pentecost also, which is expended in the same solemnity of rejoicing[y]. But on every day who would hesitate to prostrate himself before God at least in that first prayer, with which we enter upon the dawn? But on the Fasts and Stations no prayer must be observed without kneeling, and the other usual modes of humiliation. For we are not only praying, but deprecating, and making satisfaction unto God our Lord. Concerning the times of prayer there is nothing prescribed at all, save simply, *to pray always* and *every where.*

[1] Dominicæ MS. Med.

Eph. 4, 27.

Luke 18, 1. 1 Tim. 2, 8.

XXIV. But how *every where*, when we are forbidden in public? *Every where*, he saith, where opportunity, or even necessity, hath given occasion. For it is not accounted an act contrary to the commandment in the Apostles, who in the prison *prayed and sang to God, the prisoners hearing*

Acts 16, 25.

[u] Joann. Monach. Canonarium ap. Morinus de Pœnit. "On all sabbaths, Lord's Days, and festivals of the Lord, and the twelve days, and likewise during the days from Easter to All-Saints, not to kneel in prayer," and in the Jur. Gr. Rom. l. 3. de Luc. Patriarch. §. 9. ap. Murat. "The Apostolic Canons punish whoso kneels or fasts on any Sabbath or on the Lord's day," which however is a mistake.

[x] sec de Cor. c. 3.

[y] The MS. has "pentecostes quæ eadem exultationis solemnitatem dispungimur." This being corrupt, Dr. Routh's slight change has been adopted, "solemnitate dispungitur." Muratori's is less neat, "q. e. ex. solemnitas est, dispungimus."

De Orat. IX. 26. *them;* in the case of Paul, who in the ship celebrated the Eucharist *in the presence of all.*

Acts 27, 35. XXV. But as touching the time, the outward[z] observance of certain hours besides will not be idle: I mean of those common ones, which mark the divisions of the day, the third the sixth, the ninth[a], which we may find more solemnized than the rest in the Scriptures. The first pouring of the Acts 2, 15. Holy Spirit on the assembled disciples was at the third hour Peter on the day, in which he experienced the vision of Acts 10, 9. every sort of *common thing* in that *vessel*, had *gone up into the housetop to pray at the sixth hour*[b]. He again, with Acts3,1. John, *went into the temple at the ninth hour*, when he ver. 16. restored the paralytic to his *soundness*. And though they stand simply without any precept for their observance, yet let it be thought good to establish any sort of presumption which may both render more strict the admonition to pray and, as it were by a law, force us away sometimes from our business to this service, (even as we read was the custom of Daniel also[d], according, no doubt, to the rule of Israel,) that so we should pray at least not seldomer than three times a day, we who are debtors to the Three[e], the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, exclusive, that is, of the regular prayers, which are due, without any admonition, at the beginning of day and night[f]. But it becometh the faithful neither to take food, nor to go to the bath, without first interposing a prayer. For the refreshment and food of the spirit must be esteemed before those of the flesh, and the things of Heaven before those of earth.

XXVI. A brother, that hath entered thine house, dismiss cf. Mat. 10, 40. not without a prayer. 'Thou hast seen,' saith He, 'thy

[z] as contrasted with the inward "praying always," end of c. 23.

[a] see de Jejun. c. 10. S. Cypr. de Orat. Dom. Constt. Ap. viii. 24. Clem. Al. Strom. vii. 7. p. 306. S. Basil Reg. Fus. Tract. Int. 37. S. Jerome, Ep. 107. ad Læt. §. 9.

[b] S. Cypr. l. c. also as the hour of the Crucifixion, Id. l. c. Coust. Ap. viii. 34.

[c] S. Basil, Reg. Fus. Tract. Int. 37. also as the hour of the Death of our Lord, Const. Ap. l. c. S. Cypr. l. c.

[d] i.e. even under the Old Testament; Maimon. de Prec. et Bened. Sacerd. c. 1. (Yad Chazaka lib. אהבה §. 2.) speaks of them as an institution of Ezra. On sabbaths and other festivals, they were four times a day; on the day of Atonement, five.

[e] Trium *added* from Cod. Med. The observation of the third, sixth, and ninth hours in honour of the Blessed Trinity is mentioned by S. Cypr. l. c.

[f] S. Cypr. de Orat. c. ult.

brother: thou hast seen thy Lord[g].' Specially a *stranger*, lest perchance he be an *angel*. But neither do thou, when thyself *entertained* by the brethren[h], 'put earthly refreshments before heavenly.' For straightway thy faith will be judged. Or how wilt thou say, according to the commandment, *Peace be to this house*, unless thou interchangest peace with those also, who are in the house? Heb. 13, 2. Luke 10, 5.

XXVII. The more diligent in praying are wont in their prayers to subjoin Alleluia, and Psalms of that class[i], in the closing words of which those present respond. And most excellent, surely, is every custom, which by *setting God before*[k] us and honouring Him, helpeth to bring unto Him, as our best victim, a well-enriched prayer. Ps. 16, 8.

XXVIII. For this is the spiritual victim which hath abolished the former sacrifices. *To what purpose*, saith He, *is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me? I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of lambs, and I will not have the blood of bulls and he-goats. For who hath required these things at your hands?* What therefore God *hath required*, the Gospel teacheth. *The hour shall come*, saith He, *when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. For God is a Spirit*, and therefore He *seeketh such to worship Him*. We are *the true worshippers*, and the true priests, who *praying in spirit*, in spirit would offer up the prayer of God, His own and acceptable, as that which He hath required, which He hath provided for Himself. This, devoted from the whole heart, fed by Faith, adorned by Truth, through innocence un- Is. 1, 11. 12. John 4, 23. 24.

[g] S. Clem. Alex. quotes the same words with the formula φησί, Strom. i. 18. p. 136. ed. Sylb. xii. 15. p. 168. Grabe supposes the allusion to be to Ex. 4, 16. Abp. Potter to Gen. 33, 10. or some apocryphal book.

[h] Dr. Routh's corrections "exceptus" for "exemtis," and "feceris" for "fecerit," have been adopted.

[i] Psalmi Alleluatici, i. e. those which close with the word Alleluia, as Ps. 104—106. 113. 115—118. 135. 146—150. They were obviously used at Festivals, forbidden in Fasts. On their use in different Churches, see Bingham, 14. 2. 4. The use of the "alleluia" in the Communion Service came to Rome from the Church of Jerusalem, S. Greg. M. Ep. l. ix. Ind. 2. Ep. 62.

[k] Et est optimum utique institutum omne, quod proponendo et honorando Deo, competit saturatam orationem—admovere, i. e. the use of the Alleluia or the Alleluiatic Psalms, as a subordinate part of devotion, are yet excellent, in so far as they contribute, by setting God before us, to devouter prayer. The construction however of "competo" with an inf. wants authority. Muratori then stops "Deo competit," in the sense "and most excellently truly does any rite, which contributes to set God before us, and honour Him, serve to bring Him," &c. making "admovere" to depend on "optimum est."

De Orat. IX. 29.

blemished, through chasteness clean, crowned by Love—we ought to lead up to the altar of God, amid Psalms and Hymns, with the train of good works, for that it shall obtain for us all things from God.

XXIX. For what hath God, Who requireth it, denied to the prayer that cometh of *spirit and truth?* We read, and we hear, and we believe how great are the proofs of its efficacy. Ancient Prayer indeed was wont to deliver both from fires, and from beasts, and from famine: and yet it had not received its form from Christ. But how much more largely doth the Christian Prayer—not place the angel of the *moist wind* in the midst of the fires, nor *shut the lions' mouths*, nor carry over to the hungry the dinner of the countrymen, nor by a deputed grace turn away any sense of suffering, but—furnish with patience men while suffering, and feeling, and grieving; enlarge grace through virtue, that Faith may know what it obtaineth of the Lord, by understanding what it suffereth for the Name of God. Moreover, in time past, Prayer was wont to bring down plagues, rout the armies of enemies, hinder the blessing of rain. But now the prayer of righteousness turneth aside all the wrath of God, keepeth watch for enemies, entreateth for persecutors. Is it wonderful that that knoweth how to wrest the waters[l] from Heaven, which could obtain even its fires? It is Prayer alone which overcometh God. But Christ hath determined that it worketh no ill. All its power He hath bestowed on it from good. Wherefore it knoweth nothing, save to call back the souls of the departed from the very pathway of death, to recover the weak, heal the sick, cleanse those possessed by devils, open the gates of the prison, loose the bands of the guiltless. It is this which washeth away sins, repelleth temptations, quencheth persecutions, comforteth the weak-hearted, rejoiceth the strong of heart, bringeth home travellers, stilleth the waves, confoundeth robbers, feedeth the poor, guideth the sick, raiseth the fallen, supporteth the stumbling, keepeth fast them that stand[m]. Prayer is the wall of Faith, our armour and weapons against

Song of the 3 Children 26. 27. Dan. 6, 22. Bel and the Dragon 33. 34.

James 5, 17.

Mat. 5, 44.

2 Kings 1, 10.

Acts 16, 25. 26.

[l] See Apol. c. 5. p. 13. and note z.

[m] comp. Litany, "to strengthen such as do stand, to comfort and help the weak-hearted, to raise up them that fall."

man[n], who watcheth us on every side. Wherefore never let us walk unarmed. By day let us remember our station, by night our watch. Under the arms of prayer let us guard the standard of our Captain: in Prayer let us await the trumpet of the Angel[o]. Even the Angels pray all. Every creature prayeth. The cattle and the wild beasts pray, and bend their knees, and going forth from their stalls and dens look up to Heaven, not listless[p] with their mouth, with quivering effort to move it with their own breath. Nay, even the birds, now as they soar, lift up themselves to Heaven, and stretch out the cross of their wings for hands, and utter somewhat, which may seem a prayer. What more then of the duty of Prayer? Even the Lord Himself hath prayed[r], to Whom be honour and power for ever and ever.

[n] Muratori supposes this may mean a persecuting Emperor; Oberthur's conjecture "hostem," i. e. Satan, for "hominem" (except as an easier reading) is more probable, coll. S. Cypr. de Zelo et liv. init.

[o] by night.

[p] otiosi ore perhaps otiosiores, Tr. Muratori proposes otioso or otiosæ, a fem. having preceded.

[q] vibrantes spiritu suo movere, sc. os or cælum, "movere," depending upon "vibrantes" as an Hellenism. As the mouth of the Christian is moved by the Holy Spirit, so the animal makes a sort of quivering effort, (vibrantes) movere os suum spiritu suo. [Tr.] so Muratori, if the text be sound. "conantes spiritu suo ora ad laudendum Deum atque orandum movere," or taken as an asyndeton, "beating [the air] with their breath [spirit] they move onward," "the sending forth their breath," corresponds with what he says of "the birds *uttering* somewhat like prayer;" "movere" may stand contrasted with "egredientes." In either case, T. interprets first the action of the animals, then their voice; "spiritu" is chosen probably as a purposely strong word, comp. Eccl. 3, 21.

[r] S. Cypr. l. c. c. 19.

Note H. *p.* 298.

The Divine Nature of our Lord is called "the Spirit" by many of the fathers, not as confusing Him with God the Holy Ghost, but because "God is a Spirit." Again, God the Word took unto Him the human nature, and became flesh, through the Operation of the Holy Ghost, so that the man Christ Jesus was born, it may be said, by the Word through the Holy Ghost. Thirdly, we are told in the Old Testament that "the Word of the Lord came" to the Prophets, as well as that they "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" and these are both united in the words, "the Spirit of Christ which was in them;" so that the fathers spake indifferently of the Word or the Spirit speaking in or by the Prophets. Fourthly, the

NOTES ON DE ORAT.

word may have been chosen purposely in order to express the Consubstantiality of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity[a]. Under some of these heads fall the different passages[b], in which the fathers speak of the Divine Nature of our Lord being "a" or "the Spirit."

1. Thus it is used of a "Spiritual Nature," as opposed to flesh, by S. Ignatius (Ep. ad Smyrn. Init. p. 34. see Bull def. Fid. Nic. i. 2. 5.) "in the immaculate Spirit, the Word of God, greeting," and S. Hermas, (Simil. 3. §. 5. p. 105. ib. and ii. 2. 3.) "The Son is the Holy Spirit," [i. e. the Divine Nature,] but the servant [the human nature] "is the Son of God;" and S. Barnabas, (c. 7. p. 21. ib.) "Since He was about to offer up for our sins the vessel of the Spirit," i. e. His human nature. S. Clement Rom. (Ep. 2. §. 9. p. 187. ib. ii. 3. 5.) "being Spirit, He became flesh." Tatian, c. 7. "That Heavenly Word, having been begotten a Spirit of the Father, and being the Word from the Power of the Word, made man the image of immortality." S. Iren. (5. 1. 2.) "For if, not being man, He seemed man, He neither remained what He in truth was, Spirit of God, (Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ) since the Spirit is invisible," and (§. 3.) "In the end, the Word of God and Spirit of God, united with the ancient substance of the formation of Adam, formed a living and perfect Man, receiving the perfect Father." S. Athanas. (de Incarn. Christi ap. Præf. Bened. ad Hil. §. 63.) "God the Word is a Spirit," and the author of the "de Communi Essentia Patris et Fil. et Sp. S. (§. 49. ap. Athanas. T. 2. p. 26. ib.) "Christ Himself calleth the Divinity of the Word Holy Spirit, (as He said to the Samaritan woman that God is a Spirit,) but His humanity the Son of man;" and S. Greg. Naz. (Or. 45. ol. 42. §. 9.) "And God coming forth with that He had taken, was One out of two contraries, flesh and Spirit, whereof One deified, the other was deified:" and S. Hilary, (de Trin. ix. 14.) "Who when He had emptied Himself that remaining the Spirit Christ He the Same might be the man Christ:" and Gregory de Fide Orthod. (c. 8. ap. S. Ambr. App. T. 2. p. 355. quoted by S. Aug. Ep. 148. §. 10.) "when He deigned to put on man, He brought not corruption into His Eternal Nature, so as to change Spirit into flesh." The author of the de Mont. Sina et Sion adv. Jud. ap. Cypr. §. 3. "On which Mount [Sion] the Holy Spirit, the Son of God." To this class belongs, in Tertullian himself, Apol. c. 21. and adv. Prax. c. 27. and adv. Marc. iii. 6. "unwilling to admit that heretofore also the Word and Spirit, i. e. The Christ of the Creator, was despised by them.—For if thou deniest not that the Son and Spirit and Essence of the Creator is His Christ," &c. adv. Prax. c. 14. "For we say that the Son also was in Himself so far invisible, as the Word and Spirit of God:" and c. 27. "Of these Jesus consisted, of flesh as man, of Spirit as God, Whom then the Angel, in that He

[a] Bp. Bull refers to Holy Scripture itself for the Divine Nature in Christ being spoken of as "the Spirit," Mark 2, 8. Rom. 1, 3. 4. 1 Tim. 3, 16. Heb. 9, 14. 1 Pet. 3, 18—20. John 6, 63. coll. 56. [add 1 Cor. 15, 45.]

[b] The following passages are chiefly supplied by Bp. Bull, l. c. Grotius ad Marc. 2, 8. (who observes that this way of speaking was continued even after the Arian and Macedonian heresies, as by Phœbadius and Epiphanius,) the Benedictine Editors of S. Hilary, Præf. §. 57 sqq. p. xviii—xx. and Bp. Kaye, Tertullian, and Justin Martyr.

was Spirit, declared the Son of God, reserving to the flesh to be called the Son of man.—Thou who explainest the Son of God of the flesh, say who is the Son of man: or, will He be Spirit? but thou willest that the Spirit is the Father Himself; because God is a Spirit, as though there were not also a Spirit of God, as God is the Word and there is the Word of God," de Carne Christi, c. 18. " If He had flesh as well as Spirit, when He pronounces (Joh. 3, 6.) as to the nature of the two substances, which Himself also bears, He cannot seem to have ruled as to His Spirit, and not as to His flesh. So then, since He is of the Spirit of God, and God is a Spirit, and He is God, born of God, He is also of the flesh of man, born man in the flesh." S. Greg. Nyss. also says, (Orat. 2. c. Eunom. t. 2. p. 485. ap. Bull i. 2. 5.) " To the Father and the Son alike is the title both of ' The Spirit' and of ' The Holy,' adapted by Holy Scripture; for ' God is a Spirit,' and ' The Spirit before our face is Christ the Lord,' (Lam. 4, 20.) and ' The Lord God is holy,' and there is ' One holy, One Lord Jesus Christ,'" &c.

2. The second chief class is where the Word is said to be cause of the birth of the Man Christ Jesus, as Holy Scripture itself says, " The Word became flesh" by taking it, or " The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee;" and these must be one and the same; whence different fathers suppose that by the " Holy Spirit" in S. Luke also is meant the Word, or by this the Third Person, and the Second by the " Power of the Highest," our Lord being called "the Power of God," 1 Cor. 1, 24.

Thus Justin M. (Apol. i. 33.) " That Spirit and that Power from God we may not conceive of as any thing else than the Word:" and Hermas, l. c. §. 6. " That Holy Spirit, which was infused first of all in the body, in which God should dwell;" and perhaps S. Irenæus (5. 1. 3.) " not willing to understand that the Holy Spirit came to Mary and the Power of the Highest overshadowed her, wherefore also what was born is holy and the Son of the Most High God, the Father of all, Who operated His Incarnation and set forth a new generation." Tertullian himself (according to the right reading cum virgo Maria *a* Verbo Dei prægnans) says, " When the Virgin Mary was found with child from the Word of God," (adv. Jud. c. 12.) as Zeno (l. 2. Tr. 9. 1.) " Mary conceives of Him Whom she bears;" and (l. 2. Tr. 8.) " the womb of Mary is enlarged not with seed but with the Word;" and on the text in S. Luke, (adv. Prax. c. 26.) " this Spirit of God will be the Word. For as when John saith, ' the Word was made flesh,' we understand the ' Spirit' also, when the ' Word' is mentioned, so here also we acknowledge the Word also, under the Name of the Spirit." S. Cyprian (de Idol. Van. §. 6. p. 19. Oxf. Tr.) " He enters into the Virgin and puts on flesh, being the Holy Spirit." S. Hilary, (de Trin. ii. 26.) " The Holy Spirit coming from above sanctified the Virgin's womb, and breathing therein (' for the Spirit breatheth where it listeth') mingled Itself with the nature of human flesh." S. Gregory, (ap. Ambr. l. c. p. 356.) " Thou seest that the Spirit, i. e. the Son of God, came to the Virgin, and came forth thence Son of God and of man." The same doctrine (though not in the

NOTES ON DE ORAT.

same words) is contained in S. Athanasius (de Incarn. §. 8.) "He, being powerful and Creator of all, formeth for Himself as a Temple, a body in the Virgin." Probably from the same passage Theophilus of Antioch speaks of "the Word" being "*the Spirit of God*, and the Beginning, and the Wisdom, and *the Power of the Highest*." (ad Aut. ii. 10.)

3. Justin M. speaks indifferently of the inspiration of the Prophets as derived from the Λόγος or from the Holy Spirit,—the Λόγος Apol. i. 33. and 35, joining ἐμπεπνευσμένοι, and κινοῦντος Θείου Λόγου, Apol. ii. 10. Dial. §. 49. 87. the Holy Spirit, ib. §. 25. 32. 52. 55, &c. In like way Tertullian, adv. Marc. iv. 33. "For since in Esaias even then Christ, being the Word and Spirit of the Creator, had foretold of John," iii. 6. "We being certain, that Christ always spake in the prophets, being the Spirit of the Creator, as the prophet attests, "the Spirit of His Person, Christ the Lord," &c. and 16, "For Who spake but the Spirit of the Creator which is Christ?" add S. Cyprian de Orat. Dom. init. p. 177, Oxf. Tr.

4. The title seems to have been chosen to express the Consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. Thus S. Ambrose de Fil. Div. c. 5. (ap. Murat.) "But this is the meaning of the Name, that you may believe an Unity of Substance in the Father and the Son, although you cannot explain the thing itself which is unutterable; so that whether you say Light of Light, or Word of Word, or Spirit of Spirit, or Lord of Lord, whatever you may say of Him, you may believe the Father and Son of One Essence." And S. Epiphanius (Hær. 73. §. 18.) "Wherefore through the Epistle to the Philippians, he taught us how the Person of the Son is like to the Person of the Father. For He is a Spirit of the Father. Yet not the same but like, because the Spirit, which the Son is, is not the Father." In like way S. Irenæus (2. 48. [28. 5] ib.) speaks of the title, "the Word," as in some way belonging to the Father. "God existing all as Mind, and existing all as Word, what He thinks that He also speaks, and what He speaks that He also thinks. For His thought is Word and Word Mind, and the all-containing Mind, that is the Father." Again, in speaking of the Diviuity of the Holy Ghost, it is not unusual with them to insist on the title "Spirit" being applied to the Three Persons; to The Father, John iv. 24; to The Son, Lam. iv. 40. So S. Cyril, Jerus. Cat. xvii. 34. S. Basil c. Eunom. iii. 3. de Sp. S. c. 19 init. S. Cyril Alex. Thes. xiii. c. 1. Anastas. Sinait. de Rect. Fid. dogm. Bibl. Patr. t. i. p. 298. ed. de La Bigne, quoted by Ruyz, l. c. Disp. 65. S. 2. §. 2.

Note I. on c. iv. p. 302.

The fathers, after the Council of Nice also, often speak of The Son as the Βουλὴ, Voluntas, of The Father, chiefly in answer to the sophism of Eunomius, that The Son was begotten with or without the will of The Father; if without, this would subject The Father to necessity; if with, then that will of The Father preceded The Son, and He was not coeternal. The fathers answered (among other things) that Himself was the Will of The Father. Thus S. Athanas. Orat. 2. §. 2. "If the Father hath a will,

and His will is effective, and His will sufficeth to the being of things which receive being, but the Word is Effective and Creator, it hath no doubt that He is the living Will of The Father and His Substantial Energy, and true Word, in Whom all things have their being and are well-ordered." And Orat. 3. §. 61. (ap. Petav. de Trin. 6. 8. 14.) that the Will of The Father is in The Son, according to that, " ' Of His will begat He us in the Word of truth.' Therefore the Will of God, as to all things whether formed once for all or regenerated, is in the Word, in Whom He maketh and regenerateth what He hath determined. And this the Apostle signifies again, (1 Thess. 5, 14.) ' This is the Will of God in Christ Jesus towards you.' But if His Will also is in Him, in Whom He maketh, how can He Himself also be in will and choice? For if He also, as ye say, is in Will, the Will concerning Him must needs be in some other Word, by Whom Himself also is, for it hath been shewn that the Will of God is not in things created, but in Him in Whom and through Whom all created things are." And more explicitly §. 63. " Being the Very Word of the Father, He excludeth any act of Will (βούλησις) before Himself, being Himself the living Will (Βουλὴ) of the Father, and Power and Worker of what seemeth good to the Father. And this Himself saith of Himself in Proverbs; ' Counsel (Βουλὴ) is Mine and safety; Mine is wisdom, Mine also strength!' For as, Himself being ' Wisdom,' in which He ' prepared the heavens' and Himself being ' strength' and power, (for Christ is ' the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God,') He saith here, altering it a little, ' Mine is prudence, Mine also strength.' So when He saith, ' Mine is Counsel,' it is that He is the Living Counsel of the Father, as also we have learnt from the prophet, that He was called the ' Angel of mighty Counsel' (Is. 9. 6. LXX) and the Will of the Father." And S. Greg. Nyss. Or. 12. c. Eunom. t. 2. p. 773, quoted by Petav. 6. 8. 21. " Hath The Father willed any thing, The Son also being in The Father, hath seen the will of The Father, yea rather Himself was the Will of The Father. For He Who hath all the things of The Father in Himself, there is nothing of The Father's, which He hath not; But if He hath in Himself all the things of The Father, yea rather hath The Father Himself also, assuredly with The Father and the things of the Father, He hath in Himself the whole will of The Father." S. Aug. de Trin. xv. 20. (ib. §. 21.) " Some, to avoid calling the Only-Begotten Word the Son of the Counsel or the Will of God, have said that the same Word is Himself the Counsel or Will of The Father. Better in my judgment to call Him Counsel of Counsel, and Will of Will, like as Substance of Substance, Wisdom of Wisdom; lest according to that absurdity which we have already refuted, the Son he said to make The Father to have wisdom and will, if The Father have not in His own substance wisdom or will;" which was followed by the Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), who said that " The Son is Will of Will" and that " secundum essentiam Voluntas genuit Voluntatem. Faustinus (c. Arian. c. l. Bibl. PP. t. iv. ib.) " It is then piously said that the Son is the Will of The Father, as He is also ' the Wisdom of God'—what is the Will of God, but the Wisdom of God?

NOTES ON DE ORAT.

For in God Will is not one thing, Wisdom another." S. Cyril Alex. Thes. Ass. 7. t. 5. c. 1. p. 51. " If then the Word Who is in and of The Father is the wisdom and power of The Father, He it is in Whom He willeth, and through Whom He worketh all things, how then was He begotten by will, in Whom the will of The Father is? For we must either feign another Wisdom, as ye say, or if there is no other, but He alone is the Wisdom of the Father, then He is the Will (*βούλησις*) also. For the Will of God is in Wisdom," p. 55. (ap. Petav. de Trin. 2. 5. 9.) " He had not then His being by will, as created things, but He was, as the Will of The Father, in Him, being the very Essence of Him Who begat Him;" and de Trin. Dial. 5. ib. p. 555. " If then the will (*θέλησις*) be in these different things, and no right-minded person could think that it was thus with the Divine Nature, the Father is not Will, but being conceived of in His own Essence, hath His own Son, as His Coessential and Coeternal Will;" add Marius Victorinus (l. 1. adv. Arium. Bibl. Patr. t. 4. col. 200. 212. ap. Petav. 6. 8. 2.) S. Ambrose (de Fide, v. 17. §. 224. ib. §. 21.) prefers the form that the Son hath the Will of the Father; " Neither did Will nor Power precede The Son; for in what is He inferior, Who hath all things which The Father hath? For He both received all things from The Father by virtue of the Generation, and expresseth The Father wholly by the glory of His Majesty."

Muratori, who cites or alludes to the above, (out of Petavius,) adds S. Clement, Origen, [ap. Pamph. Apol. pro. Orig. t. iv. p. 34. ed. de la Rue.] S. Jerome. Petavius himself cites also Cerealis (lib. adv. Max. c. 9. Bibl. PP. t. 4.) inferring thence, that The Father is neither greater nor anterior to The Son, " since The Father could not be without Will." Ruyz in 1 S. Thomæ (from whom Petavius drew largely) adds Quæstt. ad Orthod. ap. Just. M. q. 144. (Disp. 8. s. 7. n. 16.) Damascen. de Fide i. 18. (ib. n. 19.) Greg. Bætic. de Trin. (Disp. 58. s. 5. n. 14.)

OF PATIENCE.

[Tillemont (H. E. T. 3. p. 262.) seems rightly to have inferred, that the " de Patientia" was written by Tertullian while in the Church; 1) from its general calm subdued tone, so different from that of his Montanistic treatises; 2) from his allowing flight in persecution, c. 13. Lumper (art. iv.) contends that it is Montanistic on the following inadequate grounds; 1) that " the grace of the Divine Spirit" is the Paraclete; but it is only His ordinary aid to faithful Christians; 2) that he prefers widowhood to second marriage, c. 13; but so do all the Fathers except in case of necessity; 3) that he calls a second marriage adultery, c. 12; a wrong interpretation, see ib. 4) that he praises voluntary fasting, c. 13, but see ib. The peculiarity of the Montanists were not voluntary, but compulsory, additional fasts. The Catholics objected to them, that they did not leave them voluntary. 5) L. compares c. 12, " this patience waiteth for," &c. with the de Pudic. c. 1. extr.; but there T. is speaking of second marriages as adultery in such sort as, to the last, to exclude from the Church those who contract them. There is no point of resemblance.]

I. I CONFESS to the Lord God it is with sufficient rashness, if it be not even shamelessness, that I venture to write concerning Patience, for the practice of which I am altogether unfit, being a man in whom is no good thing: whereas it is fitting that they who take in hand to set forth and commend any thing, should first be found themselves living in the practice of that thing, and should direct the energy, earnestness, boldness, of their admonitions by the example of their own conversation, so that their words blush not for the lack of their deeds. And I could wish that such blushing might bring its own remedy, so that the shame of not shewing forth in ourselves that which we go about to advise for others might school us into shewing it forth, were it not that the greatness of some good things, as well as of evils, so overbeareth our powers, that the grace of the Divine Spirit alone can work in us effectually for the comprehension and the performance of them. For that which is the most good is the most in the hands of God, and no other than He Who

De Pat. X. 2.

possesseth " dispenseth it to each" as He seeth fit. Wherefore it will be a sort of comfort to reason about that which it is not permitted us to enjoy, like sickly persons, who, while they lack health, know not how to be silent about its blessings. In like manner I, wretched man that I am, ever sick with the fever of impatience, must needs sigh for, and call upon, and speak all my thoughts upon, that healthy state of patience which I possess not, when I call to mind, and, in the contemplation of mine own weakness, ruminate on the thought that the good health of Faith and soundness in the Lord's Religion do not easily result to any one, unless Patience sit at his side. Such an object is it made to the things of God, that no one, who is a stranger to patience, can obey any commandment or do any work pleasing to the Lord. Its good quality even they, who live blindly[1], honour with the title of the highest virtue. Philosophers indeed, who are accounted creatures[a] of some wisdom, ascribe so much to it, that, while they disagree among themselves in the various humours of their sects, and the strife of rival opinions, yet having a common regard for patience alone, in respect of this one alone of their pursuits they are joined in peace: in this they conspire together: in this they are confederate: this they pursue with one mind in[2] aspiring after virtue: it is in patience that they set up the whole display of their wisdom. There is strong testimony on its side, when it advanceth even the vain sects of worldly philosophy unto praise and glory. Or is there not rather an injury done to it, when a divine thing is made to grovel amongst the doings of this world? But no matter for them, who shall presently be ashamed of their own wisdom, when it is, together with the world, destroyed and brought to dishonour.

[1] caeca

[2] in *restored*

II. To us it is no human affectation of cynical indifference, schooled by a stupid apathy, which giveth authority for the exercise of patience, but the divine ordering of a lively and heavenly rule, setting forth God Himself as the example of patience[b], first as the Being Who scattereth the dew of this light over *the just and the unjust* equally, Who suffereth the offices of the seasons, the services of the elements, the

Mat. 5, 45.

[a] Animalia. U. conjectures "animalis," "who are accounted to have some fleshly wisdom."

[b] Cypr. de Bono Pat. c. 2.

tributes of the whole creation, to come alike to the worthy and the unworthy; bearing with those most unthankful nations, who worship the follies of their own craft, and the works of their own hands, and persecute His name, His household[1]; bearing with covetousness, with iniquity, with wantonness, with the maliciousness which daily waxeth insolent[2], so that by His own patience He robbeth Himself; seeing that the greater part believe not in the Lord for this reason, because that for so long a time they have not known that He is wroth with the world. Eccles. 8, 11.

[1] nomen familiam *restored*
[2] insolescentem *restored*

III. And this instance indeed of Divine patience, being as it were afar off, may perchance be reckoned among those things which be too high for us. But what shall we say of that which hath in a manner been *handled* among men openly in the world[c]? God suffereth Himself to be conceived in the womb of a mother, and abideth the time[d], and being born waiteth to grow up, and being grown up is not eager to be acknowledged, but putteth a further slight upon Himself, and is baptized by His own servant, and repelleth the attacks of the tempter by words only. When from the Lord He became the Master, teaching man to escape death, having well learned, for salvation's[e] sake, the forgiving spirit of offended patience, He *strove* not, He *cried* not; neither did *any hear His voice in the streets: the shattered reed He* did *not break, the smoking flax He* did *not quench.* For there was no lying voice in the Prophet, yea rather in the testimony of God Himself, Who put His own Spirit in His Son with perfection of patience. None that desired to cleave unto Him did He not receive; no man's table or house did He despise; yea[f], Himself ministered to the washing of His disciples' feet. He scorned not the sinners nor the publicans. He was not angry even with that city which would not receive Him, when even His disciples would have desired that fires from heaven should presently appear against a town so scornful. He healed the

1 John 1, 1.

Is. 42, 2. 3.

Luke 9, 54.

[c] Cypr. c. 4.

[d] Jerome, Ep. 22, ad Eustoch. §. 39.

[e] i. e. man's. docens hominem evadere mortem, ob salutem scilicet veniam offensæ patientiæ eruditus. Rig. conjectures evadere ad salutem, scilicet.

[f] Atquin. U. conjectures "aquam" as in the de Bapt. c. 9. aquam discentibus ministrat.

De Pat. X. 4.

unthankful; He gave place to those that laid snares for Him. This were but little, if He had not had in His own company even His own betrayer, and yet did not determinately make him known. But when He is delivered up, when *He is led as a sheep to the slaughter*, for *so He openeth not His mouth* more than *the lamb* when in the power of *his shearer:* He at whose side, if He had desired it, *legions of angels* from Heaven would at one word have been present, approved not the avenging sword of even a single disciple[g]. In Malchus the patience of the Lord was wounded. Wherefore also He cursed the works of the sword for ever after[h], and, by the restoration of soundness to him whom He had not Himself hurt, He made satisfaction through Patience the mother of Mercy. I pass in silence the Crucifixion, for it was for that that He had come into the world; yet was there need of insults also that He might undergo death? But being about to depart, He desired to be filled to the full with the pleasure of patience. He is spit upon, is beaten, is mocked, is foully clothed, still more foully crowned. Wondrous constancy in patience! He Who had purposed to hide Himself in the form of man, followed none of the example of man's impatience! In this especially ought ye, O Pharisees, to have acknowledged the Lord; none among men could have worked patience such as this. Such and so great proofs,—whose greatness is with the nations indeed a diminishing, but with us is the cause and building up of Faith,—manifest clearly enough to those, to whom it is given to believe, not only by the discourses of the Lord[i] in teaching, but by His sufferings in enduring, that patience is the nature of God, the effect and excellency of a sort of innate property.

Is. 53, 7.

Mat. 26, 53.

ver. 52.

IV. Wherefore if we see all good and well-disposed servants having their conversation according to the disposition of their Lord, (if indeed the art of deserving favour be obedience, and the rule of obedience a tractable subjection,) how much more ought we to be found in our

[g] others "educentis" "of one who drew the sword."

[h] See de Cor. c. 11. p. 176.

[i] non sermonibus modo in præcipiendo sed etiam passionibus Domini sustinendo. Rig. conjectures passionibus in sustinendo, the cod. P. having Dni.

behaviour according to the Lord! we, that is, who are the servants of the Living God, Whose judgment upon His people turneth not on the question between a *shackle and a hat*[k], but on that between eternity of punishment and of salvation. For escaping which severity, or inviting which free goodness, there is need of a diligence in obedience great as are the things themselves which that severity threateneth, or that free goodness promiseth. And yet it is not only from men supported by their slavery, or owing us service in any other right, that we exact obedience, but even from the cattle, even from the beasts, knowing that they have been provided and given over for our use by the Lord. Shall these therefore, which God hath put in subjection to us, be better than ourselves in the rule of obedience? Finally these acknowledge those whom they obey: do we hesitate to listen to the Lord, to Whom Alone we are put in subjection? But how unjust, yea how unthankful is it, not to repay from thyself that, which through another's kindness thou gainest from others, unto Him through Whom thou gainest it! And no more will I say of the exercise of obedience due from us unto the Lord God. For a knowledge of God bringeth with it a sufficient understanding of the duties incumbent on it. Still that we may not seem to have thrown in this concerning obedience as a motive foreign to our subject, even obedience itself is derived from patience. An impatient man doth never obey, nor a patient man resist. Who therefore can treat too much at large of the goodness of that, which God the Lord of all good things, and the Manifester and Accepter of them, carried about with Him in His own self? to whom again can it be matter of doubt that every good thing ought, because it belongeth to God, to be followed after with all their mind by those who belong to God? whereby the question of patience is determined in brief, and as it were within the short summary of a rule.

V. Nevertheless the farther proceeding of a discussion on things necessary to the faith, is not idle, because not unprofitable. Much speaking, if indeed it be ever bad, is never bad in edifying. Wherefore if our discourse be of any good thing, the matter requireth that we should also

[k] The first the badge of slavery, the second of freedom. [Tr.]

De Pat. X. 5.

review the contrary of that good thing. For thou wilt throw more light on the question, what ought to be followed, if thou in like manner discussest what ought to be avoided. Let us consider therefore about impatience[l]; whether, as patience is born and found in God, so its adversary be in our adversary; so that it may hence appear how in its very origin it is opposed to the Faith. For that which is conceived by the rival of God is surely not in friendship with the things of God. There is the same disagreement between the things, as between their authors. Seeing moreover that God is the best, the devil on the contrary the worst of beings, they testify by their very diversity that neither worketh for the other; so that any good thing can no more be thought by us to be produced out of the evil one, than can any evil out of the good. It is in the Devil himself therefore that I discover the birth of Impatience, at that moment when he did not patiently bear that the Lord God should put all the works which He had made, in subjection to His own image, that is, to man[m]. For had he borne it, he would not have grieved, and had he not grieved, he would not have envied man. Therefore he deceived him, because he had envied him; but he had envied him because he had grieved; he had grieved because forsooth he had not borne the thing with patience. Which of the two, wicked or impatient, that angel of perdition was at the first, I care not to enquire, since it is evident that his impatience began with his wickedness, or his wickedness from his impatience, then that they conspired together, and grew up inseparably in the one bosom of their father. But that which he had been the first to feel, by which he had entered first[n] on the course of sin, taught by his own experience what an help it was to sin, that same did he call to his aid for driving man into sin. The woman forthwith on meeting him, I may say without rashness, was by her very converse with him breathed upon by a spirit infected with impatience; so that she would never have sinned at all, if she had preserved to the end her patience towards the Divine prohibition. What of this too, that she bore not to have been met alone, and had not even patience to be silent

[l] Cypr. c. 12. ed. Oxf.
[m] See on S. Cypr. c. 12. p. 261. n. a.
[n] primus delinquere intraverat.

before Adam, not yet her husband, not yet bound to give ear to her? and so she maketh him aid in transmitting [1] that which she had derived from the Evil One. Wherefore a second human being also perisheth through the impatience of the other, and presently he perisheth of himself through his own impatience likewise exercised in both cases, both as touching the warning of God and the craft of the Devil, not having patience to observe the one or to repel the other. Hence the judgment had its source from the same point as the crime: hence God began to be angry in that whereby man was first led to sin: hence patience first began in God in that whence His anger first arose, Who then, content with pronouncing a curse only, refrained from the violent execution of punishment against the Devil. Otherwise what sin is imputed to man as committed by him before that of impatience? He was innocent, and in the closest friendship with God, and the inhabitant of Paradise. But when once he yielded to impatience, he ceased to have his savour pleasing unto God: he ceased to be able to bear heavenly things. From thenceforward man given to the earth, and cast out from the sight of God, began to be an easy tool of Impatience for every thing which could offend God. For she, on being conceived of the seed of the Devil, straightway, through the fruitfulness of wickedness, brought forth Anger as her son, and trained him up, when brought forth, in her own arts. For the very thing, which had sunk Adam and Eve in the depths of death, taught their son also to begin with murder. I should without cause ascribe this to impatience, if that first slayer of a man, and first slayer of a brother, Cain, had borne with even mind, and without impatience, the rejection of his offerings by God: if he had not been angry with his brother: if in brief he had slain no one. Since therefore he could not kill unless he were angry, nor be angry unless he were impatient, he sheweth that that which he did through anger must be referred to that Impatience, by whom the anger was prompted. Through these things[n] was the cradling, in a manner, of Impatience then

[1] adtraducem

[n] Per hæc Impatientiæ [est L. H.] tunc infantis quodammodo incunabula. P. Rh. Gel. Rig. adopts U.'s conjecture *Et* hæc *quidem* Imp. Rh. conjectured *Sed* hæc, &c.

De Pat. X. 6.

an infant. But how great her growth afterwards! and no wonder: for if she were the first to sin, it followeth that because she was the first, she is therefore the single, womb of all sin, pouring forth from her own spring the various streams of crime. As concerning murder I have done: but being at the first brought forth by anger, it layeth all other motives also, whatsoever it afterwards desired for itself, on impatience as its origin. For whether a man worketh this wickedness from enmity, or for the sake of gain, he must first become impatient of hatred or of covetousness. Whatever forceth men to act, unless they be impatient of it, cannot be wrought out in action. Who hath given way to adultery, without being impatient of lust? But even if the sale of their chastity is in women compelled by the price proffered, surely here is, according to the rule, a lack of patience for the contempt of gain. These are mentioned as the chief sins in the eyes of the Lord°, for, to speak briefly, every sin is to be ascribed to impatience. Evil is the impatience of good. Every immodest man is impatient of modesty, and the wicked of virtue, and the impious of piety, and the turbulent of peace. In order that each man may become evil, he must become unable to continue patiently in good. Such is the hydra of our sins! How can it but offend the Lord that hateth iniquity? Is it not plain that even Israel also ever sinned against God through impatience; from the time when forgetful of the heavenly arm, whereby they had been brought out from their afflictions in Egypt, they desired of Aaron *gods to go before* them; when they poured forth the offerings of their gold for the idol, because they bore impatiently the delay, so necessary, of Moses while conferring with God? After the raining down of manna for food, after the flowing of the water from *the rock which followed them*, they despair of the Lord, not enduring thirst for three days; for with this impatience also they are reproached by the Lord. And not to travel over each particular, they never perished otherwise than by sinning through impatience. But how came it that they laid hands upon the Prophets, but because they could not patiently bear to hear them? They laid them on the Lord Himself, because they could not even patiently bear to see Him.

1 Cor. 10, 4.

° ad uxor. i. 5.

But if they had begun to be patient, they would have been delivered.

VI. It is this then which both followeth and goeth before Faith. Briefly, Abraham believed in God, and by Him was accounted righteous, but it was his patience which proved his Faith, when he was commanded to offer up his son, I may not say for the trial but for the testimony, (in a figure,) of his Faith. But God knew him whom He had accounted righteous. A command so grievous, which even the Lord was not pleased to have fulfilled, he both heard with patience, and, if God had willed it, would have performed. With good reason therefore was he blessed, because he was also faithful: with good reason was he faithful, because he was also patient. Thus Faith illumined by Patience, having been sown among the nations through the Seed of Abraham, Which is Christ, and having brought in grace over the Law, appointed Patience as her helper for enlarging and fulfilling the Law, because this alone had been before wanting to the teaching of righteousness. For in times past they were wont to demand *eye for eye and tooth for tooth*, and rendered with usury *evil for evil;* for Patience was not as yet, because neither was Faith, upon the earth. In fact, Impatience in the mean time availed itself of the opportunities of the Law. It was easy to do so, while the Lord and Master of Patience was away. But when He came afterwards and joined in one the grace of Faith with Patience, from that time it hath not been lawful to provoke even by a word, nor even to say *thou fool*, without *danger of the judgment*. Anger was forbidden, passions restrained, the wantonness of the hand checked, the poison of the tongue taken away. The Law gained more than it lost, when Christ said, *Love your enemies, bless them which curse you, and pray for them which persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven*. Seest thou what a Father Patience gaineth for us? In this main commandment the whole rule of Patience is briefly comprehended, since it is not permitted to do evil even when it is deserved.

Gen. 15, 6.

Ex. 21, 24.

Mat. 5, 22.

Mat. 5, 44.

VII. But now while we are going through the causes of impatience, the other commandments also will fall into

De Pat. X. 7.

their proper places. If the mind be disturbed by the loss of property, it is warned in almost every place in the Scriptures of the Lord to despise the world: nor is there added any more powerful exhortation to despise money, than the fact that the Lord Himself is found with no riches: He ever justifieth the poor and condemneth beforehand the rich. Thus did contempt of riches foreminister unto patience of losses[n], shewing by the rejection of wealth that the damage of it also ought not to be regarded. That therefore which we have no manner of need to seek after, because the Lord also sought not after it, we ought to bear the diminution of, or even its privation, without disquiet. The Spirit of the Lord hath declared by the Apostle, that covetousness is *the root of all evil.* This let us understand as consisting not in the desire of that only which is another's, for even that which seemeth to be our own is another's; for nothing is our own, since all things are God's, Whose also are we ourselves. Wherefore if, when we suffer loss, we take it impatiently, we shall be found, in grieving for a loss in that which is not ours, to border upon covetousness. We covet that which is another's, when we bear impatiently the loss of that which is another's. He that is disturbed by impatience under loss, by preferring earthly to heavenly things, sinneth immediately against God: for he disturbeth that spirit which he hath received from God for the sake of a thing of this world. Let us therefore willingly lose the things of earth, and keep the things of Heaven. Let the whole world perish so that I gain Patience. Now I know not whether the man who hath not determined to bear with firmness the loss of any of his goods either by theft, or by violence, or even by slothfulness, could, easily or with his whole heart, himself lay hands on his own goods for the sake of almsgiving. For who that cannot at all bear to be cut by another, applieth the steel himself to his own body? Patience under losses is an exercise in the act of giving and communicating.

Luke 6, 24.

1 Tim. 6, 10.

[n] Ita detrimentorum patientiæ fastidium opulentiæ præministravit; or if detrimentum, "thus did a contempt of wealth furnish beforehand matter for Patience in the loss of it," i. e. taught man by anticipation how to bear its loss, [Tr.] or "foreministered to Patience its loss," i. e. how to lose it.

He is not unwilling to give, who feareth not to lose. Besides, how shall *he that hath two coats impart* one of them *to him that hath none*, unless he be also one, who if a man *take away his coat*, can offer unto him *his cloak also?* How shall we *make to ourselves friends of Mammon*, if we love him so much that we cannot bear to lose him? With the loss of him we shall be lost also. Why in this world do we *find* where we ought to *lose?* To exercise impatience under all losses is the part of Heathens, who perchance prefer money to the soul: for indeed they do so when from the lust of lucre they engage in the gainful perils of merchandize by sea; when, for the sake of money, they hesitate not even in the forum to attempt what condemnation[o] itself must dread; finally, when they hire themselves out for the games and for the camp; when, after the manner of brute beasts[p], they plunder in the highway. But it is meet that we, according to the difference which is betwixt us and them, lay down not our souls for money, but money for our souls' sake, either willingly in giving, or patiently in losing.

Luke 3, 11. Matt. 5, 40. Luke 16, 9. Mat. 10, 39.

VIII. In this world we carry about us our very souls and bodies exposed to injury from all men, and under this injury we submit to be patient. Shall we be grieved by taking thought for things of lesser moment? Away with such defilement from the servant of Christ, that his patience, made ready for greater temptations, should fall away in trifling ones! If any shall try to provoke thee by open violence, the admonition of the Lord is at hand: *To him that smiteth thee on the face,* saith He, *turn the other cheek also.* Let his wickedness be wearied out by thy patience. Be the blow what it may, bound up with pain and insult, he will suffer an heavier one from the Lord. Thou beatest that wicked man the more by bearing with him, for he shall be beaten by Him, for Whose sake thou bearest with

Matt. 5, 39. cf. Rom. 12, 20.

[o] i. e. they who know certainly that they shall be condemned, (abstr. for concr.) Lac. Aristotle (Rhet. i. 14.) instances it as an aggravation of an offence, if it were committed "where they who do wrong are punished; as do false-witnesses, 'for if one do wrong even at the judgment-seat, where would he not?'"

[p] The conjecture of Rhen. and Rig. has been admitted "in mores bestiarum" for "immemores bestiarum," P. and eod. Patern.

De Pat. X. 9.

him. If the bitterness of the tongue should break out in cursing or railing, reflect on that which hath been said: *Rejoice when men shall curse you.* The Lord Himself was cursed under the Law, and yet is the only Blessed. Wherefore let us His servants follow our Lord, and let us take cursing patiently, that we may be able to be blessed. If I hear not with unruffled mind any wanton or naughty word spoken against me, I must needs myself also render bitter speech in my turn, or I shall be tortured by silent impatience. When therefore I have smitten another with evil speaking, how shall I be found to have followed the teaching of the Lord, wherein it is delivered unto us that a man is *defiled* not by the pollutions of *vessels*, but of *those things which proceed out of* the mouth? And again: that there remaineth an *account* to be *given* by us for every vain and *idle word*. It followeth therefore that what God forbiddeth us to do, He also admonisheth us to bear patiently from another. Here I would now say a word of the pleasure of Patience. For every wrong, whether inflicted by the tongue or by the hand, when it hath encountered Patience, will be finally disposed of in the same manner as any weapon launched and blunted against a rock of most enduring hardness. For it will fall upon the spot, its labour rendered vain and unprofitable, and sometimes recoiling backward will wreak its fury, by a violent reaction, upon him who sent it forth. For a man injureth thee on purpose that thou mayest be pained; for the gain of the injurer lieth in the pain of the injured. When therefore thou hast overthrown his gain by not being pained, he must himself needs be pained in missing his gain: and then thou wilt come off[1] not only unhurt, which even in itself is sufficient for thee, but besides this both pleased by the disappointment of thine adversary, and avenged by his pain. Such is the profit and the pleasure of Patience.

Matt. 5, 11. 12. Deut. 21, 23. Gal. 3, 13.

Mark 7, 8. 15.

Mat. 12, 36.

[1] ibis *restored*

IX. Nor is even that kind of impatience excused, which is felt on the loss of our friends[q], when a certain claim[2] of grief pleadeth in its behalf. For the con-

[2] adsertio *restored*

[q] See S. Ambrose de excessu Satyri fratris, l. 2.

sideration of the Apostle's warning must be preferred[1], who saith, *Sorrow not* for the *sleep* of any one, *even as* the Gentiles *which have no hope.* And with good cause. *For if we believe that Christ rose again*, we believe also in our own resurrection, for whose sakes He *both died and rose again.* Wherefore since the resurrection of the dead is certain, grief for death is idle, and impatience in that grief is idle also. For why shouldest thou grieve, if thou believest not that he hath perished? Why shouldest thou take it impatiently that he is withdrawn for a time, who, thou believest, will return again? That which thou thinkest to be death is but a departing on a journey. He that goeth before us is not to be mourned, but altogether to be longed for: and even this longing must be tempered with patience. For why shouldest thou not bear with moderation that he hath departed, whom thou shalt presently follow? But impatience in such a matter augureth ill for our hope, and is a double dealing with our faith. Besides, we injure Christ, when, as each is called away by Him, we bear it impatiently, as though they were to be pitied. *I have*, saith the Apostle, *a desire to be taken and to be with Christ.* How *much better* doth he shew the desire of the Christians to be! Wherefore, if we impatiently mourn for others who have obtained this desire, we are unwilling to obtain it ourselves.

[1] præponendus *restored*

1 Thess. 4, 13.

1 Thess. 4, 14.

Phil. 1, 23.

X. There is also another chief incentive to impatience, the lust of revenge, which busieth itself in deeds either of glory or of malice. But glory also is every where the same[r], and malice never otherwise than hateful to the Lord, and in this instance especially so, when, being provoked by the malice of another, it carrieth itself beyond it in following out its revenge, and, by returning evil, doubleth that which hath been already once committed. Revenge, in the eyes of Error, seemeth to be the solace of pain; in the eyes of assured[2] Truth is convicted of maliciousness. For what difference is there between him that provoketh and him that is provoked, except that the one is convicted of evil-doing first, and the other

[2] certam

[r] i. e. every where bad; as there follows, "nunquam non odiosa." Rig. adopts Urs.'s conjecture, "sed et gloria utique vana" for "ubique una."

De Pat. X. 10.

afterwards? Nevertheless, each is guilty of injuring a man before the Lord, Who forbiddeth and condemneth all wickedness. In evil doing, no account is taken of the order of actions, nor doth a different place [in that order] separate what a like nature maketh one. Wherefore the command is absolute, that *evil* must not be *recompensed for evil*. A like deed hath a like merit. How shall we observe this command, if, in our disdainfulness[1], we shall not disdain revenge? And what honour shall we pay to the Lord God, if we shall take unto ourselves the free power of revenging ourselves? We, creatures of corruption[2] and earthen vessels that we are, are grievously offended with our own servants, who take upon themselves to avenge themselves on their fellow-servants; and those who offer their patience as a gift to ourselves, as remembering their own lowly and servile condition, and loving the right of masters to receive honour, we not only approve of, but render them even larger satisfaction than they would have claimed for themselves. And is our cause in any danger when thus committed to the Lord, so righteous in judgment, so powerful in execution? Why then do we believe that He is our judge, if not also our avenger? This He promiseth us that He will be, saying, *Leave vengeance unto Me, and I will repay;* that is, 'Leave your patience to me, and I will reward your patience.' For when He saith, *Judge not, that ye be not judged*, doth He not require patience? For who is he that will not judge another, save he who will be patient in not avenging himself? Who judgeth in order that he may pardon? And if he shall pardon, yet hath he taken care to have the impatience of judging, and hath taken away the honour of the One and only Judge, that is, God. But with how many miscarriages is impatience of this sort wont to find fault[3]! How often hath Revenge repented! How often hath its violence become worse than the things which caused it! For there is nothing undertaken with impatience which can be effected without violence; and there is nothing effected with violence which hath not met either a stumbling-block, or an overthrow, or hath gone headlong. Now, if thou avenge thyself too slightly,

Rom. 12, 17.

[1] fastidientes *restored*

[2] putres *restored*

Rom. 12, 19.

Mat. 7, 1.

James 4, 12.

[3] i. e. as brought upon it by itself, incusare, Edd. P.: incursare is a conjecture of Rhen. adopted by Pam. and Rig.

thou wilt be mad: if too abundantly, thou wilt be overburdened. What have I to do with revenge, the measure of which, through impatience of my pain, I am not able to regulate? But if I shall keep a guard over my patience, I shall suffer no pain; and if I shall suffer no pain, I shall desire no revenge.

XI. After having treated in order, according to my ability, these principal subjects of impatience, why should I ramble among the rest, such as are to be found at home and abroad? Wide and widely spread is the working of the Evil One, who darteth forth manifold excitements of the spirit, and these sometimes small, sometimes very great: but the small ones despise for their littleness; to the great ones, in proportion to their exceeding greatness, submit. Where the hurt is small, there is no need of impatience: but where the hurt is greater, there the medicine of patience[1] is the more necessary for the hurt. Let us therefore strive to endure those things which are inflicted by the Evil one, that the rival zeal of our patience may mock the zeal of our adversary. But if there be some things which we ourselves bring upon ourselves, either through imprudence or even of our own accord, let us undergo with equal patience those things which we impute to ourselves. And if there be some things which we believe to be inflicted by the Lord, to Whom can we render our patience better than to the Lord? Nay, He teacheth us to rejoice moreover and to be glad, in that we are thought worthy of divine chastisement. *As many as I love*, saith He, *I chasten*. Oh! blessed is that servant, on whose amendment the Lord is bent; with whom He deigneth to be angry; whom He deceiveth not by hiding His admonitions from him! On every side therefore we are bound to the duty of exercising patience. Because[2] wherever we come in the way of either our own sins, or the snares of the Evil one, or the admonitions of the Lord, *great is the reward* of this duty, to wit, our happiness. For whom hath the Lord called happy save those which are patient, when He saith, *Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven?* Surely no one is *poor in spirit*, except he be humble. And who can be humble except he be patient? because no one can abase himself without patience

[1] patientiæ *restored*

Rev. 3, 19.

[2] quia quæ—interveninus *restored*

Mat. 5, 12.

Mat. 5, 3.

De Pat. X. 12.

first, to bear the very act of abasement. *Blessed*, saith He, *are they that weep* and *mourn*. Who beareth such things without patience? Wherefore to such it is promised that *they shall be comforted*, and that they *shall laugh*. *Blessed are the meek*. Under this title it may not be that the impatient can at all be numbered. Likewise when He denoteth *the peacemakers*, under the same title of *blessed*, and calleth them *the children of God*, are the impatient akin to peace? A fool may understand this. But when He saith, *Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, when men shall revile you and persecute you, for very great is your reward in Heaven*, He surely doth not promise this *exceeding gladness* to impatience, for no one will *be exceeding glad* in adversity, except he have first despised it: no one will despise it, except he have exercised patience.

Mat. 5, 4. Luke 6, 21. Mat. 5, 5. Mat. 5, 9. Mat. 5, 12. ver. 11. ver. 12.

XII. As respecteth the rule of that peace, which is so pleasing unto God, who is there at all, that is of his own nature impatient, who will *forgive his brother* even once, not to say *seven times*, and still less *seventy times seven?* Who, *whiles he is in the way* with his adversary *to the judge*[1], will end the matter by *agreeing with him*, except he first sever from himself that vexation, that harshness, that bitterness, which are in fact the venom of impatience? How wilt thou *forgive and it shall be forgiven thee*, if, for lack of patience, thou be retentive of an injury? No man divided in spirit against his brother will *offer his gift upon the altar*, except first by being *reconciled with his brother*, he return to patience? If *the sun go down upon our wrath*, we are in danger. We may not continue for even one day without patience. And since it directeth every kind of wholesome discipline, what wonder if it administer also to repentance, which is wont to come to the succour of the fallen! when, in a separation between man and wife, (for some cause, that is, for which it is lawful either for a man or a woman to persevere in continuing in a state of widowhood,) this Patience waiteth for, desireth, urgeth[2], their salvation, as for those who will one day begin to repent. How much good doth it confer on both! the one it hindereth from

Mat. 18, 22. Mat. 5, 25. Luke 6, 37. Mat. 5, 23. Eph. 4, 26.

[1] ad judicem *restored*

[2] exhortatur *restored*

[a] Edd. and P. have nisi prius *jam doleret*. U. corrects animi dolorem: dolorem has been kept, as probable and necessary.

adultery[t], the other it amendeth. In the same manner it is present also in those holy examples of patience in the Lord's parables. It is the patience of the shepherd which seeketh and findeth the sheep which was gone astray: for Impatience might easily despise that *one sheep*. But through Patience he undertaketh the labour of the search, yea, and moreover carrieth on his shoulders the deserted offender, a patient bearer of his burden. Again, it is the patience of the Father which both receiveth, and clotheth, and feedeth the prodigal son, and excuseth him to the impatience of his *angry* brother. He therefore which *had been lost* is saved, because he began to repent. His repentance is not lost, because it meeteth with patience. For by whose rules save those of Patience, is Charity instructed, that chief mystery of the Faith, that treasure of the Christian name which the Apostle commendeth with all the power of the Holy Spirit? *Charity*, saith he, *suffereth long:* therefore she useth Patience. She *is kind:* Patience doeth no unkindness. She *envieth not:* this indeed properly belongeth to Patience. She *savoureth not of wantonness:* she hath derived her modesty from Patience. She *is not puffed up, doth not insult:* for this belongeth not to Patience. And she *seeketh not her own*, she beareth with her own[u], so she may profit another. Nor is she *easily provoked:* for otherwise what would she have left for Impatience to do? Wherefore, saith he, *Charity beareth all things, endureth all things:* that is, because she is patient. With good cause therefore she shall *never fail:* for all other things shall be cleared away, brought to a close. *Tongues, Knowledge, Prophecies*, are exhausted: *Faith, Hope, Charity, abide:* Faith, which the patience of

Luke 15, 11, &c.

1 Cor. 13.

[t] T. calls marriage with the heathen in itself adultery, (see ad Uxor. ii. 2,3.) Abstinence from it then on the Christian side was keeping from adultery, while the heathen was by the endurance amended. So apparently Rhen. (followed by Pam.); only they speak of the Christian's doing penance, according to later Canons, (see Bingham, 22. 2. 1.) but this does not explain adulterum. Lac. explains it of the case for which our Lord allows divorce, and explains "adulterum non facit" "alter, qui adulterum a se repulit facit Patientia ut non adulteretur sed caste vivat." Rig. corrects (as he says, from "antiquissima exemplaria,") "alterum ad alterum non facit," "sendeth the other (the party sinned against) not to another," i. e. causes not him or her to marry again. "Adulterum" cannot be understood of such marriages, since T. admits of them. (see Note at the end of ad Uxor. ii.)

[u] i. e. ills. Suffert is the reading of the Edd. and P. Latinius conjectured "sed offert;" Rig. corrects "si offert," which gives an easier sense, "seeketh not her own, since she offereth up her own, so she may" &c.

De Pat. x. 13.

Christ hath produced; Hope, which the patience of man waiteth for; Charity, which Patience accompanieth, God being its Master.

XIII. Thus far then I have spoken of Patience, as simple and uniform, and situate only in the mind, while I labour for it in many ways in the body also, that I may win the Lord, seeing that it hath been shewn forth by the Lord Himself in the holy exercise of the body also, if indeed the master mind easily shareth with that wherein it dwelleth, the inspirations of the Spirit. What then is the working of Patience in the body? In the first place the afflicting of the flesh, an offering propitiating the Lord by the sacrifice of humiliation, when it offereth up to the Lord filthy garments with scantiness of food, being content with simple victuals, and a pure draught of water[x], when with this it joineth fasting[y], when it groweth familiar with ashes and sackcloth. This patience of the body commendeth our prayers, strengtheneth our entreaties for mercy: this openeth the ears of Christ our God, scattereth abroad His severity, draweth forth His mercy. So that king of Babylon, when, having offended God, he lived deprived of the form of a man in filthiness and dirt for seven years, as soon as he had offered as a sacrifice the patience of his body, he both recovered the kingdom, and, which is more to be desired for a man, made satisfaction to God. Now, if we discuss the higher and more blessed stages of bodily patience, it procureth also, on behalf of holiness, the continency of the body. It is this which both keepeth one a widow, and sealeth another as a virgin, and exalteth him that hath *made himself an eunuch* unto the kingdom of

Dan. 4, 32, &c.

Mat. 19, 12.

[x] the ξηροφαγία, "bread, salt, and water," the only food used in the Holy week, Bingham, 21. 1. 25.; according to the Council of Laodicea, can. 50. during all Lent; see also Suicer sub v. Tertullian attests this to have been at times the practice of the Church, "sometimes also living on bread and water," (de Jej. c. 13.) only not compulsory. The Xerophagiæ objected to the Montanists, were additional compulsory periods of fasting. ih. c. 15.

[y] i. e. adds the fast of one day to another. This was chiefly done in the Great Week before Easter, in which "some added to the sabbath one, some two, three, four, or five days, which they passed in perfect abstinence, eating nothing all the week until the morning of the Resurrection," Bingham, 21. 1. 25. Dionysius and Epiphanius use the corresponding term, ὑπερτιθέασιν (ἄσιτοι διατελοῦντες) see Cotel. on the Apost. Constt. v. 18. and the Conc. Elib. can. 26. "jejuniorum superpositionem." The Ap. Constt. have τὰς δύω συνάπτειν ὁμοῦ, Sozom. (ib.) ὑπερσυνάπτειν. S. Jerome, Ep. 24. (ol. 15.) ad Marcell. retains T.'s word "omnes pene hebdomadas conjungens;" see others ap. Bingh. l. c. Tert. speaks of it as a practice of the Church in the holy week. de Jej. c. 14.

Heaven. That which cometh of the excellence of the spirit is accomplished in the flesh, by the patience of the flesh. Finally, this patience warreth in persecutions. If flight press us, the flesh fighteth against the hardships of flight. If even the prison prevent[1] us, the flesh is in bonds, the flesh is in the stocks, the flesh is on the earth, and in that lack of light, and that endurance[2] of all things. But when at last it is brought forth to the blessed trial, to the opportunity of the second baptism, to the very ascending up to the seat of God, there no patience is of more value than that of the body. If *the spirit is willing*, yet *the flesh is weak* without patience, wherein lieth the safety of the spirit, as also of the flesh itself. But when the Lord saith this concerning the flesh, declaring that it is weak, He sheweth what is needful for strengthening it, namely, patience against the whole array of evils contrived for the overthrow of faith, or for its punishment, in order that it may bear, with all perseverance, the stripes, the fire, the cross, the wild beasts, the sword, which things the Prophets and Apostles by enduring overcame.

[1] præveniat *restored*

[2] patientia *restored*

Mat. 26, 41.

XIV. In this strength of patience Esaias is *sawn asunder*, and ceaseth not to speak concerning the Lord: Stephen is stoned, and asketh forgiveness for his enemies. Oh! how exceeding blessed is he also, who against the whole power of the Devil worked out in full every sort of patience! whom neither the driving away of his herds, nor all that abundance of cattle nor his sons taken away by a single blow of ruin, nor finally the torment of his body in its wounded state[3], deprived of his patience, the[4] *integrity* which he devoted[5] to the Lord: whom the Devil smote with all his might in vain! For he was not moved away by so many afflictions from his reverence of God, but he was set as an example for us, and a testimony of the working-out of patience, both in the spirit and in the flesh, both in the mind and in the body: so that we may neither sink under the damage of our worldly goods, nor the loss of those most dear to us, nor even the afflictions of our own bodies. How did God in this man build up a trophy over the Devil! how did He set up His banner over the adversary of His glory! when this man, in reply to all the mass of tidings brought to him, uttered nothing from

Heb. 11, 37.

Acts 7, 60.

[3] vulnere *restored*

[4] et *omitted*

[5] dedita *restored*

James 5, 11.

De Pat. X. 14. Job 2, 9. his mouth save thanks to God! when he denounced[z] his wife already wearied out with afflictions, and advising a wicked remedy! Well! God was rejoiced. Well! the Evil one was cut asunder, while Job was wiping away with great patience the filthy discharge from his boils, while he was Job 7, 5. bringing back, in mockery, the *worms*, which broke out from them, into the same holes and pastures in his *perforated*[a] flesh. Wherefore this labourer for the victory of God, having Eph. 6, 16. beaten back all *the darts* of his temptations by the coat of mail and the shield of patience, presently both recovered from God the soundness of his body, and had in possession Job 42, 10. *twice as much* as he had lost; and, if he had wished that his sons should be restored, he would have been again called their father. But he had rather they should be given back 2 Tim. 4, 8. to him *at that Day*. Having full confidence in the Lord, he deferred a joy so great to another season. He endured this voluntary bereavement, that he might not live without some kind of patience.

XV. Thus is God an abundantly sufficient depository of Patience. If thou placest a wrong in His hands, He is an avenger; if a loss, He is a restorer; if pain, He is a physician; if death, He is *the Resurrection*. What a licence hath Patience, in having God for her debtor! And not without cause: for she observeth all His pleasure, she interposeth her aid in all His commands. She fortifieth Faith, guideth Peace, assisteth Charity, instructeth Humility, waiteth for Penitence, setteth her mark upon Confession, ruleth the flesh, preserveth the spirit, bridleth the tongue, restraineth the hand, treadeth temptations under foot, driveth away offences, perfecteth martyrdoms, consoleth the poor, ordereth the rich, straineth not the weak, wasteth not the strong, delighteth the believer, inviteth the heathen, commendeth the servant to his master, his master to God; adorneth the woman, approveth the man; is loved in the boy, praised in the young man, respected in the old; is beautiful in every sex, in every age. Come now, let us describe her form and her demeanour. She hath a counte-

Philemon.

[z] As an object of God's displeasure, (exsecraretur); "foolish" (Job 2, 10.) in Scripture signifying "ungodly."

[a] foraminosæ. Rig. conjectures reformosæ, P. &c. having reformasse.

nance serene and mild, a forehead smooth, contracted with no wrinkle of grief or of anger, her brows evenly and cheerfully relaxed, her eyes cast down in humility, not in melancholy. Her mouth beareth the seal of honourable silence. Her colour is such as those have who are free from care and crime. Her head is often shaken at the Devil, and her smile defieth him. For the rest, her clothing about her bosom is white and closely fitted to the body, as being neither puffed out nor ruffled[1]. For she sitteth on the throne of that most kind and gentle Spirit, Who is not in the gathering of the whirlwind, nor in the blackness of the cloud, but belongeth to the soft calm, clear and single, such as Elias saw Him at the third time. For where God is, there also is His foster-child, to wit, Patience. When therefore the Spirit of God descendeth, Patience, never divided from Him, accompanieth Him. If we receive her not together with the Spirit, will He abide with us always? Nay, I know not whether He would continue any longer. Without His companion and handmaid, He must needs be *grieved* at every place and time. Whatsoever His enemy inflicteth He cannot endure alone, lacking the instrument of endurance. This is the way, this the rule, these the works of an heavenly and true, that is a Christian, patience; not like the patience of the nations of the earth false and shameful. For that the Devil might rival the Lord in this thing also, as if altogether on an equality with Him, (save that the difference between the evil and the good is on a par with their greatness,) he hath taught his people also a patience of their own: such an one I mean as subjecteth to the power of their wives, husbands who have sold themselves for a dowry, or are driving the trade of pimps; which, in hunting after bereaved persons, beareth all the toil of a forced courtesy with false pretences of feeling: such a patience as putteth under an insulting patronage[2] those who labour for their belly, by the subjection of their liberty to their gluttony[3]. Such pursuits of patience do the Gentiles know, and they seize upon the name of so good a thing for their foul deeds. They live with patience towards rivals, and rich men, and such as bid them to feasts; with impatience towards God alone. But no matter for their and their master's patience, which

[1] inquietatur *restored*

2 Kings 19, 11. 12.

[2] patrociniis *restored*

[3] gulæ *restored*

De Pat. X. 15.

endurance of the[b] fire below awaiteth? Let us on the other hand love the patience of God, the patience of Christ. Let us pay back to Him that which He hath Himself paid for us. Let us offer to Him the patience of the spirit, the patience of the flesh, we that believe in the resurrection of the flesh and of the spirit.

[b] Sed viderint sua et sui præsidis, quam patientia subter ignis expectat. i. e. since their endurance is in sin, they shall endure in punishment. Rig. adopts Urs.'s conjecture viderit—præs. patientia, quam subter &c.

OF REPENTANCE.

[The de Pœnitentia furnishes no materials for determining its date; its whole tone is however Catholic; Lumper objects, that T. no where distinctly says, that the pardon which he speaks of as open once for all sin, was given through the Church also, and so that what he says of Exomologesis might equally have been written by him as a Montanist,—since they too held the necessity and benefit of penitence, although they denied to the Church authority, in great crimes, to pronounce upon it. But since T. says there was one penitence after Baptism, and one only, he plainly is speaking of a public restoration to the Communion of the Church, after the public penitence which he describes; for none denied that a person might repent even after a relapse, although the Church did not receive such. Repentance towards God might take place more than once; T. then in limiting it to one, plainly means one, upon which the Church would pronounce. There seems no doubt that T. in rejecting his former agreement with the Church's doctrine on penitence (de Pudic. c. 1.) alluded to this Treatise. It seems strange that Erasmus should have questioned its genuineness on the ground of style, which is so fully Tertullian's.]

I. The men of this world, such as we ourselves also were in time past[a], blind without the light of the Lord, know, as far as nature teacheth, that repentance is a certain affection of the mind, which ariseth from dislike of some worse[b] opinion: but from the reason of the thing they are as far distant as from the Author of reason Himself. For reason is a thing of God; seeing that God, the Creator of all things, hath provided, hath disposed, hath ordained nothing without reason, and hath willed that nothing should be handled and understood save by reason. All therefore who are ignorant of God, must needs be ignorant of the thing which is His; for no treasure is ever opened to strangers. Wherefore, floating through the whole business of life without the pilotage of reason, they know not how to avoid the storm that hangeth over the world. But how unreasonably they

[a] Apol. c. 18.

[b] pejoris, Rh. 1. "Prioris," "of some former opinion," is a conjecture of Rhen. adopted by others.

De Pœnit. XI. 1.

demean themselves in the act of penitence it will suffice to make plain by this one fact, that they apply it even to their good deeds. They repent them of their faith, love, simplicity, patience, compassion[c]. According as an act hath met with ingratitude, they curse themselves because they have done a good deed, and they fix in their heart that sort of repentance chiefly, which is employed upon the best acts, taking care to remember never again to perform any good service: on repentance for evil deeds, on the contrary, they lay but a light stress. In fact, they more readily sin through this same repentance, than act rightly by its means.

II. But if they acted with a right apprehension of God, and hence of reason also, they would first weigh the merits of repentance, and would never use it as an aggravation[d] of the change from the better to the worse: finally, they would regulate the limit of their repentance, because they would have reached the limit of their sin also, that is, by fearing the Lord[e]. But where there is no fear, there is therefore no amendment; and where there is no amendment, repentance is of necessity vain, because it wanteth its proper fruit, unto which God hath sown it, that is, unto the salvation of man. For God, after so many and so great sins of human rashness, beginning in Adam the first of human kind, after that man had been condemned together with his portion in this world[f], after that he had been cast out from Paradise, and made subject to death, when He had hasted back to His own mercy, from thenceforth He made a solemn beginning of repentance[g] in His own self, in rescinding the sentence of His former wrath, covenanting to pardon him who was His own work and image. Wherefore also He gathered together

[c] "Of repentance as to almsgiving, the Devil is the author," Quæstt. ad Antioch. q. 83. S. Jerome, Ep. 147. ad Sabin. imitates T. "in perversum acta pœnitentia." S. Ambrose de Pœnit. ii. 9. "they who perform penitence, should of this only not repent, lest they perform penitence of their very penitence. These seem to have asked to do penitence for things evil, to do it for things good."

[d] ad augmentum; in contrast with what follows, "*modum* pœnitendi temperarent." Rig. adopts Urs.'s conjecture "ad argumentum" "as a ground."

[e] i. e. using repentance to restrain sin, they restrain repentance to things sinful.

[f] the ground, cursed for his sake.

[g] "When God by His unchangeable counsel changeth His works, He, on account of this same change, not of counsel but of work, is said to repent." Aug. in Ps. 131. "When God repenteth, He is not changed and changeth; as, when He is angry, He is not changed, and avengeth." Id. c. adv. Leg. et Proph. i. 20.

a people unto Himself, and cherished them with many gifts of His goodness, and though He so often found them most unthankful, He ever exhorted them to repentance, and sent forth the voices of all the prophets in prophecy: promising them presently His grace, the light of which He would in the last days pour forth by His Spirit upon the whole world; He commanded that *the baptism of repentance* should go beforehand, that, by the seal of repentance, He might fit beforehand those, whom He called by grace unto the promise appointed unto the seed of Abraham. John is not silent hereupon: 'Begin,' saith he, 'to repent, for now shall Salvation come nigh unto the nations,' that is, the Lord that bringeth salvation, according to the promise of God; to whom he, fore-ministering, appointed repentance, set over the work of purifying minds; that whatsoever former error had defiled, whatsoever within the heart of man ignorance had polluted, this repentance *sweeping*, and scouring, and casting out of doors, might make ready the *house* of the heart, thus cleansed, for the Holy *Spirit* that should come after, whither He might willingly *enter in* with heavenly graces. The title of these good gifts is one, The salvation of man, the abolition of former sins having gone before. This is the cause of repentance, this its task, tending the work of divine mercy; in that it hath been man's profit, God's service. But the inward character of repentance, which through knowledge of the Lord we learn, maintaineth one determinate shape, such that violent hands[h], so to speak, are never to be laid upon good works or thoughts. For God doth not sanction the reprobation of such things as be good as being His own, whereof since He is the Author and Defender, He must therefore needs be also the Accepter; and if the Accepter, then also the Rewarder. Away then with the ingratitude of men, if it compel repentance even for good works: away with their gratitude also, if the desire of gaining this[i] be a motive for doing good. Both are earthly, mortal. For how little is the gain, if thou doest good to a grateful, or the loss if to an ungrateful, man!

Joel 2, 28. Luke 3, 3.

Mat. 3, 2.

Mat. 7, 44.

[h] Urs.'s correction has been retained, "quasi violenta aliqua manus" for "violentia." The meaning of the old reading is the same, "that hands be never laid, with a sort of violence, upon &c.

[i] gratitude.

De Pœnit. XI. 3. A good work hath God for a debtor, as also hath an evil one; for the judge recompenseth in every cause[i]. But since God sitteth over us as a Judge to exact and to maintain that righteousness, which is most dear to Him, and, with a view to this, establisheth the entire sum of His law, is it to be doubted that, as in all our acts, so, in the cause of repentance also, righteousness must be fulfilled unto God? which indeed can then be fulfilled, if it be employed only in the case of sins. Moreover none but an evil work deserveth to be called a sin, nor doth any one sin by doing good: but if he sinneth not, why doth he meddle with the repentance of sinners? why doth he lay upon his own goodness an office proper to evil doing? So it cometh to pass that, when any thing is used where it ought not, it is neglected where it ought.

Prov. 19, 17. Rom. 12, 19.

III. The occasion therefore requireth me to note what those things are, for which repentance seemeth to be just and due, that is, which are to be accounted sin: yet this may seem superfluous, for, when the Lord is known, the spirit *looked upon* by its Author, maketh its way, of itself, to a knowledge of the truth, and, being admitted to the Lord's commands, is straightway taught by them that that is to be accounted sin, which God forbiddeth. For since it is granted that God is some great Good, Him being good, surely nought else than evil could displease, because between things contrary to each other there is no agreement. Nevertheless it shall not irk to state briefly that of sins, some are carnal, that is, of the body, and some spiritual. For since man is made up of this union of two substances, he doth not sin except in those parts whereof he is made. But because the body and the spirit are two things, these sins do not therefore differ: on the contrary, they are rather of the same nature, because these two things make up one; lest any should distinguish between their sins according to the difference of the two substances, so as to esteem one lighter or heavier than another. For both the flesh and the spirit are things of God, the one moulded by His hand, the other

Luke 22, 61.

[i] good or bad.

[k] cur pœnitentiam invadit delinquentium? Privatum cur malitiæ officium, &c. Rig. has delinquentium privatum? Cur.

made perfect by His Spirit. Seeing then that they equally pertain to the Lord, whatever in them sinneth, equally offendeth God. Canst thou distinguish between the acts of the flesh and those of the spirit? between which there is both in life, and in death, and in the resurrection, so much union and fellowship, that *at that Day* they shall be raised together either for life or for condemnation, because doubtless they have equally either sinned or lived innocent. Thus much I would premise, that we may understand that, if any sin be committed, no less necessity for repentance attacheth to either part of man than to both: both have a common guilt, and a common Judge, that is God; they have therefore also a common cure in repentance. Hence they are named spiritual and bodily, because every sin is either in deed or in thought; so that that which is in deed is bodily, because a deed can be seen and handled even as a body; but that which is in thought is spiritual, because a spirit is neither seen nor comprehended: whereby it is shewn that sins not only of deed, but of will also, must be avoided, and must be cleansed by repentance. For although the littleness of man judgeth only by deed[1], because it is no match for the coverts of the will, we may not therefore be careless of the sins of this will before God also. God is sufficient unto all things. Nothing, whence any sin at all cometh, is removed from His sight. Because He is not ignorant of it, neither doth He pass it by without determining to bring it into judgment. He is not one that dissembleth and dealeth falsely with His own knowledge. How when the will is the source of the deed? for I heed not what are imputed to chance, or necessity, or ignorance; which being excepted, it remaineth that sin is not committed save by the will. Seeing then that it is the source of the deed, ought it not to be the first to be punished, inasmuch as it was the first to sin? not being moreover acquitted of the sin, even when any hindrance preventeth its commission; for the will to sin is imputed to the will, and it cannot be excused on account of a failure in the performance, having fulfilled that which was its own work. Finally, after what manner doth the Lord shew that

[1] factis Edd.: Rig. *facti* solum judicat, a conjecture of Latinius.

De Pœnit. XI. 4. He addeth a superstructure to the Law, save by forbidding the sins of the will also? seeing that He determineth an adulterer to be not only one who hath had actual conversation with another's wife, but him also who hath defiled her by the lust of the eye. And so the mind, perilously enough, representeth to itself, what it is forbidden to realize, and, by the will, unguardedly completeth the act. And seeing that the power of this will is so great, that though not satisfying to the full its own pleasure, it may be taken for the deed, for this cause it shall be punished for the deed[m]. It is most idle to say, 'I willed, yet did not.' But thou must needs do, because thou willest; or not will, because thou doest not. But thou givest sentence by the confession of thine own conscience: for if thou desiredst a good thing, thou wouldest have longed to do it; and so, since thou doest not a bad thing, neither oughtest thou to have desired it. Take thy stand on which side thou wilt, thou art held guilty; for either thou hast willed evil, or not fulfilled good.

Mat. 5, 28.

IV. For all sins therefore, whether committed in the flesh or in the spirit, whether by deed or will, He that hath appointed punishment through condemnation, hath also promised forgiveness through repentance: saying unto the people, *Repent, and I will make thee whole*[n]: and again, *I live, saith the Lord:* and *I will have repentance rather than death.* Wherefore repentance is life, seeing that it is preferred to death. To this repentance do thou, O sinner like unto myself, (yea less than myself, for I acknowledge that I surpass in sins,) so press, so embrace it, as doth the shipwrecked the protection of some plank[o]. This shall hold thee up, when sunk beneath the waves of sin, and shall

Ezek. 18, 23. 30.

[m] cujus voluntatis eum vis tanta sit, *ut* non solatium sui saturans pro facto cedat, pro facto ergo plectetur. Rh. Gel. Pam. and Rig. adopt the conjecture of Rhen. *cur* non-cedat?

[n] The words do not occur in H. Scr. nor the quotation elsewhere: the substance is in Ezek. xviii. 21. xxiii. 12. 19.

[o] Tertullian's use of this metaphor differs from that of those fathers who have adopted it from him, in that he is speaking of a repentance previous to Baptism, and of the shipwreck of the whole race of man; they of a shipwreck subsequent to Baptism. See S. Ambrose de Laps. Virg. c. 8. §. 38. S. Jerome Ep. 130. ad Demetriad. §. 9. Ep. 147. ad Sabinian. §. 3. Ep. 79. ad Salvin. v. fin. Ep. 122. ad Rustic. v. fin. "Repentance is to the wretched a sort of second plank after shipwreck; in the virgin, be the ship preserved entire." add Ep. 84. ad Pamm. et Ocean. §. 6.

bring thee onwards to the haven of Divine mercy. Seize the opportunity of unlooked-for happiness; so that thou, the creature that wast once nothing in the sight of God, save *a drop in a bucket*, and *the dust* of the threshing-floor, and *the vessel of the potter*, mayest henceforth become that *tree which is planted by the waters*, and *withereth not in its leaves*, and *bringeth forth its fruits in due season*, which shall not see *the fire* nor *the axe*. Repent of thine errors, having found the truth. Repent that thou hast loved the things which God loveth not, since even we ourselves do not suffer our own petty menials not to hate the things by which we are offended; for the nature of obedience consisteth in a sameness of feelings. For setting forth particularly the good of repentance, the materials are large, and therefore must be committed to great eloquence. But we, according to our narrow powers, impress one truth, that that which God commandeth is good and is best. I account it boldness to reason about the good of a Divine command; for it is not because it is good that we ought to obey, but because God hath commanded it[p]. For the rendering of obedience, the first cause is the majesty of the Divine power. The authority of Him That commandeth is before the profit of him that serveth. Is it good to repent or no? Why considerest thou? God commandeth it. But He doth not only command, but exhorteth likewise. He inviteth us by a reward, salvation: swearing also, saying, *I live*, He desireth that we should believe Him. O happy we, for whose sake God sweareth! O most miserable, if we believe not the Lord even when He sweareth! That therefore which God so much commendeth, which He even after the manner of men attesteth by an oath, we ought surely to approach and to guard with the greatest seriousness, that, abiding in

Is. 40, 15. Rom. 9, 21. Ps. 1, 3. Mat. 3, 10.

[p] Chrys. Orat. 4. [ol. 2.] c. Jud. §. 1. 2. "What is according to the will of God, although it seem bad, is, of all, the best; what is beside His will, though it seem the best, is of all the worst and the most lawless. Not the nature of things, but the command of God, maketh things good or bad." And instancing the history, 1 K. 20. 35, 36. "When God commandeth, it fitteth not curiously to examine the nature of the things, but to obey only. God hath commanded, seek no further. On all occasions before enquiring into the nature of things, search what is the will of God, and if thou findest any thing done as seemeth good to Him, receive that alone." And Hom. 8. in S. Matt. §. 1. "Such is true faith; it asks not the reason of any command, but obeys."

De Pœnit. XI. 5.

the assurance of Divine grace, we may thence be able to abide also in its fruit and benefit.

V. For this I say, that the repentance which, being by the grace of God shewn and commanded us, bringeth us again into favour with the Lord, when once it hath been known and undertaken by us, we ought never again to rescind by a repetition of the sin. Now indeed no pretence of ignorance pleadeth for thee, because having come to the knowledge of the Lord[q], and having received His commandments, and finally, having fulfilled the work of repentance for thy sins, thou betakest thyself to those sins again. Wherefore the farther thou art removed from ignorance, the more closely dost thou cleave to wilful disobedience. For if thou didst therefore once repent of having sinned, because thou hadst begun to fear the Lord, why hast thou chosen to annul that, which thou didst undertake on account of thy fear, unless it be that thou hast ceased to fear? for no other thing, save wilful disobedience, overthroweth fear. Seeing that no exception protecteth from punishment even those who know not the Lord, (because that God, being clearly manifested and to be understood even from His heavenly gifts themselves, may not be unknown,) how perilous that, being known, He should be despised! Now he despiseth Him, who having obtained from Him the understanding of good and evil, in taking up again that which he understandeth ought to be shunned, and which he hath already shunned, doeth despite to his own understanding, that is, to the gift of God. He rejecteth the Giver, when he abandoneth the gift: he denieth the benefactor, when he honoureth not the benefit. How can he please Him with Whose gift he is not pleased? So then he appeareth not only wilfully disobedient to the Lord, but ungrateful also. Moreover he sinneth not lightly against the Lord, who having renounced His enemy the Devil by repentance, and having, by this token, put him in subjection unto the Lord, doth again exalt that same Devil, by returning to him, and make himself a cause of triumph to him, so that the Evil One, having recovered his prey, rejoiceth anew

Rom. 1, 20.

[q] After Baptism.

against the Lord. Doth he not—it is perilous even to speak it, but for the sake of edifying it must be brought forward—doth he not set the Devil over the Lord? For he seemeth to have made comparison between them, who hath known both, and to have pronounced a solemn judgment that he is the better, whose he hath chosen to be again. He therefore that had begun to make satisfaction[r] to God by repenting of his sins, will make satisfaction to the Devil by again repenting of his repentance, and will be so much the more hateful to God, as he is acceptable to His enemy. But some say that God is content, if he be reverenced in the heart and the mind, though this be not done in the outward act; and that so they sin without prejudice to their fear of God and their faith; that is, that they defile the marriage-bed without prejudice to their chastity, mix poison for a parent without prejudice to their filial love. So also then will they themselves be thrust into hell-fire without prejudice to their pardon, when they sin without prejudice to their godly fear. Here is the first example of their perverseness: because they fear, they sin! if they feared not, I suppose they would not sin! He therefore that would fain not offend God, let him not reverence Him at all, if fear be a plea of sin. But these tempers are wont to spring up from the seed of hypocrites, whose friendship with the Devil is undivided, whose repentance is never faithful.

VI. Whatsoever argument therefore my poor wit hath endeavoured to furnish for laying hold on repentance once for all, and ever after retaining it, pointeth indeed at all who are given to the Lord, as those who seek salvation entirely in earning the favour of God; but it especially presseth upon those novices, who are just now beginning to bedew their ears with the *speech* of the Lord, and who as whelps while yet in early infancy, and with eyes imperfect, creep about uncertainly: and they say indeed that they have renounced their former doings, and take upon themselves repentance[s], but neglect to make it fast; for the very closing

Deut. 32, 2.

[r] See below, c. 8. 9. 10. and Note K at the end of this treatise.

[s] On acts of repentance before Baptism, see ab. de Bapt. c. ult. p. 279, and note t. and on the Lent fast as preparatory, S. Chrys. Hom. 10. in Matt. 3. §. 5. and S. Leo Serm. de Quadr. 5. c. 3.

De Pœnit. XI. 6.

of their desires doth of itself call them back a while to desire something of their former doings; as fruits, which are already beginning to turn sour or bitter from age, do in some one part still court their proper charms. Besides this, a presuming upon Baptism[t] bringeth in all the evil of delaying and turning back from repentance: for being assured of the undoubted pardon of their sins, they steal to themselves the time which interveneth, and make it rather a day of grace for sinning than a training not to sin. How foolish, moreover, how [unjust[u]], not to fulfil repentance, and still to expect the pardon of sins! that is, not to pay the price, and yet to stretch forth the hand for the merchandize! For at this price[x] the Lord hath determined to grant His forgiveness: by the payment of this repentance He promiseth that freedom from punishment shall be re-purchased[y]. If therefore those who sell, first examine the money which they covenant to receive, lest it be cut, or scraped, or of false metal, we believe that the Lord also will first test our repentance, when about to grant us so great a reward, to wit, that of everlasting life. But (thou wilt say) let us put off our actual repentance until that time. It shall then, I suppose, be seen that we are amended, when we are absolved. By no means. But it must be when, pending the pardon, punishment is before our eyes: when we have not yet earned our deliverance, that we may be able to earn it[z]: when God is threatening, not when He is pardoning. For what servant,

[t] As still in store, to efface all sins committed in the interval.

[u] "iniquum," is supplied by Urs. from conjecture. The Ms. text is defective; "quam injustum, quam—pœnitentiam," &c.

[x] Orig. Hom. 15. in Lev. 25, 28. "'If thy hand findeth a price, which thou mayest repay,' What price? Doubtless brought together by the tears of penitence, and 'found,' by the 'hands,' i. e. by toil and good works."

[y] "redimo" is often used by the fathers, of works of penitence, chiefly alms, especially with reference to Dan. iv. 24. Lat., not as in themselves availing, but (as here) appointed by God. see S. Cypr. de Laps. §. 22. p. 175. Oxf. Tr. Ep. 59. (Note K.) S. Ambr. de Elia et Jej. c. 20. §. 76. "we have many aids whereby to redeem our sins. Hast thou money? redeem thy sins. The Lord is not at a price, (venalis,) but thou art. By thy sins wert thou sold, redeem thyself by thy works, redeem thyself by thy money. Cheap is money, but precious is mercy." comp. S. Aug.'s caution, Ench. c. 70. (Note K. p. 372.) Like words used of repentance and its several acts are, expio, sano, purgo, abluo, operio, tego, deleo, tollo. S. Ambrose brings this doctrine in connection with others, de Apol. Dav. c. 13. §. 4. "sin —is freely remitted by grace, effaced by the Blood of the Cross, covered through charity."

[z] i. e. since deliverance is to be earned by repentance, repentance must precede that, earned by it, bestowed upon it.

after that he hath been changed into a free man, chargeth himself with his thefts and desertions? What soldier, when he hath been discharged from his camp, maketh satisfaction for his brands? The sinner ought to bemoan himself before he is forgiven, for the time for his repentance is the same with that of his danger and his fear. Nor do I deny that the good gift of God, that is, the blotting out of sins, is entirely secured to those, who are about to enter into the water; but that it may be their lot to attain thereunto, it is for this that they must labour. For who will furnish to thee, a man so unfaithfully repenting, one single sprinkling[a] of any water? It is easy for thee to come thither by stealth, and for him who is set over this business to be cheated by thy affirmations. But God provideth for His own treasure, and suffereth not the unworthy to creep into it. What, in fact, doth he say? *There is nothing covered, which shall not be revealed.* Whatever darkness thou shalt spread over thy deeds, God is Light. Some, however, thus think, that God must needs perform what He hath promised, even to the unworthy; and they make His free bounty a bounden service. But if He granteth to us *the likeness of death* from necessity, He therefore doeth it unwillingly: for who alloweth that gift to continue, which he hath bestowed unwillingly? For do not many afterwards fall away? is not that gift taken away from many? These are they in truth who creep in unawares, and who, having undertaken the engagement to repent, are building upon the sand an house that shall fall. Let no one therefore flatter himself, because he is numbered among the young classes of 'Hearers,' as though on that account he hath even now a licence to sin. As soon as thou knowest the Lord, fear Him: as soon as thou hast seen Him, give Him reverence. But what doth it profit that thou knowest Him, when thou abidest in the same things, as when heretofore ignorant of Him? And what distinguisheth thee from a full servant of God? Is there one Christ for the Baptized, another for the Hearers? Have they a different hope, or reward? a different fear of judgment? a different need of repentance? That laver is the

Luke 12, 2.

Rom. 6, 5.

[a] Baptism by aspersion, Beveredg. Not. in Can. Ap. 50. Bingham, 11. 11. 5.

De Pœnit. XI. 7.

sealing of faith, which faith beginneth with the faithfulness of repentance, and is commended thereby. We are not washed in order that we may cease from sinning, but because we have ceased, because we have already been washed in heart. For this is the first baptism of the Hearer, namely, an entire fear of God; and next, from the time when thou turnest thy thoughts towards the Lord, a sound faith, a conscience that hath once for all embraced repentance. But if we cease from sinning from the time of our washing, we put on innocence of necessity, not of free-will. Whether then of the two is the more excellent in goodness, he that is not permitted, or he that liketh not, to sin? he that is commanded, or he that is delighted, to be free from sin? If then no one, who is devoted to the Lord, is to cease from sinning, unless bound by his Baptism, neither let us keep our hands from stealing, unless the hardness of bars resisteth us: nor refrain our eyes from the lusts of fornication, unless hindered by those who guard the persons. But if any one be thus minded, I know not whether, when he is baptized, he doth not sorrow more for having ceased from sin, than rejoice for having escaped from it. Wherefore it is fitting that Hearers desire Baptism, not take it to themselves too soon. For he that desireth it, treateth it with honour: he that taketh it too soon, with disdain. In the one there appeareth modesty, in the other petulance: the one satisfieth, the other neglecteth it: the one desireth to deserve the gift, but the other promiseth it as a thing due to himself: the one receiveth, the other seizeth it. Which canst thou judge the worthier, but him who is the most reformed? which the most reformed, but him who hath the most fear, and therefore hath fulfilled the work of true repentance? for he was afraid to sin any more, lest he should not deserve to receive the gift. But the other presumer, when he promised it to himself, having forsooth no anxiety, could have no fear, and so neither fulfilled the work of repentance, because he was without the instrument of repentance, that is, fear. Presumption is a part of immodesty: it puffeth up the asker, despiseth the Giver. Wherefore it sometimes deceiveth: for it promiseth the thing before it be due, whereby he who is to give it, is ever offended.

VII. So far, O Lord Christ[b], may it happen unto Thy servants to speak[c] and to hear concerning the rule of repentance, as it behoveth not the hearers to sin: or let them henceforth know nothing of repentance, nothing need it. I am loath to subjoin any mention of the second (yea and the last) hope, lest, in treating of a benefit of repentance yet in reserve, I seem to shew that there is yet room for sinning. Far be it from any one so to understand me, as though, because a door is still open to repentance, it is therefore open to sin; and as though the abundance of Divine mercy gave a licence to human recklessness. Let no one therefore be the less, because God is the more, good; sinning as oft as he is forgiven. Otherwise he shall find an end of escaping, when he hath not found an end of sinning. We have escaped once: suffice it to have exposed ourselves thus far to dangers, though we think that we shall again escape. Men for the most part, when delivered from shipwreck, renounce thenceforward both the ship and the sea, and by remembering the danger, honour the good gift of God, that is, their own preservation. I commend their fear, I love their modesty: they would not a second time be a burden on the Divine mercy: they are afraid of seeming to tread under foot that which they have already obtained: they shun, with assuredly a righteous care, to make trial a second time of that which they have once learned to fear. The end therefore of their venturousness is the proof of their fear: but fear in man is honour unto God. But yet that most stubborn Adversary never suffereth his malice to rest, but then rageth the most when

[b] A passage of Pacian, imitating this, leaves no doubt as to the general meaning. T. prays our Lord, that His servants may only require to know of such repentance, as did not presuppose grievous sin in them, while His servants, i. e. before, not after, Baptism; before they were His servants, not while such. For the construction, audientibus, has been taken as in apposition to servis. The repentance which T. prays that our Lord's servants may not need to know of, is not the continual repentance in the Christian life, but one corresponding to that before Baptism, an entire turning from darkness (into which they must in this case have fallen back) to light. The passage of Pacian is, "God grant that none of the faithful may need it [penitence], that none, after the aid of the holy Font, fall into the pit of death, nor that the Priests be compelled to inculcate or teach its tardy consolations, lest they open the door to sin while they soothe the sinner by remedies. But we lay open this mercy of our God to the wretched, not to the blessed; not before, but after, sin: we proclaim a remedy not to the whole, but to the sick." (Ep. 1. ad Sympr. med.)

[c] dicere. U. conjectures discere "to learn;" but although the words are often confounded in Mss., the correction is unnecessary.

De Pœnit. XI. 7.

he perceiveth that man is wholly set free; then kindleth the most, when he is being quenched. Grieve and wail he needs must, when forgiveness of sins hath been granted, because so many of the works of death in man are destroyed, and so many records of his former condemnation effaced. He grieveth, because he that was a sinner, but now a servant of Christ, shall judge him and his angels. Wherefore he watcheth, he attacketh, he besetteth him, if by any means he may strike his eyes by carnal lust, or ensnare his mind by worldly allurements, or overthrow his faith by fear of earthly power, or turn him aside from the sure way by perverse traditions. He is not wanting in offences, nor in temptations. Wherefore God seeing beforehand these his poisons, although the door of pardon be shut, and the bar of Baptism interposed, hath yet suffered some opening to remain. He hath placed in the porch a second repentance, which may *open unto* them that *knock*, but now for once only[d], because now for the second time, and never again, because at the last time in vain. And is not even this once enough? Thou hast what thou didst not now deserve[e], for thou hast lost that which

1 Cor. 6, 3.

[d] One solemn restoration only after Baptism was bestowed by the Church during nearly seven centuries. Those who, having been restored, again lapsed into any of the more grievous classes of sin, idolatry, murder, adultery, were not again admitted to the Communion, unless when dying, and this gradually only, in the third century. Repentance is spoken of as "one" only, by Hermas l. 2. Mand. 4. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 13. p. 166. ed. Sylb. Orig. Hom. 15. in Lev. 25. ("In graver sins, the place of repentance is granted once only." The Edd. added "or rarely," now rejected as a later addition. See ed. de la Rue. ii. p. 262. n. d.) Pacian Ep. 3. ad Sympr. med. S. Ambr. de pœnit. ii. 10. Siricius, Ep. 1. c. 5. S. Aug. Ep. 153. ad Maced. c. 3. The same, Morinus observes, is implied by the title given to "penitence," "a second plank after Baptism," (see ab. c. 4. not.) as implying that there was no third. It was made a charge against S. Chrysostome (though unfounded), that he made the terms of reconciliation too light, offering pardon, as often as any one repented, (see Phot. Bibl. cod. 59.) The third Council of Toledo (A.D.589. Can. xi. condemns any restoration after a relapse, blaming it as contrary to the rule of the Church, "Learning that in certain Churches in Spain persons do penance for their sins not according to the Canon, but most disgracefully, so that so often as it pleaseth them to sin, they demand to be reconciled by the Presbyter, therefore to restrain such execrable presumption," &c. Thereby, however, was not excluded the acceptance of such with God; only the Church left them to His mercy, and urged them to have recourse to it; but did not venture herself again to interfere. Aug. Ep. l. c. (see Morinus de Pœnit. l. v. c. 27, sqq.) The theory among Schoolmen that although there was only one public reconciliation, penitents were privately restored, is but an attempt to reconcile the ancient with the relaxed modern practice. (see Morin. l. c.) As a Montanist, Tertullian denied the power of the Church to restore even once, after the more grievous sins, (de pudic. c. 10.) but he only objects to the Church that she restored such once.

[e] quod jam non mereharis. edd. Rig. omits the non, ["in which case this must be understood of the backslider's

thou didst receive. If the kindness of God granteth thee wherewith thou mayest restore that which thou hadst lost, be thankful even for the renewal, how much more for the enlargement of the good gift: for to restore, is greater than to give, since it is more grievous to lose, than never to have received at all. But the mind is not to be forthwith cut down and overwhelmed with despair, if any one become a debtor for a second repentance. Let him indeed be loath to sin again, but let him not be loath to repent again: let him be loath to peril himself again, but not to be again delivered. Let none be ashamed. If the sickness be renewed, the medicine must be renewed. Thou wilt shew thyself thankful to the Lord, if thou refusest not that which the Lord offereth thee. Thou hast offended, but thou mayest yet be reconciled. Thou hast One to Whom thou mayest make satisfaction, and Him willing to be satisfied.

VIII. If[f] thou doubtest this, consider *what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.* To the Ephesians He imputeth that they had *left their first love:* those of Thyatira He reproacheth with *fornication* and the *eating of things sacrificed unto idols:* the Sardians He accuseth of *works not perfect:* those of Pergamos He reproveth as teachers of perverse doctrines: those of Laodicea He upbraideth as trusting in riches: and yet he admonisheth all these to *repent*, and that even with threatenings. But He would not threaten the impenitent, if He would not pardon the penitent. This might be doubtful, if He had not in other places also shewn forth this abundance of His mercy. Saith He not, *he that falleth shall arise, and he that turneth away shall return?* It is He verily, it is He, that *will have mercy rather than sacrifice.* The heavens rejoice, and the angels that are therein, at the repentance of man. Ho! sinner, be of good cheer: thou seest where there is joy at thy return. What mean those lessons given us in the parables of the Lord? that a woman lost a piece of

Rev. 2, 11. Rev. 2, 4. Rev. 2, 20. Rev. 3, 2. Rev. 2, 14. Rev. 3, 17. Jer. 8, 4. Hos. 6, 6. Luke 15, 10. Luke 15, 8.

state before the second repentance, as if he had said, 'Thou deservedst punishment; by Baptism thou receivedst remission of it; thou hast lost what thou receivedst; thou hast what thou deservedst (i. e. liability to punishment). If God give thee then wherewith thou mayest restore what thou hast lost (a fourth state), be thankful,'" &c. Tr.]

[f] Imitated by Paeian, Ep. 1. ad Sympron. also Parænes. ad pœnit. and, in part, e. Novatian. ad Sympr.

De Pœnit. XI. 9.

money, and sought it again, and found it, and called her friends to rejoice with her: is it not an emblem of the restored sinner? A shepherd also hath one sheep that wandereth, but the whole flock is not more precious than that one: that one is sought for: that one is desired in the stead of all, and at last is found and carried back on the shoulders of the shepherd Himself, for it had toiled much in wandering. Nor will I pass by in silence that most gentle father, who calleth back his prodigal son[f], and when, after *being in want,* he repenteth, willingly receiveth him, *killeth the fatted calf,* adorneth his rejoicing with a feast. And wherefore not? for He had found the son whom He had lost, and had felt that he, whom He had gained, was the more precious. Whom are we to understand by this father? verily it is God: none so much a father, none so fatherly in love. Thee, therefore, His own son, though thou hast wasted that which thou hast received from Him, though thou hast returned naked, yet because thou hast returned, He will receive, and will rejoice more for thy return than for the soberness of another. But this only if thou repentest from thine heart; if thou comparest thy *hunger* with the fulness of thy *Father's hired servants;* if thou leavest the *swine,* that filthy herd; if thou seekest again thy Father, though He be offended, saying, *Father, I have sinned, and am no more worthy to be called Thine.* Confession of sins lighteneth their burden, as much as the dissembling of them increaseth it: for confession savoureth of making amends, dissembling of stubbornness.

Luke 15, 4.

Luke 15, 11. &c.

Luke 15, 29 et seq.

IX. The more straightened[g] then the work of this second and only remaining repentance, the more laborious its proof, so that it may not be only borne upon the conscience within, but may be also exhibited by some outward act. This act, which is better and more commonly expressed by a Greek word (ἐξομολόγησις), is Confession[h], whereby we acknowledge our sin to the Lord, not because He knoweth it not, but inasmuch as by confession satisfaction is ordered, from confession repentance springeth, by repentance God is appeased.

[f] de patient. c. 12.

[g] Imitated by Cypr. de laps. v. fin. Pacian. Paræn. ad pœnit.

[h] See Note L. at the end of this treatise.

Wherefore Confession is a discipline for the abasement and humiliation of man, enjoining such conversation as inviteth mercy; it directeth also even in the matter of dress and food, to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to hide his body in filthy garments, to cast down his spirit with mourning, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he hath committed: for the rest, to use simple things for meat and drink, to wit, not for the belly's but the soul's sake: for the most part also to cherish prayer by fasts, to groan, to weep, and to moan day and night unto the Lord his God[i]; to throw himself upon the ground before the presbyters, and to fall on his knees before the beloved of God[k]; to enjoin all the brethren to bear the message[l] of his prayer for mercy. All these things doeth Confession, that it may commend repentance; that by fearing danger it may honour God; that, by *judging* of itself the sinner, it may act in the stead of God's wrath, and that, by means of temporal affliction, it may—I will not say frustrate, but—discharge the eternal penalties[m]. When therefore it casteth down a man, it rather raiseth him up: when it maketh him filthy, it rendereth him the more clean[n]: when it accuseth, it excuseth: when it condemneth, it absolveth. In the measure in which thou sparest not thyself, in the same, be assured, will God spare thee[o].

1 Cor. 11, 31.

[i] Cypr. de laps. c. pen.

[k] Euseh. H. E. v. ult. Basil. in Ps. 22. §. 3. Amhros. de laps. virg. c. 9. §. 40. S. Greg. Nyss. de pœnit. circ. fin. ap. Her. Digr. ii. 4.

[l] legatio. The Greek fathers used πρεσβεία in the same way, Basil. ad Greg. Theol. ap. Her. Chrys. Hom. 3. ad Pop. Ant. §. 2. in prof. Episc. Flav. Tert. de anima, c. 9. petitiones delegantur. Zeno Veron. preces allegare. ihid. ap. Lac.

[m] See Amhr. de laps. virg. §. 8. S. Chrysostom, Hom. 6. in 2 Tim. c. 2. v. fin. of alms; "See how great is the loving-kindness of God, He hath not given thee to redeem temporal, He hath, eternal punishment." Leo Serm. x. (de collect. v.) 16. "Alms efface sin, destroy death, and extinguish the punishment of eternal fire." Pomerius, de vit. contempl. ii. 7. "If they he their own judges, and, avengers as it were of their own iniquity, exercise on themselves here the voluntary punishment of a most severe animadversion, they shall change eternal torments for temporal punishments, and with tears flowing from true compunction of heart, shall extinguish the hurnings of everlasting fire." Add Pacian. Paræncs. ad pœnit. fin.

[n] "The fouller, the fairer;" S. Jerome, of the penitent woman in the Gospel, Ep. 54. ad Furiam, §. 7.

[o] "'The Lord is nigh unto them of a hroken heart.' The hreaking of the heart is piety, humility. Whoso hruiseth himself is angry with himself. Let him have his own wrath upon him, that he may have His mercy; have himself as judge, that he may have Him as a defender." Aug. in Ps. 74. §. 2. and Serm. 278. c. 12. "If thou heginnest to judge thyself, to he displeased with thyself, God will come to have mercy on thee. If thou willest to punish thyself, He will spare. He who performeth penitence well, is his own chastener. He must he severe to himself, that God

De Pœnit. XI. 10.

X. I presume, however, that men for the most part either shun, or put off from day to day, this work, as an open exposure of themselves, being more mindful of their shame than of their health; like those who having contracted some malady[p] in the more delicate parts of the body, avoid making their physicians privy to it, and so perish with their bashfulness. It is forsooth intolerable to modesty to make satisfaction unto their offended Lord! to be restored to the health which they have wasted away! Brave art thou in thy modesty truly! bearing an open front in sinning, and a bashful one in praying for pardon! I allow no place to shame, when I gain the more by losing it, when it, in a manner, itself exhorteth man, saying, 'care not for me: it were better that I should perish instead of thee.' Certainly its peril is then, if ever, grievous, when it standeth in the presence of those, who will insult it with mocking speech, where one is exalted by another's abasement, where men climb upwards by stepping on the fallen. But among brethren and fellow-servants, with whom there is one hope, one fear, one joy, one suffering, because there is One Spirit from One Lord and Father, why regardest thou thine own[q] as something different from thyself? Why shunnest thou those who share thy fall, as though they rejoiced over it? The body cannot rejoice in the hurt of one of its members: all must grieve together and labour together for its cure. Where one or two are, is the Church, and the Church is Christ[r]. When therefore thou throwest thyself before the knees of the brethren, thou *handlest* Christ, thou entreatest Christ. In like manner when they shed tears over thee, it is Christ that suffereth, it is Christ that prayeth the Father's pardon. That is ever easily obtained, which a son asketh.

1 Cor. 12, 26. Eph. 4, 4. b.

may be merciful to him." See also Serm. 29. fin. (on Ps. 117. 1.) quoted below Note K. Chrys. Hom. 31. in Hebr. c. 12. "Let us exact punishment of ourselves; let us accuse ourselves; so shall we propitiate the Judge." (ἐξιλιωσόμεθα, see Note K.)

p The same likeness of false shame in mental and bodily diseases is used by Pacian. Paræn. ad pœnit. p. 316. (see Note M.) S. Basil. reg. brev. int. 229. (Note M.) Amhr. de pœnit. ii. 6. (Note M.) On the comparison of Priests with Physicians, see Origen, Note M.

q tuos Edd. Rig. corrects Quid tu hos, &c.

r "In one or two is the Church; in the Church, Christ. So then he who hideth not his sins from his brethren, aided by the tears of the Church, is absolved by the prayers of Christ." Pacian. Paræn. ad pœnit. p. 316.

Verily the concealment of a sin promiseth a great benefit to our modesty! namely, that if we withdraw any thing from the knowledge of men, we shall of course conceal it also from God! And is it thus then that the thoughts of men and the knowledge of God are compared? It is a miserable thing to come thus to confession. Yes, for by sin we are brought unto misery; but when we are to repent, the misery ceaseth, for it hath become healthful. Is it better to be damned in secret, than absolved openly[s]? It is a miserable thing to be cut, and to be burnt with the cautery, and to be tormented with the corrosiveness of any powder. Nevertheless those things, which heal by unpleasant means, excuse likewise, by the benefit of the cure, their own offensiveness, and recommend the infliction of present pain by the gratefulness of the future profit.

XI. What if, besides the shame, which they think of the chief import, they shrink from the inconveniences of the body also, because they are bound to live unwashed[t], filthy, and without pleasure, in rough sackcloth and horrid ashes, and with a countenance wan with fasting? Doth it then become us to put up prayers for our sins in purple and Tyrian colours[u]? Ho! fetch me a bodkin for dividing the hair, and powder for cleansing the teeth, and some double-pointed instrument of iron or brass for trimming the nails: if there be any thing which produceth a false whiteness or a forced redness, let him rub it upon the lips or cheeks. Besides this, let him seek out the most delicate baths in sequestered spots in gardens, or near the sea: let him add to his expenditure: let him get together fatlings of monstrous growth: let him refine old wines: and when any one shall ask, 'On whom dost thou lavish these things,' let him say, 'I have sinned against God, and am in danger of perishing everlastingly; and therefore am I anxious, and I pine away and torture myself, that I may reconcile unto myself that God Whom I have offended by my sin.' But those, who take upon themselves to sue for the holding of some public office[x],

[s] See Note M. at the end of this treatise.

[t] Sozom. vii. 16. Cypr. de lapsis, l. c.

[u] S. Cypr. de laps. c. 19. p. 172. Oxf. Tr. Pacian Paræn. ad pœnit. v. fin. of "delicate sinners." S. Greg. Nyss. de pœnitentia. v. fin. on the change in life necessary.

[x] S. Cypr. ad Donat. c. 10. p. 8. Oxf. Tr. S. Ambr. de pœnit. ii. 10.

De Pœnit. XII. 12.

are neither ashamed nor loath to struggle in behalf of their desires through vexations of mind and body, and not vexations only, but even every sort of indignity. What meanness in dress do they not affect? what court-yards do they not take possession of with their untimely salutations ere day-break? crouching low at each meeting with any great personage, frequenting no feasts, joining in no social banquets, but banished from the happiness of liberty and pleasure: and all this for the fleeting joy of a single year! Do we, with eternity at stake, hesitate to bear that which the suitor for axes and rods endureth? and shall we be slow to offer to our offended Lord that self-chastening in food and clothing, which the Gentiles inflict upon themselves, when no one at all is injured? Such are they of whom the Scripture maketh mention, *Woe unto them who bind their iniquities as it were with a long rope.*

Is. 5, 18.

XII. If thou drawest back from confession, consider in thine heart that hell-fire which confession shall quench for thee, and first imagine to thyself the greatness of the punishment[y], that thou mayest not doubt concerning the adoption of the remedy. What think we of that storehouse of everlasting fire, when some of its petty vents shoot up such violence of flame, that the neighbouring cities either are no longer, or are daily expecting the same end for themselves? The proudest mountains are cleft asunder in giving birth to the fire engendered within, and, (which proveth to us the eternity of the judgment,) though they be cleft asunder, though they be devoured, yet do they never come to an end[z]. Meanwhile, who will not regard these inflictions on the mountains as ensamples of the judgment which threateneth us? who will not agree that these sparks are a kind of missiles and skirmishing arrows from some vast and immeasurable fire. When therefore thou knowest that, after that first protection of the Baptism ordained by the Lord, thou hast yet in Confession a second aid against hell-fire, why dost thou neglect thy salvation? why delay to enter on that, which thou knowest will heal thee? Even dumb and unreasoning creatures know at the proper

[y] Pacian Paræn. v. fin.

[z] See Apol. c. 48. p. 101, 2.

season the medicines which are given them from God. The stag pierced with an arrow knoweth that, to force out from the wound the point of the weapon and its barbs that cannot be drawn back, he must heal himself with dittany[x]. The swallow, if it blindeth its young, knoweth how to give them sight again with its own swallow-wort[y]. Shall the sinner, knowing that confession hath been ordained by the Lord for his restoration, pass over that which restored the king of Babylon to his kingdom? For long time had he offered unto the Lord the sacrifice of repentance, fulfilling the work of confession in the filthiness of seven years, with his nails growing wild after the manner of an eagle's, and his undressed hair wearing the roughness of the lion[z]. O horrid treatment! Him, at whom men shuddered, God received. But on the other hand, the Egyptian governor, who, pursuing the once afflicted people of God, long denied to their Lord, rushed onward to the battle after the warning of so many plagues, when the sea divided, which that people alone were permitted to pass through, perished in the waves rolling back again. For he had cast aside repentance, and its attendant, confession. Why should I say more of these two planks (I may call them) for saving men, caring more for the work of my pen, than the duty of my conscience? For since I am a sinner with a universe kind of brands, and born unto nothing save repentance, I cannot easily be silent upon that, concerning which even Adam, the author both of the race of man, and of his sin against the Lord, now restored by confession to his own paradise, is not silent[a].

Dan. 4, 33. &c.

[x] Plin. viii. 27. Pacian. Paræn. ad pœnit. v. fin.

[y] Plin. ib. Pacian. ib.

[z] imitated by Paulin. Ep. 4. ad Sever.

[a] opposed to Tatian, who denied the salvation of Adam.

Note K. *page* 357.

The words satisfacere, satisfactio, when used of works of repentance, have not, in the fathers, any technical sense, as in recent Romish theology, as though the sinner any how made satisfaction to the Divine justice; they simply mean "make amends;" and are used of such outward acts of contrition as, being opposed to the former sins, serve to express and deepen the repentance for them, and thereby turn away the Divine wrath. Thus Estius (a Romanist) states it to be equivalent to "penitence," and adopts

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. SATISFACTION

the explanation of that word in the de ver. et fals. pœnit. c. 8. §. 22. (ap. Aug. t 6. App. p. 236.) "Penitence [which word (he says) among the ancients is very often used for satisfaction] is a certain voluntary 'revenge' of one grieving, punishing in himself what he grieves that he has committed;" although he gives us a fuller explanation, "Satisfaction is the desire of appeasing God, being offended, by voluntary self-chastisement," or "voluntary self-chastisement or punishment as a sort of compensation of the injury done by sin," in 4. Sent. dist. 15. §. 9. Heraldus (Digr. ii. 4.) illustrates the use from classic authors, "The Latins spoke of 'satisfying' (satisfacere) when any one besought him whom he had offended, and confessed his fault in such wise as to signify that he was exceeding sorry for it, and wished it had not been done, which Terence eloquently calls 'to pay with words,' because 'satisfying' stands in lieu of payment. Wherefore that satisfaction which was rendered to him who had been offended, and wherewith he was content, came in the place of punishment, and did away the offence. Of which very many examples occur in the best writers, especially that most signal one in which Amphitryo in Plautus 'satisfies' Alcmena." (Lacerda, a Romanist, on Tert. de Pœnit. c. 8. follows Heraldus, adducing the same instance: Alc. "Either I will leave him, or let him satisfy me." Amph. "satisfies" her with these words, "By thy right hand, I pray, beseech, thee, Alcmena, shew me this mercy, forgive, be not angry." "This," Lac. subjoins, "was a most true satisfaction, for whoso asks forgiveness, confesses his fault; whence Alcmena, content with this satisfaction, remained. That of Tully pro Ligario is a most excellent 'satisfaction,' 'I have erred, have done rashly; I repent, I flee to your clemency, I ask pardon of my offence; I pray you to forgive; if no one have obtained it, I ask too much; if very many, do thou aid, who hast given hope. This is satisfaction in human authors[a]; in ours too the same, if to words you add deeds, which the heathen had not." "Hence" he notices "Tertullian, c. 9. joins to satisfaction, acts of prostrating, humbling, himself.") Heraldus adds, "In this very same meaning the holy Fathers used this word on the same subject. For they held, that God being offended and angered by our sins was, first by confession, then by tears by sorrow and by penitence, to be satisfied, i. e. that His wrath was in this way to be appeased and deprecated;" hence S. Cyprian de Laps. (§. 19. p. 172. Oxf. Tr.) uses as equivalent 'satisfy Him,' and 'appease the wrath of God.' In the same book, (ib. p. 173.) he joins 'to hold fast humility and make amends (satisfacere) to the Lord;' and Tertullian calls 'defiled dress,' 'the garb of satisfaction,' (de Cult. Fem. i. 1.) and says that 'God is drawn to one (inlici) by these offices of humiliation,' (de Anim. c. 48.) The Greek fathers called this ἱλεοῦσθαι and ἐξιλεοῦσθαι τὸν Θεὸν, Greg. Naz. Paneg. in

[a] Pacian uses it in the like sense of apologising to man, "let niggardliness be compensated by kindness; reviling by satisfaction," &c. Paræn. ad Pœnit. p. 315. and S. Ambrose (de Pœnit. ii. 10.) of appeasing man by intercession simply, and this in parallelism with reconciliation to God. "Dost thou shrink from having witnesses, cognizant of thy supplication, when if man is to be appeased, [satisfaciendum est] thou must needs sue to many, beseech them to deign to interfere, cast thyself at his knees, &c."

S. Cypr." c. 11. ['propitiating God by faith and humiliation. For by nothing is God so gained as by bearing hardness; and mercy is bestowed upon tears.']

This result, which these writers draw from the word itself, is yet more established by the context in which it is used by the Fathers. For it is used in connection with all those habits of mind or actions, which express contrition, without having in themselves any thing punitive, much less any payment to the Divine Justice. Thus S. Cyprian urges to "the *prayer* by which amends is made," (precem satisfactionis de Laps. §. 11. p. 162. Oxf. Tr.) "if He laboured and watched and prayed for us and our offences, how much more ought we to be earnest in prayer, and first pray the Lord Himself, and then through Him *make amends to* the Father," Ep. 11. (8.): he speaks of being reconciled by "*sadness*" (ib. §. 19. p. 172.) of "*tears* which make amends to God" (satisfacientibus Deo fletibus, Ep. 31. (26.) p. 64.): "This is to take pains, that offences be not redeemed by satisfactions and due bewailings, that wounds be not washed away by tears," Ep. 59. [55.] p. 134. he frequently joins "satisfaction" with "prayer" as equivalent to it; "in making amends to God and deprecating," Ep. 17. (12.) "continuing in making peace (satisfactionibus) and imploring the mercy of God," Ep. 65. (64.) to have sinned and not to make amends, (satisfacere) to have offended and not weep the offences," (de Laps. §. 19. p. 173. Oxf. Tr.) "or if any have more prevailed on Him by his satisfactions, if he have appeased His anger by due entreaty," (ib. fin.) "if they come [to the Church] with prayers and satisfactions, be they heard," Ep. 59. (55.) fin. and these combined with *alms;*—"may by their prayers and works [b] appease (satisfacere) God, as a merciful Father," Ep. 16. (10.) Elsewhere, he uses "satisfaction" as altogether equivalent to "repentance;"—("they must come to a right understanding of themselves and make amends," Ep. 3. (65.) fin. "declining to perform penitence and make amends to God," Ep. 43. (40.) fin. "the appointed and full time of making peace" (satisfactionis), Ep. 64. (59.) init. add de Unit. Eccl. §. 16. p. 145. Oxf. Tr. and de Laps. fin. "whoso shall thus have made amends (satisfecerit) to God, whoso by repentance for his deed, &c.")—or of the qualities which make up true repentance, ("whose penitence you shall see most approach to making amends; satisfactioni proximam, Ep. 15. (11.) to the Martyrs.) He speaks also of those "amends" being made to Christ, so shewing that He does not think of them as paid to the justice of God, but as putting us in such a frame of mind as Christ can intercede for, God pardon; ("They" [such as interfered to obtain a premature restoration of the lapsed] "intercede that Christ, Who declares that He will deny those who deny Him, be not won by prayers and satisfactions," Ep. 59. [54.] p. 134. "if you shall make most full amends to God and His Christ," Ep. 66. [69.] see also above, from Ep. 11.) He also uses it, as altogether equivalent to "appease, soften the anger of, God," "having said (Is. 58.) that neither by prayers and fastings could they make

[b] operibus. Opera, operationes, are in S. Cyprian in this context "works of charity;" see margin of Oxf. Tr. de laps. vi. 22. p. 175. de op. et eleem. x. p. 232 sqq.

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. SATISFACTION

satisfaction for sins, (satisfacere pro delictis,) nor by lying in sackcloth and ashes, could they soften the anger of God, (iram Dei lenire,) he, at the last, shewing that God could be appeased (placari) by alms-deeds alone, added, &c." (de Op. et Eleem. §. 4. p. 234. Oxf. Tr.)

In like way, S. Augustine uses "satisfaction" in the case of lighter sins of infirmity, the remedy for which is the daily petition for forgiveness in the Lord's prayer, and this in the same place in which he speaks of "satisfaction" for greater sins proportioned to the offence, shewing that in this case also he is not thinking of any compensation to God's justice, but of acts implying, and worthy of, repentance. "We must beware, lest any think that those dreadful sins, which 'they who commit shall not inherit the kingdom of God,' may be committed daily, and daily be bought off by alms-deeds. For the life must be amended, and God by alms-deeds is to be propitiated for past sins, not to be bought in a manner, to allow these things to be continually committed with impunity. For 'He hath given no man license to sin,' although in His mercy He blotteth out past sins, if corresponding amends (satisfactio) be not neglected. For the daily prayer of the faithful maketh peace (satisfacit) for those daily slight and brief sins, without which life cannot be past. For it is for these to say, 'Our Father Which art in heaven,' who have 'by water and the Spirit,' been re-born to such a Father." (Ench. 70, 71.) In the same work he speaks of "amends made to the Church also," i. e. "such proofs of penitence as the Church also may accept," so that the "satisfaction" which he here implies to be made to God, also consists in penitence such as God will approve. "Since the sorrow of one man's heart is mostly hidden from another, and neither by words nor any other signs comes forth to the knowledge of others, being open to Him to Whom that is spoken, 'my groaning is not hid from Thee,' periods of penitence are rightly appointed by those who are set over the Churches, so that *satisfaction* may *be made* to the Church *also*, in which sins are remitted." (ib. c. 65.) Elsewhere, he uses it of all the acts of repentance in common, whether punitive or no, "It sufficeth not to amend the life, and cease from evil deeds, unless for what has been done, amends be made to God, by the grief of penitence, the groaning of humility, the sacrifice of a contrite heart, with the cooperation of almsdeeds. For 'blessed are the merciful, for God shall have mercy' upon them. For we are not only bidden to abstain from sins, but 'for things past also,' he saith, 'entreat the Lord, that they be forgiven thee.'" Serm. 351. de Pœnit. c. 5. §. 12. In like way, Pacian, "if ye return to your Father with true amends, by erring no further, by adding nothing to your former sins, by saying also humbly and with tears, 'Father, we have sinned,' &c." de Pœnit. init. S. Leo refers the efficacy of "satisfaction" to its effects on the penitent, in that he speaks of persons being "cleansed by the healthful satisfaction of penitence," (Ep. 108. ad Theod. add Ep. 159. ad Nicet. c. 5. Ep. 167. ad Rust. inq. 14.) "which," he adds, "is to be appreciated not so much by length of time, as by compunction of heart," (Ep. ad Nic.) S Ambrose in one place uses "satisfaction" as equivalent to "verbal confession," in the original sense of the word, (as pointed out by Her.) "making amends by

acknowledging a fault." "Peter grieved and wept, because, being man, he went astray. I find not, what he said; I find, that he wept. I read of his tears; of his making satisfaction I read not." Lib. 10. in Luc. c. 22. S. Leo also uses it as altogether equivalent to repentance, or making peace with God, in cases of imminent danger, which precluded the use of long and laborious penances; "To those who in extremities, and under the pressure of urgent peril, earnestly desire the succour of penitence, and of reconciliation shortly thereupon, neither is satisfaction to be forbidden nor reconciliation to be denied, because we can prescribe neither measures nor periods to the mercy of God, Who interposeth no intervals between conversion and pardon," (Ep. ad Theod. c. 4.) and shortly after, for what is here called "satisfaction," we have "tears and groans," or "penitence," "we ought not to neglect the tears and groans of those who accuse themselves, believing as we do that the very feeling of repentance is derived from God, as the Apostle says, 2 Tim. 2, 25." and thereon he again uses the word satisfaction, c. 5. "that he defer not to turn to God from day to day, nor set for himself a period of satisfaction at the close of his life, because it is perilous for human frailty and ignorance, to reserve itself to the uncertain space of a few hours, and whereas it may by a fuller satisfaction obtain forgiveness, choose that narrow period, wherein space can scarcely be found either for the confession of the penitent, or the reconciliation of the priest." Cassian uses it altogether of acts whereby a person becomes reconciled to God, and of his reconciliation, Coll. xx. 5. "A sign of amends having been made and pardon given," (satisfactionis et indulgentiæ,)"—establisheth the completion of making amends, and the grace of remission," xx. 7. "that he has attained to the completion of satisfaction, and to be accounted meet for forgiveness," (indulgentiæ merito.) Maximus uses it as equivalent to penitential acts, "He is not blamed, who having with wandering heart and slippery steps long gone aside from the path of salvation, laboureth to become whole (redintegrare se) with God by the sorrowful amends of penitence, as is read in the 50th Psalm, 'A broken and contrite heart God despiseth not.'" Gennadius says, "The 'satisfaction' of penitence is to cut off the causes of sins, and not to allow entrance to their suggestions," (de Dogm. Eccl. c. 54. ap. Aug.) A Latin translation of S. Chrysostom, received in Gratian, substitutes "satisfaction" for the simple term "repentance;" "though any cannot exhibit a complete repentance, ["satisfaction" in Grat.] He does not send away empty even that which is for a brief space," (ad Theod. Laps. 1. §. 6. quoted by Gratian de Pœnit. Dist. 3, c. 28.) S. Gregory the Great, using the word "revenge" (2 Cor. 7, 11.) in the same sense[c], in like way speaks of its effects, solely with reference to its effect on the penitent, (l. 6. in 1 Reg. c. 2. §. 33.) "What avails it to confess iniquities, if the affliction of penitence follow not the confession of the lips? For three things are to be considered in every true penitent, conversion of the mind, confession of the mouth, and revenge for the sin. This third sort is as a necessary medicine; that so the impostume of guilt, pricked by confession,

[c] In the margin the Benedictines put, "et vindicta, seu satisfactione."

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. SATISFACTION

be purified by conversion, and healed by the medicine of affliction. The sign of true confession [conversion?] is not in the confession of the mouth, but in the affliction of penitence. For then do we see that a sinner is well converted, when by a worthy austerity of affliction, he strives to efface what in speech he confesses. Whence John Baptist rebuking the ill-converted Jews, who flocked to him, says, 'O generation of vipers—Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance.'" Isidore, (vi. ult.) after speaking of sin being "purged by satisfaction," adds as a formal explanation of "satisfaction," "Satisfaction is to shut out the causes and suggestions of sins, and not again to repeat sins."

But although it is clear, on the one hand, that "satisfaction" is used by the Latin Fathers in no technical sense, and there is no corresponding term in the Greek[d], yet it is equally plain that self-affliction, in token of displeasure at one's sins, and as a means of keeping up that displeasure, was held by the Ancient Church to be acceptable to God, and turn away His wrath; and this truth they derived from S. Paul's mention of "revenge" as a part of penitence, (2 Cor. 7, 11.) or his exhortation, "Judge yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord," or God's acceptance of the self-affliction of Ahab and the Ninevites. see above, c. 9. p. 365. and n. m. o. S. Cypr. de Laps. §. 21. 22. p. 175. Oxf. Tr. S. Ambrose de Pœnit. ii. 10. §. 96. de Laps. Virg. Conscr. c. 8. §. 35—38. where he speaks also of amends being thus made; "If the sinner spare not himself, he will be spared by God. And if in this short space of life he shall have balanced the pains of hell which shall be for ever, he shall free himself from eternal judgment. A great wound needeth a deep and lengthened process of healing; and great wickedness requireth great amends," [satisfactionem.] Thus S. Jerome describes the repentance of Paula, Ep. 108. ad Eustoch. §. 15. "On my frequently admonishing her to spare her eyes that she might keep them for the reading of the Gospel, she was wont to say, 'The face must be befouled, which against God's command I often painted; the body must be afflicted which was wholly given to manifold pleasures; long laughter must be balanced by continual weeping; soft linen and silks most costly must be exchanged for the roughness of hair-cloth. I who pleased my husband and the world, now desire to please Christ." And in a very aggravated case of exceeding sin, he relates, "I exhorted thee to do penance, to lie in hair-cloth and ashes, to betake thyself to solitude, to live in a monastery, to implore the mercy of God by continual weeping." Ep. 147. ad Sabinian. §. 8. and on Joel c. 1. "let him lie and sleep on sackcloth, and by the austerity of his life make amends for the past pleasures whereby he had offended God," add Ep. 77. ad Ocean. de morte Fabiolæ, §. 4. Origen. Hom. 2. in Levit. §. 4. S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 39. in S. Lumina, §. 17. S. Greg. Nyss. de

[d] Bellarmine (de Pœnit. iv. 9.) adduces two passages from the *Latin* translation of Origen, Hom. 6. in Exod. "Pœnitendo, flendo, satisfaciendo, deleat quod admissum est," and Hom. 3. in Jud. "humilia te ipsum Deo et satisfacito ei in confessione pœnitentiæ. Add Hom. 15. in Luc. §. 3. purgatio et satisfactio, which are plainly equivalent to what preceded, §. 2. repentance and good action," and what follows, fin. reparation and repentance.

pœnit. circ. fin. S. Basil, in Ps. 32. §. 3. p. 310. Pacian. Ep. 3. ad Sympronian. "who came to life through the destruction of the flesh." Cassian, Coll. 23. 15. Epiphanius Expos. Fid. Cath. c. 22. speaks of the fasts of the Church as "a confession to our salvation of the Passion of the Lord which He underwent for us," and, "that our fasts may be acceptable to God for our sins." He says also, "He who after Baptism runneth into more grievous sin, hath a second cure, not of such eminence as the first, yet not cast off from life. The Divine word annulleth not then the reward of those who toil in penitence," Hær. 59. c. 2. And since this chastisement was a part of repentance, it followed (as an instinctive feeling implies) that it should be proportioned to the sin. Thus S. Augustine, Serm. 351. c. 4. "The third sort of penitence is that to be undergone for the sins contained in the Decalogue, of which the Apostle says, 'They who do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' In this penitence then, every one ought to exercise on himself a greater severity, that judged by himself, he be not judged of the Lord, as the same Apostle says, 1 Cor. 11, 31." And Serm. 278. (al. de div. 34.) c. 12. "All past things are forgiven to the converted; but some things in this life are so grievous and deadly, that they are not remitted, except through the most vehement trouble of humiliation of heart, and contrition of spirit, and tribulation of penitence. These are remitted by the keys of the Church. For if thou beginnest to judge thyself, to be displeased with thyself," &c. ab. p. 365. n. o. see S. Cypr. de laps. v. fin. Cler. Rom. Ep. 30. ad Cypr. §. 4. "be not the medicine less than the wound, nor the remedies slighter than the disease." S. Ambrose de Virg. laps. c. 8. §. 36. "How great or what sort of penitence, thinkest thou, is necessary? Such as shall equal or exceed your sins. A mighty wound needeth a profound and lengthened cure. A mighty wickedness needeth mighty amends;" and de pœnit. i. 2. "Whoso hath heaped up the offence, heap he up also the penitence. For mightier sins are washed away by mightier tears." S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 39. §. 19. "If he (Novatus) received not those who repented not, he did well; for neither do I receive those not bowed down, or who do not proportion their correction to their sins." S. Basil, Hom. in verba Attende tibi ipsi, §. 4. T. 2. p. 19. "Take heed to thyself, that in proportion to the fault thou admit also the restoration from the remedy. Great and grievous is the sin; thou hast need of much confession, [ἐξομολόγησις, see Note L.] of bitter tears, of intense watching, of an unbroken fast. Is the offence light and bearable; be the penitence also proportioned. Only take heed to thyself, that thou know thy mind's health and disease." add Theodoret. Hær. Fab. v. 28. de pœnit. fin. (against the Novatians,) "The wounds therefore received after Baptism are also curable; but not so that remission should be given as before, through faith alone, but through many tears, lamentations, and weepings, and fasting, and prayer, and toil, proportioned to the greatness of the sin committed."

Since this is so, there must be an inherent fitness in it, i. e. it must have some reference to the Divine attributes; and this S. Augustine states in respect of the Divine truth; that since God has said that sin shall not go unpunished, the sinner must punish himself if he would escape the punishment of the Lord. Thus on Ps. 50. (51.) v. 6. "'Thou hast loved truth,'

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. SATISFACTION

i. e. Thou hast not left unpunished the sins even of those whom Thou hast pardoned. Thou hast so dispensed mercy, as to preserve truth. Thou pardonest one confessing, but on his punishing himself. Thus mercy and truth are preserved; mercy, because man is freed; truth, because sin is punished." But S. Augustine more frequently rests this necessity of self-punishment, in that thereby the sinner comes to regard his sin as God sees it, is displeased with it and with himself as God is, and so is brought into a harmony with God's will, with which, while in sin, he had been at variance. Thus in Serm. 29. fin. (on Ps. 117, 1.) "Every one who is penitent, and in penitence confesseth his sins, is angry with himself, and in a manner by penitence avengeth in himself what displeaseth himself. For God hateth sin. If thou also hatest in thyself what God also hateth, thou art in a degree united in will to God, in that thou hatest in thyself what God also hateth. Exercise severity on thyself, that God may intercede for thee, and not condemn thee. For sin is certainly to be punished. This is due to sin, punishment, condemnation. Sin is to be punished either by thee or by Him. If it is punished by thee, then it will be punished without thee, but if it is not punished by thee, it will be punished with thee." In this last sentence S. Augustine (as he on other occasions states more scientifically and in a system, what in the rest of Catholic antiquity is given as a simple truth,) speaks of this law as required by God's justice, i. e. as we should speak, a rule of His moral Government, an Attribute discovered in His dealings with us. This is, however, very different from speaking, with the Romanists, of making satisfaction to that Justice, as a definite debt, to be paid accurately, if not here, in Purgatory. S. Augustine speaks in the same way elsewhere, yet shewing that he has no technical theory of compensation to God, but rather is inculcating generally the strictness of God's law and the severity of His judgment. Thus in contrast with careless contempt, Ep. 653. ad Maced. c. 3. "Some whose crimes are open, freed from your [the civil power's] severity, we yet remove from the communion of the Altar, that repenting they may appease Whom in sinning they had despised, and also by punishing themselves. For he who truly repents doth nothing else, than not allow the evil he had done to be unpunished; for thus punishing himself He spareth him, Whose deep and just judgment no despiser escapeth."

Note L. *on the term exomologesis*, p. 364.

Tertullian declares the term "exomologesis" to be more appropriate than the Latin "confession," and as such, to have been adopted by Latin writers. It is then, on this ground alone, not mere confession, and T. presently explains it to be the acts of public penance. Confession comes in chiefly as acknowledgment to God, ("we acknowledge our sin to the Lord,") leading to acts of penitential discipline, and repentance, whereby God is appeased. It is then "a course of public penance, whereby

the penitent humbles himself before God;" confession is rather incidentally involved in it, (in that such a course could not be entered upon without it,) than an integral part of it, or required for its own sake. In the whole description of exomologesis which follows, confession is not even mentioned; it is wholly taken up with penitential actions; a public bewailing of sins, not a private confession of them. T. expressly terms it "the act," "the discipline of humbling, &c.;" "a misery," "wretchedness," c. 10; in the de Orat. c. 7. it is bewailing sins before God; in the de Pœnitentia itself (c. ult.) it is the seven-years' humiliation and suffering of the king of Babylon. (comp. de Pat. c. 13.) In like way, in the places quoted by Bellarmine (de Pœnit. iii. 6. §. 1.) S. Irenæus (1. 13. (9.) 5.) speaks of an adulteress, who "having been converted, continued the whole period (of her life) in a state of penitence (ἐξομολογουμένη in exhomologesi old Lat. trans.) weeping and lamenting what she had undergone through the corruption of the impostor" (Marcus): and of Cerdon, (3, 4. 3.) "coming into the Church, and performing penitence (ἐξομολογούμενος exomologesin faciens) he thus continued to the end, at one while teaching privily, at another performing penitence, (ἐξομολ. exom. faciens,) at another convicted by some as to the things which he taught perversely, and put out of the society of the brethren." In six places in S. Cyprian, exomologesis is used for the last act[f] of penitence and public humiliation previous to absolution, and reconciliation, and so altogether distinct from private confession. (Ep. 12. Pam. 17. Fell. ad pleb.) "For when in lesser offences, [than total denial of the faith,] which are not committed [directly] against God, penitence is performed for a due period, and the exomologesis takes place, after examination of the life of him who performs penitence[g], nor can any such come to the communion, before hands be laid upon him by the Bishop and Clergy, &c." (add Ep. 20. Fell. 15. Pam. ad Cler. Ep. 4. Fell. 62. Pam. ad Pompon.)

[e] As the fathers ever thought that Penitence is a pang and sting, whereby sinners are pierced through consciousness of their offences against God, so they always used this term exomologesis when they wished to express the outward gestures, as of weeping, groaning, accusing themselves, and the like, as practised by penitents." Alhaspin. Obss. ii. 26.

[f] "Having finished the penitence, they were led from the porch to the middle of the Church, when the Bishop placed them before the Presbyters, Deacons, widows, and people, where they again lay on the ground, bewailed their offences, wept largely, commending themselves to the prayers of all, solemnly vowing never to relapse into the same. I find this last action frequently entitled Exomologesis by the fathers, as containing in itself many acts, expressive of grief for the fault committed, in the same way as every action, and the whole mode of the penitents' life, while performing penitence, is sometimes called 'Exomologesis;' but because those acts, during the performing of penitence, were sometimes for a long period, the word 'Exomologesis' is often found used for the first acts in performing penitence." Alhasp.

[g] i. e. his *present* life, whether it accords with his profession. Bellarmin, (de pœnit. iii. 7. §. 2.) neglecting the context, infers from this, "such confession of sins as lays open the [previous] life of the penitent so that it may be thoroughly inspected," and this "of divine right." But the "inspection of the life" is in S. Cyprian distinct from the "confession;" it relates to the present conduct of the penitent, not to the past sins for which he is doing penitence, much less to the whole outward, and least of all to the inward, life of the penitent. Of "divine right" nothing is said.

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. EXOMOLOGESIS

"Let her perform a full penitence—afterwards the exomologesis made, let her be restored to the Church." S. Cyprian has in two places the entire order in nearly the same words, 1) penitence, 2) exomologesis, 3) imposition of hands, 4) communion, Ep. 10, (Pam. 16. Fell.) ad Clerum. Ep. 11, (Pam. 15. Fell.) ad mart. "before penitence has been performed, before exomologesis of this most grievous and extreme sin, before hands have been laid upon them by the Bishop and Clergy to repentance, they dare to offer for them and give the Eucharist." The three last occur (the state of penitence being presupposed) Ep. 15. Pam. 20. Fell. ad Cler. Rom. fin. Ep. 13. Pam. 18. Fell. ad Cler. Carth. 14. Pam. 19. Fell. ad eosd. "if they should begin to sink under any weakness or danger, having made the exomologesis, and hands having by you been laid on them in penitence, let them be transmitted to the Lord with the peace promised them by the Martyrs." The Roman clergy, (Ep. 31. Pam. 30. Fell. fin.) as Albaspinæus observes, (Obss. ii. 26.) substitute for the term, the expression of detestation and grief for the sin, and so explain it; "that they, the immediate approach of whose life's close admits of no delay, having performed penitence, and often professed their detestation of their deeds, if by tears, by groans, by weeping, they give signs of a grieved and truly penitent mind, then at length, when in human sight there is no hope of life, may with caution and anxiety be bestead," [i. e. absolved and admitted to Communion.] In two other places, S. Cyprian uses the term of the humble acknowledgment of sin; in the one case, of "The three children," a general confession only to God, (de Laps. c. 19. p. 173. Oxf. Tr.) in the other, a public bewailing of sins, and sharing in public penitence by those who had been less guilty than others[h]. (ib. c. 18. p. 171.) In another place (Ep. 55. Fell. 52. Pam. ad Antonian. fin.) he uses "confession," "exomologesis," and "penitence," apparently as equivalent. "And because there is no confession in hell, (Ps.6, 6.) nor can there be any exomologesis there, they who repent with their whole heart, and entreat, ought for the time to be received into the Church." Elsewhere he expresses the same by the word "penitence," ad Demetrian. fin. Pacian follows Tert. in the use of the word, of Nebuchadnezzar (paræn. ad pœnit. p. 317.) in speaking of "the remedies of penitence and the very *acts* of exomologesis." (ib. p. 315.) Salvian (Ep. 9. ad Salon. p. 213. ed. Baluz.) joins together exomologesis and satisfactio as equivalent; and in speaking of a death-bed repentance, denies that either could be practised there, (whereas oral confession continually is,) and throughout, like T., speaks of *acts:* "When shall he mourn, who has lost the days for mourning? When shall he reconcile himself, (satisfaciet,) who has lost the time of reconciling? He will forsooth betake himself to long fasts? This is something, if it be united with almsgiving, according to that, 'Good is

[h] Albasp. notes, the words "disburthen the load of their minds," mean, not that they deposited their sins in the hand of the priests, but that through repentance and exomologesis they freed the conscience from scruple, and the burthen of having offended God by their thoughts."

[i] The term confession here is taken from the ἐξομολογήσεται in the Ps.; there is then no ground (with Albasp.) to distinguish "confessio" as the first, from "exomologesis" as the final confession in act.

fasting with almsgiving.' But how shall a lengthened exomologesis aid him, who is lying in extremities? But he will wear his flesh with haircloth, and defile it with dust and ashes, so that the hardness of his present austerities may compensate for the softness of past pleasure? But when shall he do these so great things, shut out, as he is, by his approaching end, from doing even slight things?" (adv. Avarit. i. 10.) The Council of Laodicea uses the term of the whole course of penitence. "As to those, who sin by divers offences, and persevere in the prayer of confession (ἐξομολογήσις) and repentance, and turn perfectly from the evil ways, a period of repentance being assigned to such, proportioned to the offence, let them be admitted to Communion through the mercies and goodness of God." (Can. 2.) Isidore vi. ult. explains it of confession to God only, "Exomologesis, is that wherewith we confess our offences to the Lord, not as though He were ignorant, from Whose knowledge nothing is hid." S. Chrysostom remarkably uses the word alternately with repentance (μετάνοια) as equivalent to it; "Let us also then imitate him (John Baptist), and laying aside luxury and excess, change to an abstemious life. For now [Passion week] is the time of *Confession*, both for the baptized and unbaptized: for the one, that, having *repented*, they may obtain the Holy Mysteries; the other, that having in Baptism washed away their sins, they may with a pure conscience approach the Table. For it cannot, cannot, be, that people should at one and the same time be in *confession* and in luxury. Forsake we then this soft and relaxed life.—If you cannot do this, [live like John Baptist,] let us, even while dwelling in cities, exhibit *repentance*.—Wherefore we have need of large *confession* and many tears;—but although they [our sins] be unworthy of pardon, let us *repent*, and we shall obtain a crown. But repentance I call, not only to forsake the former ills, but, (which is better,) to shew forth what is good." (Hom. 10. in Matt. §. 5.) He speaks of it also as what he could not impose, only exhort to. "What then? saith one, biddest thou be thus austere? I bid not, but I counsel and exhort." In another place he uses it, in the same way, of the confession of the Paschal week, and since what he joins with it, relates to the whole Church, it seems certain that he means the confession and detestation of sin on the part of the whole Church to God; if not, it must have been the last act of penitents expressing publicly a general abhorrence of their sins; for their preliminary confession was now long past. "Since by the grace of God we have come to this great week, it becomes us now especially to urge on the course of our fasting, and to make our prayers fuller, and to shew forth a large and accurate confession of sins, and diligence about good works, abundant almsgiving, gentleness, mildness, and all other virtues, that with these good works, coming to the Lord's Day, we may share the mercy of the Lord." (Hom. 30. in Gen. init.)

Note M. *on the absolute necessity of Confession, page* 367.

The point at issue between the Romanists and ourselves, as to Confession, relates, (as themselves admit,) not to its general advantage, or its

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION

necessity in particular cases, or its use as a means of discipline, or to the desirableness of public confession before the whole Church, or the great difficulty of true penitence often without it, or the duty of individuals to comply with it, if the Church requires it; but it is whether confession to man be so essential to absolution that the benefits of absolution cannot be had without it. Thus Tournely says even of Protestant bodies. "The question is not whether the confession which is made to man be useful and to be recommended, for this they both praise and commend; but it is whether it be free or, of Divine right and command, necessary." (q. 9. art. 2. t. 1. p. 315.) Accordingly it is not the question whether a Church have a right to impose it upon its members, but whether a Church, as our own, have a right to dispense with it. The Roman Church, as well as our own, confesses that her practice is not the same as that of the ancient Church, and that, if the times would bear it, it would be desirable to restore it; only the Roman Church claims that, having changed every thing besides, characteristic of the ancient discipline, she has preserved its essentials, and that what she has preserved is essential. Public penitence implied confession before man, in part also to the Priest, who had to decide whether certain cases required a course of public penitence or no; it implied that the penitent at the close of his public penitence, and before his re-admission to Communion, should bewail his sins before the Priest, in presence of the congregation, and receive absolution from him; since also this was the prescribed discipline of the Church, one who withdrew himself from it, for fear of the public shame, had reason to fear that he shrunk also from the necessary discipline and humiliation. Again, the penitent, by shrinking from public penitence, lost the continued intercessions of the congregation, which are equally lost now in the Roman Church by the substitution of private confession. The Roman Theologians separate from these several grounds of confession, the one of taking shame before man, which is mentioned incidentally only in the fathers, as not being a sufficient ground to deter from public penitence. They insist on private confession as essential, on authority of the fathers, when these are insisting on public humiliation, or on private, with a view to public, confession; and this of flagrant overt sins of a more deadly nature, whereas the Council of Trent anathematizes "any who says that in the sacrament of penance, it is not, of Divine right, necessary to the remission of sins, to confess all and each mortal sin, whereof memory is had, after previous, due, and diligent thought, including secret sins, and such as are against the two last commands of the decalogue, [the tenth commandment, and so sins of thought only,] and the circumstances which change the character of the sin," &c. (Sess. 14. can. 7.) In all the places in which the fathers speak of the necessity of confession, they have regard to it, 1) as the door to a course of public penance, which humbled the penitent, subjected him to a healthful discipline, (which, privately, it were to be feared, few would practise,) and kept him for a while from the Holy Communion which might be hurtful to him; 2) as obtaining for individuals spiritual counsel for the specific case of each; 3) as gaining the intercessions of the Church, and so of Christ. To

take the passages cited by Bellarmine, and examined in detail by Daillé[k].

The confessions mentioned by Irenæus are acts of public penance for grievous sin, heretical teaching, and adultery, (see ab. note L, p. 377.)

Origen refers to public penance, and that as a painful remedy for sin. "There is yet a seventh remission of sin, although hard and laborious through penitence, when the sinner 'washeth his bed with his tears,' and his 'tears become his bread day and night,' and when he shrinks not from shewing to the priests of the Lord his sin, and to seek a remedy according to Ps. 31, [32,] 5. and Jas. 5, 14;" for in a corresponding description shortly after, he describes a public penance after the manner of Tertullian, "But if in the bitterness of thy weeping thou shalt be overwhelmed with grief, tears, and lamentation, if thou make lean thy flesh and dry it up by fasting and much abstinence," &c. (see de Pœn. c. 9.) In like way in the next passage, Hom. 3. in Lev. §. 4. (on Lev. 5, 5. 'If he have sinned in any of these things, let him declare the sin which he hath sinned.') "There is herein a wonderful mystery. For [in the Day of Judgment] things of every kind are to be uttered, and all which we have done is to be manifested; if we have done any thing in secret, if in words only, or even within the secret places of our thoughts we have committed it, all must needs be published, all produced; produced by him who is both the accuser of sin and the instigator, for he now instigates us to sin, he also, when we have sinned, accuses. If then we anticipate him in life, and are ourselves our own accusers, we escape the malice of the Devil, our enemy and accuser, for so the Prophet elsewhere says, 'tell thou thine iniquities before [thou be accused] that thou mayest be justified;' and David also in the same Spirit saith in the Psalms, 'I made bare mine iniquity, and hid not my sins.'" 1) The confession relates not to man but to God, as appears from the Scriptures quoted. 2) as far as it does involve acknowledgment before man, it relates to public penance, (referring also to the former passage which also speaks of it,) for there follows, "if thou utter it first, and offerest the sacrifice of penitence, offering according to what we have said above, and hast 'given thy flesh to destruction that the spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord,' it is said to thee also, that thou in thy lifetime hast received thy evil things, but now do thou rest."

The third passage in Origen (whether his or no, even Bellarmine doubts, "auctor Hom. 2. in Ps. 37.") relates to taking advice whether public penitence be performed or no for secret sins. "See what Divine Scripture teacheth us, that we must not hide sin within. For they too, who are oppressed by undigested food or phlegm, if they eject it, are relieved; so they who have sinned, if they conceal and retain the sin within them, are oppressed within and almost suffocated by the phlegm or humour of sin; but if he become his own accuser, while he accuses himself and confesses, he at the same time both ejecteth the sin, and digesteth the whole cause of

[k] Dallæus de auric. Latinorum confess. Besides Bellarmine, have been examined Tournely, Petavius, and Morinus de Pœnit., Arnauld de la fréquente Communion.

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. — CONFESSION

the disease. Only look diligently to whom thou oughtest to confess thy sin; prove first the physician, to whom thou shouldest set forth the causes of thy sickness, who knoweth how to be weak with the weak, to weep with the weeping, who is trained in sympathy and compassionating, that so thou mayest do and follow whatever counsel he may give, who shall first shew himself a skilful and compassionate physician; if he perceive that thy sickness is such as ought to be published in the congregation of the whole Church, that so others may be edified thereby, and thyself readily cured, this must be prescribed with much deliberation, and on the very experienced advice of such a Physician." It is plain that the writer is not speaking of the prudence and sympathy necessary in any spiritual adviser, but of the extraordinary skill and tenderness necessary in one who is to advise in such a case as this. Again in the sequel it appears that the confession is to be made, not for its own sake, but with the view of putting the sinner on a course of life whereby the sin may be healed; it relates also to sins which should exclude from Communion. "It is good that he who transgresses, be not secure, nor entertain no anxiety, as one who hath not, thinking not how to blot out his sin. If some spot or ulcer arise in thy body, thou art anxious and seekest diligently what remedy shall be applied, how the former soundness may be restored to the body;—when thy soul is sick and oppressed with the languor of sins art thou secure, despisest and settest at nought hell and the punishment of eternal fire? countest little of the judgment of God, and despisest the Church which warneth thee? fearest not, approaching to the Holy Eucharist, to partake of the Body of Christ, as though clear and pure, as though there were nothing unworthy in thee, and amid all this, thinkest that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?"

The fourth place (Hom. 17. in Luc. fin.) equally refers to taking counsel in difficult cases. "If we do this and confess our sins not only to God but to those also who can heal our wounds and sins, our sins will be blotted out by Him Who saith, 'Behold I blot out as a cloud thy iniquities.'" Origen had spoken also a little before of "evil thoughts, which were therefore revealed, in order that by being brought out, they might be destroyed, and He might slay them Who died for us. For as long as they were hid, and not brought out, it was impossible for them wholly to be extirpated. Wherefore we too, if we have sinned, ought to say, 'I acknowledge my sin unto Thee,'" &c.

The passages out of S. Cyprian have been already considered in Note L, p. 378. as has the Canon of the Council of Laodicea (p. 379): both plainly relate to public penance.

Lactantius (though of little authority) is in both places speaking of the course of public penitence; in the one case in contrast with contumacy, in the other with the Novatian heresy, which denied it. In the first (iv. 17.) he says, "God, willing in His everlasting lovingkindness to provide for our life and salvation, did, under that Circumcision, set forth to us Penitence, that, if we cleanse our heart, i. e. if confessing our sin, we make amends to God, (satis Deo fecerimus,) we may obtain pardon, which, to the

contumacious and to such as conceal their sin, is denied by Him Who, not, as man, seeth the face, but the inmost secrets of the heart." In the other (c. ult.) he joins, "Confession and Penitence, which healthfully cure all the sins and wounds to which the frailty of the flesh is subject." Where (as Daillé observes) the confession is (as in Tertullian) equivalent to exomologesis, the action of penitence, (the more so perhaps in an African writer, as it is so used by Tertullian and S. Cyprian.)

The passage quoted from S. Athanasius (in verba, Profecti in pagum, invenietis pullum ligatum) had been acknowledged to be spurious and of no account by Nannius and Erasmus, (see Daillé, iii. 9.) and since, virtually[l], by the Benedictines, (Opp. t. ii. p. 73.)

S Hilary (cap. 18. in Matt. §. 8.) speaks of confession generally, without explanation; there is nothing to imply private confession or any thing but the acknowledged discipline of the Church, "To produce a terror of deep fear, whereby all might for the time be restrained, He premised the immoveable judgment of Apostolic severity, that whom they 'bound on earth,' i. e. left tied in the bonds of their sins, and whom they 'loosed,' i. e. by Confession received into saving pardon, these, on the terms of the Apostolic sentence, should in heaven also be either bound or loosed."

S. Basil, in the two passages quoted[m], is simply answering the question, "when sins are to be laid open, to whom should they be opened?" he answers, to one experienced in the disease (as our own Church "some learned Minister in God's word.") de Reg. brev. q. 229. "Whether forbidden actions ought to be laid open to all, or to whom, and of what sort?" Answ. "The discovering of sins has the same rules as the making known of bodily ailments. As then men do not reveal the ailments of the body to all, but to those skilled in their cure, so also the discovering of sins ought to be made to those able to cure them, as is written, 'ye that are strong, bear the infirmities of the weak,' i. e. by care remove them." In the other passage (q. 288.) the point of enquiry is still more explicitly worded, "He

[l] They place it among the dubia only, perhaps because occurring in old Mss. They reject it, however, themselves, alleging that "the inelegance of style, and the inappropriate and somewhat forced explanations of Scripture imply, on the face, an author very inferior to Athanasius."

[m] In two other places alleged by Greg. de Val. and considered by Daillé (iii. 10.) the subject is the confession of monks, not with a view to absolution at all, but for mutual edification, (such as the Wesleyan meetings might be, only that the Wesleyans speak of feelings, for the most part, not of actions, and of what would be God's goodness, not of their sins,) Sermo ascet. t. 2. p. 323. ed. Ben. (de instit. Mon. l. extr. ap. Daillé.) "If there have been, during the day, any thought of things forbidden, or unsuitable word, or remissness in prayer, or lukewarmess in psalmody, or desire after an ordinary life, let him not hide the transgression, but tell it out to the common body, so that, through the common prayer, the disease of him who fell into such an evil, may be cured." And Reg. fus. tract. q. 26. "On referring every thing, even the secrets of the heart, to the superior." "Each under authority, if he would make any worthy advance, should keep no motion of his soul to himself in secret—but tell the secrets of his heart to the brethren entrusted with the tender and sympathetic care of the sick. For thus it will be, that both what is praiseworthy will be confirmed in us, and what is disapproved will be healed by a fitting remedy and by this *mutual* exercise, our perfectness will grow by a gradual increase."

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CON-FES-SION

who *willeth to confess* his sins, ought he to confess them to all, or to any chance persons, or to whom?" In the answer the object is distinctly stated to be, to obtain advice. "The end of God's love is the sinner's conversion—since then the mode of repentance must be suited to the sin, and there must be 'fruits worthy of repentance,' it is necessary to confess the sins to those entrusted with the oracles of God." This advice of S. Basil corresponds with the then known discipline of the Greek Church, in which the public penitentiary decided, whether sins were to be openly confessed or no.

S. Ambrose (de Pœnit. ii. 6.) contrasts confession with impenitence, "If thou wilt be justified, confess thine offence. For humble confession looses the bonds of sins." This he says in contrast with such as "make a boast of their innocence, and by justifying themselves are the more burthened." The words being God's words, there is (as Daillé observes) no ground to think that confession to man is here spoken of; and indeed the Benedictines admit it to be probable that there is none.

In the other place (ib. 9. 10.) he speaks of such as having taken the previous steps for public confession, drew back from it[n]. The benefit obtained by the public confession, he, like T., places in the humiliation attending public penance, and the prayers of the people. "Very many, out of fear of future punishment, conscious of their sins, seek admission to penitence, and having obtained it, are drawn back by the shame of public entreaty. Will any one endure that thou shouldest be ashamed to ask of God, who art not ashamed to ask men? that thou be ashamed to supplicate from Whom thou art not hid, when thou art not ashamed to confess thy sins to man, from whom thou art hid?"

A third place, quoted by Card. Perron, (ap. Daillé, iii. 11.) relates to those who did public penitence for secret sins of such guilt as to exclude from Communion. It does not at all imply that this punishment was compulsory; S. Ambrose is only contending against the Novatians, that they who took it on themselves should not lose the fruit of their deep, and it should seem voluntary, penitence. "If then any, having hidden sins, do yet for Christ's sake [apparently, not compelled] zealously perform penitence, how does he receive a reward, if Communion is not restored to him? I will that the criminal hope for pardon, seek it with tears, with groans, with the weepings of the whole people; let him entreat pardon: and if twice or thrice his communion be deferred, let him think that he entreated too remissly; let him increase his tears; let him return afterwards more pitiable; let him hold the Feet in his arms, kiss Them, wash Them with his tears, nor let Them go, that the Lord Jesus may say of him, 'his many sins are forgiven, because he loved much.' I know some who in penitence furrowed their countenance with tears, traced their cheeks with continued

[n] Pacian treats of these, as one class for whom he writes, as though it were a common case, "thirdly, I shall speak of those, who having well confessed and laid open their sins, either know not or refuse the remedies of penitence, and the very acts of administering the exomologesis." Paræn. ad Pœnit. init. p. 315.

weepings, laid their body on the ground to be trodden on by all, and in a breathing body, did, by the wan countenance of fastings, exhibit the appearance of death." (de Pœnit. i. 16.) All this relates to the severity of public penitence; and Romanists themselves admit, that "by no Ecclesiastical law was there imposed a necessity of publicly declaring secret sins." (Tourneley de Pœnit. q. 6. art. 4. p. 450.) This therefore was voluntary.

The practice of S. Ambrose, as related by Paulinus, in his life, plainly refers (like the passages in S. Basil and S. Ambrose himself) to such as consulted him with a view to public penance. "Whenever any one confessed his falls to him in order to perform penitence, he so wept as to force the other also to weep. For he seemed to be cast down with him who had been cast down. The nature of the offences, which they confessed to him, he uttered to none but God only, with Whom he interceded." The specific offence for which public penance was done, was in many cases certainly not published.

S. Gregory of Nyssa in one place (Ep. ad Letoium Init.) does not speak of confession at all [only a Latin version], but of the reception of penitents at Easter Eve. "It were well on this day to bring unto God not those only who by regeneration are transmuted through the grace of the Laver, but those also who through repentance and conversion from dead works again return to the living way, and to guide these to the saving hope whence they were estranged through sin." In another place, (de Pœnit. §. pen. et ult. t. 2. p. 173—5.) he (like the preceding Fathers of the fourth century) recommends at once public penance in order to gain the prayers of the people, and disclosure to the priest, that he may prescribe the fitting remedies. But the whole relates to public penitence; it is addressed to those "who need conversion" and were separated from the Communion. Such are exhorted to follow the example of the penitent sinner of the Gospel, in her humility, and as furnishing "a rule of penitence," in that she "shrunk not from the multitude of those sitting at meat, she who mourned her sins thus *publicly and manifestly*, how much more in private!" Among other points, he censures them for retaining the ordinary mode of life, cheerfulness in mien, the same dress, long sleep, distractions of business and thought, and contrasts the pains to regain the favour of an earthly king, how people are ill at ease, mourn, think life intolerable, and by the wasting and habit of their countenance, shew the depth of their sorrow," i. e. he blames them for retaining what was laid aside in public penance, omitting what was practised in it; and then after exhorting to a change of life, he tells them how the sick lay on a narrow pallet, severed from all worldly concerns and enjoyments, fed on bread and water, is with his physicians night and day; he exhorts the penitent, "Afflict thyself as much as thou canst; seek also the grief of like-minded brethren to aid thee to be freed; shew me thy bitter and abundant tears, that I may mingle mine; take also the priest as partaker of thy affliction as a father; be of good courage toward him who begat thee as to God, more than toward earthly parents. Shew him without shame the things hidden. Bare the secret

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. — CONFESSION.

places of the soul, as shewing to the physician a hidden malady; he will take care of both thy modesty and thy cure."

Pacian closely imitates Tertullian, and, with him, is speaking of public penance and of the benefits of the intercession of the Church, and, with S. Ambrose, of those who having sought a course of penitence afterwards shrunk from it; he is speaking also of such sins as made the reception of the Holy Communion, without previous penitence, dangerous. The passages quoted are, "I call you then first, brethren, who having been guilty of sins, refuse to perform penitence; you, I say, first impudent, then timid; after sin, bashful; who blush not to sin and blush to confess; who with an evil conscience touch the holy things of God, and fear not the altar of God."—Lo, again, the Apostle says to the Priest, 'Lay hands suddenly on no one, and share not others' sins.' What dost thou, who deceivest the Priest, deceivest him, if ignorant, or, if knowing imperfectly, bafflest him by the difficulty of proof? I entreat you, then, brethren, even for my own peril's sake, by that Lord, from Whom no secrets are hid, cease to veil a wounded conscience. The sick, when wise, dread not the physicians.—Now, to address those who well and wisely confessing their sores, yet know not what penitence is, or the medicine for their sores, and are like those, who lay open their sores and swellings, tell all to the physicians, as they sit by, but when bidden, neglect what is to be applied, are disgusted at what is to be taken." What they refused, he goes on to say, were the sackcloth and ashes, the fastings and tears of the royal penitent David, the humiliation of Nebuchadnezzar.

Of S. Chrysostome two passages have already been considered, Note L, p. 379. In addition to these Bellarmine adduces two from the de Sacerdot. ii. 3 and 4. "Wherefore there is need of much contrivance, that the sick be persuaded to subject themselves to the remedies from the priests, and not this only, but to be thankful for them," and "I could mention many, who were driven upon the worst of evils, from being required to undergo penalties worthy of their sins. For we must not simply proportion the penalty to the offence, but must consider also the good-will of the offenders, lest wishing to mend the rent, you make it worse." Bellarmine infers, that in order to know how to proportion the remedy to the weakness of the offender, the priest must know all, even the most hidden sins, and so, that S. Chrysostome must have required their confession. But S. Chrys. is speaking only of laying on no heavier burthens than men can bear; not of proportioning the penance to all a person's sins, (which alone would require this full confession,) but of not imposing *in any case*, what he foresees the offender will draw back from. The context itself implies that confession was not absolutely required. For S. Chrys. is contrasting the office of pastors of sheep and of men; shepherds know the diseases of their sheep, and could subject them to what process of cure they would; pastors could do neither. "First of all it is not easy for man to know the sicknesses of man, for 'no one knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of a man which is in him.' How then can one apply the cure to a disease, the nature whereof he knows not, and often cannot tell whether he be

diseased or no? And when it has become manifest, then it gives him yet greater difficulty. For he cannot apply the remedy to all with the same power, as the shepherd to his flock; for in their case he may tie up, and debar from food, and cauterize, and cut; but the power of receiving the remedy lies not with him who administers it, but rather with the sick." This could not have been written, when the duty of confessing all the most secret sins to the priest was recognized.

Bellarmine's other passage is, [Hom. 34. al. 33. in Joaun. c. 3.] "In our sins let us not be ashamed of man, but let us, as we ought, fear God, Who now also seeth what is done, and will punish then those who repent not now;" and, "Hast thou done or thought any wickedness, and hidest it from man? but from God thou hidest it not. But for all this thou carest not; for the eyes of men, this is thy only fear." "I exhort therefore, although none see what we do, that each of us should enter into his own conscience, and set thought as a judge over himself, and bring before him all his offences. And if he would not be publicly exposed on the fearful Day, let him apply the remedies of repentance and heal his wounds." But this last extract rather shews (as Daillé observes) that S. Chrys., here as elsewhere, was referring men only to their own consciences, of their applying remedies for their own sins. And these he goes on to describe; first, to break off the sin, secondly, to cultivate the opposite grace. "Hast thou robbed and made unlawful gains? cease from rapine, and apply almsgiving to the wound. Hast thou committed fornication? cease from it, and apply chastity to the wound. Hast thou spoken evil of thy brother, and injured him? cease evil-speaking, and apply kindliness. And so let us do severally to all our offences, and not pass them by." S. Chrys. also is not speaking of persons shrinking from taking shame by public confession, but of such as are withheld from sin by fear of man, not of God; and who therefore forthwith sin, so soon as man's eye is withdrawn. "Whoso regardeth the shame of man *only*, and is not ashamed to do any wickedness when God seeth," &c. and, "Him Who shall judge, we fear not; but those who cannot hurt us, of these we stand in awe, and fear shame from them." The contrast is not between confessing to God only, (which S. Chrys. encourages, see below,) and not confessing to man, but fearing man and not fearing God. Greg. of Valentia (ap. Daillé) quotes another passage, which may shew how similar passages need not apply to private confession to man. (Hom. 20. in Gen. §. 3.) "He who has done these things [grievous sin] if he would use the assistance of conscience for his need, and hasten to confess his sin, and shew his sore to the Physician, Who healeth and reproacheth not, and converse with Him alone, none knowing, and tell all exactly, he shall soon amend his falls. For confession of sins is the effacing of offences." The words in themselves, (the more, when compared with other language of S. Chrys.) imply Who the Physician is, Who alone can "heal;" but S. Chrys. goes on to speak of the offensiveness of refusing to "confess to Him Who knoweth accurately all our offences," "Who knoweth all things before they are," "Who requireth of us nothing heavy and grievous, but only a broken heart, the

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

pricking of the conscience, confession of the fall, continued cleaving to Him, and He not only grants us healing of our wounds, and cleanses us from our sins, but makes him righteous who before was weighed down by the burthen of innumerable sins." It appears from this, that the Fathers, when speaking of opening our wounds to a physician, do not, as Romanists seem to think, necessarily mean a human physician.

The passage of Innocent I. relates exclusively to public penance. The question proposed to him is only, when the term of public penitence should be closed; Innocent answers, "As to penitents, whether they are performing penitence for graver or lesser sins, if no sickness intervenes, the practice of the Roman Church shews that they are to be forgiven on the Thursday before Easter. But in estimating the weight of the offences, it belongs to the priest to judge, attending to the confession of penitent and his weeping and tears when amending, and then bid him be set free, when he sees that the amends has corresponded. (Ep. 25. ad Decent. c. 7. Constant. Epp. Rom. Pontif. p. 862.)

S. Jerome, in the first place alleged, is speaking only of confessing in order to obtain advice; on Eccl. 10, 8. he says, "If the serpent, the Devil, secretly bite any, and infect him with the poison of sin, no one knowing; if he who is wounded is silent, and does not perform penitence, and will not confess his wound, either to a brother, or a master, the master who hath a tongue which could heal it, cannot easily profit him. For if the sick blush to confess his wound to the physician, medicine healeth not what it knoweth not of." In the second he is speaking of the duties of the priest, to whom confession is made, not of the duty of all to make confession. "Bishops and Priests not understanding this place (Matt. 16, 19.) take to themselves something of Pharisaic pride, so as either to condemn the innocent, or think that they loose the guilty, whereas with God not the sentence of the priest, but the life of the criminals, is the object of enquiry. In Leviticus, we read of the leprous, that they are commanded to shew themselves to the priests, and if they have the leprosy, then the priests reckon them unclean, not that the priests make them leprous and unclean, but that they have the knowledge of what is leprous or not, and can discern who is clean, who unclean. As then there the priest maketh the leprous clean or unclean, so here the Bishop or Priest binds or looses, not those who are innocent or guilty, but, according to his office, when he has heard the various natures of the sins, he knows who is to be bound, who loosed." (L. 3. in Matt. 16.) A third passage, referred to by Bellarmine, (Ep. 84. ad Pamm. et Oceau. §. 6.) "The simple confession of a fault is a second plank after shipwreck," relates simply to the admission of having been in error [those of Origen], and forsaking them. "Ye have followed me erring; follow me also amended. Young, we have erred; old, be we amended. Let us join our groans, unite our tears, weep and be turned to the Lord, Who made us. Await we not the repentance of the Devil."

Of the passages attributed to S. Augustine, the de vera et falsa pœnitentia is of later date, nor does Bellarmine claim any authority for it, except what may result from its being cited as of authority by P. Lombard

and Gratian; the two homilies quoted by Bellarmine are also spurious; the former is acknowledged to be so by many, and the Benedictines who produce parallels out of S. Augustine for most of the homily, adduce none for c. 1., where the passage occurs, (Hom. 253. App. olim 12. inter 50.) However, even it speaks not of private, but of public, confession, for it begins, "We are admonished—to confess our sins—not only to God, but also to the saints and those who fear God," [i. e. Christian people,] and in like way the other (Serm. 393. which is very unlike S. Augustine) relates to sins, whereby any has "violated the Sacrament by living ill and profligately, and so has been removed from the Altar;" and to persons, who delayed performing penitence and being reconciled, until their death-bed. In one homily (Serm. 392. al. 49. e. 50.) S. Augustine does speak strongly against persons trusting to a private, but it is in contrast with the severe discipline of public, penitence. He is addressing adulterers, and urging them to do penance in the Church, that they might obtain the prayers of the Church. "If ye have defiled yourselves—do penance, as it is done in the Church, that the Church may pray for you. Let no one say, 'I do it secretly, I do it in the presence of God; God knoweth, Whose pardon I hope for, that I do it in my heart.' Is it then said without ground, 'What ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven?" Were the keys given groundlessly to the Church? Do we set at nought the Gospel, set at nought the words of Christ?" As Daillé has further noticed, the text which S. Augustine alleged from Job, "If I blushed to confess before the people my sins;" his words, "blushes to kneel to receive the blessing of God," as well as the example of Theodosius, refer to public penitence: S. Augustine is warning against the self-deceit which shrunk from public humiliation, and neglected or despised the absolution given thereupon through the power of the keys.

From his commentary on Psalm 66, Bellarmine quotes the following, "Be downcast, before thou hast confessed; having confessed, exult; now shalt thou be healed. While thou confessedst not, thy conscience collected foul matter; the imposthume swelled, distressed thee, gave thee no rest; the Physician foments it with words, sometimes cuts it, employs the healing knife, rebuking by tribulation. Acknowledge thou the hand of the Physician; confess; let all the foul matter go forth in confession; now exult, now rejoice; what remains will readily be healed." Bellarmine argues, "all foul matter signifies all sins," so that "in the judgment of Augustine, all sins were to be laid open in confession." But to whom? The whole context in S. Aug., before and after, is of confession to God, and to Him only. S. Aug. is commenting on the words, "Sing unto the Lord all the earth; let the people confess to Thee, O Lord." He says, "The very singing is confession; confession of thy sins and of the power of God. Confess thy iniquity; confess the grace of God. Accuse thyself, glorify Him; blame thyself, praise Him; that He, when He cometh, may find thee thine own chastener, and shew Himself thy Saviour." Again he asks, "Fearest thou to confess *to God*, that confessing He may not condemn thee?" then contrasting confession before man's tribunal and before God, "if robbers

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

confessing before men grieve, let the faithful confessing before God, rejoice;" and on the words, "'Let the nations rejoice and exult;' wherein? in confession itself. Why? because He is good, to Whom they confess. To this end He requireth confession, that He may set the humble free; to this end He condemneth the unconfessing, that He may condemn the proud." And he sums up the words quoted by Bellarmine with the text, "Let the people confess to Thee." The whole is a remarkable instance of the way in which Romanists cite her fathers; Bellarmine never could have alleged the passage, had he seen the context, or even considered the words he quotes, where the Physician, to Whom confession is made, is spoken of as able to "rebuke by tribulation."

The Council of Carthage, (at which S. Augustine was present,) decreed, "That to penitents, there be prescribed, according to the judgment of the Bishop, periods of penitence, according to the difference of their sins." "Penitents" signifying "those who publicly performed penitence;" this implies only, that the Bishop knew the sins for which they did penitence.

Sozomen, in like way, (H. E. vii. 16.) is speaking of such sins only as subjected to public penance. He is relating what occasioned the office of the public penitentiary priest to be abolished. He says, in the words quoted by Bellarmine, "Since to be altogether free from sin required a more divine nature than man's, but God enjoined forgiveness to be given to those who repented, though often sinning, in asking pardon it was necessary to confess the sin;" but for the nature of this discipline he refers to the practice of the Western, and especially the Roman Church, where it was "diligently kept up." And this, which he describes, is altogether the discipline of public penitence, how the penitents stood in a place apart, downcast and mourning, remaining excommunicate, weeping, the Bishop and congregation weeping with them, and at last were rejoined to the Church. "This the Roman priests observe from the first," he adds, "and even down to our times." The only Roman practice then known to Sozomen was one in which sins were privately confessed with a view to public penance. For these, besides the public humiliation, "each in private willingly afflicted himself, either by fastings, or by foregoing washing, or by abstinence from food, or by other things enjoined him," (ib.) so that in the public penitence, the priest directed a private self-affliction corresponding with it; whence passages, which speak of opening the sins to the priest, for him to impose fitting remedies, do not imply mere private penance.

Two passages of S. Leo may yet be added both for his name, and their intrinsic interest. The first relates to an innovation of some Italian Bishops, in publishing the sins for which penitents did public penitence. "That presumption, contrary to the Apostolic rule, which I have lately learnt to be practised by some, taking unduly upon themselves, I direct should by all means be removed, and that a written statement of the nature of the crimes of each should not be publicly rehearsed, since it suffices that the guilt of the conscience be laid open to the priests alone in secret confession. For although that fulness of faith, which out of the fear of God

fears not to take shame before men, seems to be praiseworthy, yet because the sins of all are not of such sort, that they who ask to do penitence, fear not their being published, let so unadviseable a custom be done away, lest many be kept from the remedies of penitence; either being ashamed, or fearing that actions, for which they may be punished by the laws, should be discovered to their enemies. For that confession suffices, which is made first to God, then to the priest also, who draweth near to pray for the sins of the penitents. For so at length may more be stirred up to penitence, if the sins confessed by the penitents (pœnitentia confitentis) be not published in the ears of the people." (Ep. 136. al. 80. ad Episc. Camp. &c. fin.)

Of this, Bellarmine quotes only the sentence, which speaks of confession to the priest alone sufficing; but S. Leo is neither arguing for the substitution of private for public penance, (as now in the Roman Church,) nor for the confession of all sins, but only maintaining the ancient practice as to public discipline, and preventing an additional burthen being laid upon those who did penitence publicly.

The other passage of S. Leo is in answer to Theodorus, "enquiring, what the rule of the Church prescribed as to the order of penitents." S. Leo answers, "The manifold mercy of God in such wise succours man in his falls, that not only by the grace of Baptism, but also by the medicine of penitence, the hope of eternal life is restored; so that they who have violated the gift of regeneration, condemning themselves by their own sentence, may come to the remission of their crimes (criminum), the succour of the Divine goodness being so ordered, that the forgiveness of God cannot be obtained but through the supplication of the priest. For the 'Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus,' hath delivered this power to those set over the Church, that they should admit to the doing of penitence those who confess, and when cleansed by a healthful satisfaction, should, through the door of reconciliation, admit them to the participation of the Sacraments." Ep. 108. (ol. 91.) ad Theod. c. 1.

Bellarmine argues, "That S. Leo is speaking of secret confession, and that, of all even secret sins, is clear, both from the former passages, and in that the priests could not appoint the doing of the befitting penitence, without an accurate knowledge of all sins;" but (as Daillé observes, iii. 18.) all the language of S. Leo relates to public penitence, and such sins for which penitence was then done. The enquiry of Theodorus relates to these alone; the answer speaks of those only which "violated the gift of regeneration;" of grievous sins, which shut out the sinner from the communion of the Church; it relates to his restoration to that communion, not to the confession of those who continued in it, and whose sins did not exclude them from it[n].

[n] Daillé notices besides, (after Arnauld, part 2. de la fréq Comm. c. 4. p. 251 sqq.) that the word "crimes" in S. Augustine and others signifies "sins for which public penance was done," [see c. g Ep. 157. ad Hilar. §. 3. Arnauld quotes also Aug. Tract 41. in Joann. Ep. 185. ad Bonifac. §. 45. de Civ. D. xiv. 9. Ench. c. 64. de Perf. Just. c. 9. his other authorities are more modern. add in Ps. 118. Serm. 3. §. 2. c. 2. Epp. Pelag. i. c. 4.] but indeed the whole language implies it.

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

Such being the evidence which Romanists produce in the five first centuries, it is needless to examine further; it exhibits the system of public discipline in that period, and shews that, in the latter part of it from the fourth century, grievous sins were privately laid open to the priest, with a view to his assigning a course of public penance proportionate to them. Throughout, there is nothing corresponding with the modern practice of the Church of Rome, established by the Council of Trent, to be held as a Divine ordinance, under pain of anathema. On the contrary, the sins so to be confessed were of a very grievous kind, such as were to be blotted out through a long and painful course of public penance, sins which excluded from Communion, and for a time even from presence at the prayers, and into which if the absolved penitent relapsed there was no second reconciliation open to him, but he remained until the end of his life excommunicate. The penance allotted to them was prescribed by Canons; and sins which did not fall under these Canons were neither confessed nor made subject of penance. This S. Gregory of Nyssa (Ep. ad Letoium, can. 6.) expressly says of "avarice." "The other sort of 'idolatry,' for so the Divine Apostle calls 'covetousness,' I know not how it was overlooked by our fathers and left without any remedy prescribed (ἀθεράπευτον); whence it happens that this malady abounds very much in the Church, and no one troubles those, who are brought to the Clergy, whether they be defiled with such sort of idolatry." [i. e. when they are accused of other sins, that they may be put out of the Church, and so their life becomes the subject of examination, no one enquires as to this.] "But as to these things, since they have been passed by by our fathers,—we think it sufficient to heal them, as we best may, by the word of teaching, purging by the word these plethoric diseases of covetousness." But, besides the Canons, the fathers themselves explain what they mean by "capital" sins, shewing that their distinction between "capital" and "venial" is not the same as that of 'mortal" and "venial" in the Roman Church. Thus Tertullian (de Pudic. c. 19.) enumerates as such "murder, idolatry, fraud, denial of the faith, blasphemy, adultery, and fornication, and any other violation of the 'temple of God,'" and even when writing with the severity of a Montanist, he classes as venial "unjust anger beyond the going down of the sun, or laying hands on, or rash swearing, or breaking a covenant, or lying either out of shame or necessity." In another place, (c. Marc. iv. 9.) he recounts "seven spots of capital offences, Idolatry, blasphemy, homicide, adultery, fornication, false-witness, fraud." Above, de Idol. c. 1. p. 220. he counts "idolatry, murder, adultery, fornication, fraud," as "swallowing up salvation," and separates from them, apparently, "covetousness of the world, lasciviousnesses and drunkenness, injustice, vanity, lying." Origen (Hom. 2. in Jud. §. 5.) distinguishes sins into two classes, one for which public penitence was done, and there was public excommunication: the other (mental sins) came under the cognizance of God only, and the sinner is by Him at last excommunicated, by the withdrawal of His Holy Spirit. "We for whom these things are written ought to know, that if we sin against the Lord, and worship as God the lusts of our mind and of the flesh, we also

are delivered and by apostolic authority given over into the hands of Satan. Hear himself saying of him who had sinned, ' I have given,' &c. (1 Cor. 5, 5.) Thou seest that not only by His Apostles did God deliver offenders into the hands of the enemy, but by those also who preside over the Church, and have the power not only of loosing but of binding, sinners are given for the destruction of the flesh, when for their sins they are separated from the body of Christ. And, as seems to me, men now also are from the Church delivered into the power of Satan, 1) as we said above, when his offence is manifest to the Church, and by the priests he is expelled from the Church, that being noted of all, he may be ashamed, and on his conversion what follows, may belong to him, ' that the spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord:' 2) when his sin is not manifest to men, but God Who seeth in secret, perceiving his mind and soul serving vices and passions, and in his heart not only the love of the world, but avarice also, or lust, or vain-glory, or the like, the Lord Himself delivers such an one to Satan. How? He departs from his mind, and turns away, and flees his evil thoughts, and unworthy desires, and leaves the house of his heart empty." S. Cyprian de Pat. c. 9. recounts three chief classes, "adultery, fraud, homicide." Pacian (Paræn. ad Pœnit. p. 315.) and others, idolatry, murder, fornication, as founded on Acts xv. (see ab. note A on Apol. fin. p. 109.) S. Augustine (Tr. 12. in Joann. §. ult.) counts "murders, thefts, adulteries," and contrasts with them, " what seem slight sins of the tongue or of the thoughts, or want of moderation in things lawful." Elsewhere, explaining Tit. i. 7. he classes as " crimes" " from which every Christian should be free," (as opposed to venial sins,) " murder, adultery, any uncleanness of fornication, theft, fraud, sacrilege, and the rest of this sort." Tract 41. in Joann. Ep. 185. ad Bonif. In Hom. 352. de Util. pœnit. §. 8. he gives as instances, " murders, sacrilege, adulteries," and this with reference to public penitence and confession. " There remaineth a third sort of penitence. It is a heavier and more mournful penitence, to which they who are subjected are those properly called ' penitents' in the Church, being severed also from partaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, lest by receiving unworthily, they eat and drink judgment to themselves. That penitence then is mournful. The wound is grievous; perhaps adultery has been committed, perhaps murder, perhaps some sacrilege; a grievous thing, a grievous wound, deadly, mortal; but the Physician is Almighty. Now then after the deed has been suggested, entertained, consented to, perpetrated, like a ' four-days' corpse he stinketh;' but not even him hath the Lord forsaken, but hath cried, ' Lazarus, come forth.' The weight of the tomb hath yielded to the voice of mercy; death hath yielded to life; he who is from beneath to Him above. Lazarus is raised; hath come forth from the tomb; and was bound, as men are in the confession of sin, while performing penitence. They have already come forth from death; else they would not confess. The very act of confession is to come forth from the hidden place of darkness. But what saith the Lord to the Church? ' What ye loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.' Accordingly, when Lazarus was coming forth, because the Lord fulfilled the goodness of

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

His mercy, to bring forth to confession the dead, buried, stinking, the ministry of the Church fulfils the rest, 'Loose him and let him go.'" Here we have the whole course of fall and recovery; sin, grievous, by which a man becomes as a putrid corpse, with no power to rise again; the voice of Christ awakening him and giving him life, by giving him repentance, whereby he publicly confesses and bewails his sin, absolution "freeing him from the bonds of the sins which he had committed." But no Romanist would contend that all the sins which his Church calls "deadly" take away life wholly, as S. Augustine here describes. In another place, (as Daillé observes, iv. 20.) S. Augustine distinguishes from the sins figured by this death of Lazarus, sins of concupiscence, of those "who have the sin within in the heart, not as yet in deed;" and these, having sinned within, are, he says, like Jairus' daughter, raised within. "This resurrection of the dead soul takes place within, in the secret places of the conscience." (Serm. 98. in Luc. vii. §. 5.) Sins of concupiscence were then, according to S. Augustine, healed, without confession, within the soul by Christ Himself. Yet confession of these is expressly required by the Council of Trent, and they form the dangerous part of the Roman confessional. In another place, S. Augustine equally limits the remission through confession and penance to great crimes, great overt acts of sin. "Those whom you see do penance, have committed great crimes, either adulteries, or some enormous deeds; for if their sins were only light, the daily Prayer would suffice to blot out them. Sins then are remitted in three ways in the Church, in Baptism, in [the Lord's] Prayer, in the humility of the greater penitence." de Symb. ad Catech. fin. t. vi. p. 555. In another (Ep. 265. ad Seleucian. §. 7.) making the same threefold division, he limits penance to sins which require excommunication, and says, that the term "penitent" was limited to these. "Men do penitence, if after Baptism they so sin, as to deserve excommunication and subsequent restoration; such are they who in all Churches are properly called 'penitents.'" The same statement as to the meaning of "penitents," with the same contrast between sins so grievous as to require excommunication, and those cleansed by the daily use of the Lord's Prayer, recurs de Fid. et Op. c. 26. (add on this last Ench. c. 70, 71.) In the de Fid. et Op. c. 19, he identifies again, "mortal" with such as "subject to excommunication." "Even they who think that the rest are readily compensated by alms, yet doubt not that there are three sins deadly and to be punished by excommunication, unchastity, idolatry, homicide."

On this ground alone, then, it would be clear, that when S. Augustine (Serm. 351. de util. pœnit. 1) speaks of this third sort of penitence as relating to the sins against the Decalogue, (c. 4. §. 7.) he means, as in other places, palpable overt acts of sin, not those committed in thought only; and this the more, since he explains himself by reference to Gal. 5, 21, where St. Paul is speaking of overt sins of the flesh. "The third performing of penitence is that which is to be undergone for those sins, contained in the Decalogue of the Law; and of which the Apostle says, 'They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.'" They

are also, again, sins involving excommunication by ecclesiastical discipline, and it is the subjection to this discipline which he is recommending. "Lastly, let such a sentence issue from the mind itself, that a person judge himself unworthy to partake of the Body and Blood of the Lord; so that he who dreads lest by the final sentence of the Supreme Judge he be severed from the kingdom of heaven, be by the ecclesiastical discipline severed for the time from the Sacrament of the heavenly Bread." In the de Dono Perseverantiæ, c. 4. he, as well as S. Cyprian, on whom he is commenting, identifies sins which exclude from the Body of Christ and from "His body, which is the Church," as though those only should exclude from the one which shut out from the other. S. Cyprian's words are, "This bread we pray may be daily given us, lest we who are in Christ, and daily receive the Eucharist, as the food of salvation, be, through the intervention of some heavier sin, separated from the body of Christ, while, held back and not communicating, we are forbidden the heavenly bread." S. Augustine's comment; "These words of the holy man of God shew, that the saints pray for perseverance from the Lord, when with this view they say, 'Give us this day our daily Bread,' that they be not separated from the body of Christ, but remain in that holiness, whereby they are guilty of no sin, whereby they may deserve to be separated from it." The same is stated by a class of persons, anxious for daily communion amid daily infirmities, spoken of by S. Augustine, Ep. 54. ad Januar. c. 39. "But if the sins be not so great that a person ought to be excommunicated, he ought not to separate himself from the daily medicine of the Body of the Lord."

Such then being the sins which were the subjects of S. Augustine's "Third sort of penitence," he is a distinct witness that in his day, no confession was required of any other. For the three sorts of remission upon penitence, upon which he so often insists, are, 1) in Baptism, for the sins of the previous life; 2) by the daily use of the Lord's prayer with fasting and alms, for those of daily incursion; and, 3) public penitence[o]. Serm. 351. §. 2 sqq. 352. §. 2 sqq. Ep. ad Seleuc. l. c. &c.

This use of the Lord's prayer he sets forth as in itself a sufficient cleansing for the Holy Communion, (accordingly without any distinct confession,) "For sins incident to men and bearable, and the more frequent because the less, God hath established in the Church now in the season of mercy, a daily medicine that we should say, 'Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,' that with face cleansed through these words we may approach to the Altar; with face cleansed through these words, we

[o] S. Thomas (Summa. 3 p. q. 90. art. ult.) following this distinction, regards the three sorts of penitence, as 1) birth to a new life, 2) restoration of one decayed, 3) change to greater perfection. "There is a threefold change purposed by the penitent. The 1st by a regeneration to a new life, and this belongs to the penitence which precedes Baptism. The 2d change is by the reformation of the past life, when now decayed, and this belongs to the repentance of mortal sins after Baptism. The 3d change is to a more perfect operation of life, and this belongs to the repentance for venial sins, which are remitted through some fervent act of charity, as said above."

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

may partake of the Body and Blood of Christ." (Serm. 17. §. 5.) Again he makes this very act the confession whereby a man is cleansed, and still in contrast with great overt sins. "Thou who speakest, art thou 'without spot or wrinkle?' What dost thou here in the Church, which saith, 'Forgive us our debts?' She confesseth that she hath debts to be remitted. They who confess not, are not therefore without them, but therefore will not have them remitted. Confession heals us, and a heedful life, a humble life, prayer with faith, contrition of heart, tears unfeigned flowing from the source of our hearts, that the sins, which we cannot be without, be forgiven us. Confession I say as the Apostle John saith, 'If we confess our sins,' &c. But, because I say we cannot be here without sin, we may not commit murders or adulteries, or other death-bringing sins, which slay at one blow. These things doth not the Christian, who hath a good faith and good hope; but those only which are wiped away with the daily sponge of prayer. Let us say daily, humbly, and devoutly, 'Forgive us our debts,' yet so as to do what follows, 'as we also forgive our debtors.'" (Serm. 181 fin.) Again he speaks of it, as in a manner our daily Baptism for sins of infirmity, and so washing them out without further confession; "What the Apostle says of the 'washing of water by the word,' is so to be taken, that by the same washing of regeneration and word of sanctification all the ills of regenerate men are cleansed and healed; not only the sins which are at once altogether remitted in Baptism, but those also afterwards contracted by human ignorance and infirmity; not, that Baptism be repeated as often as men sin, but that by the fact that it is once given, there is obtained for the faithful, pardon of all sins both before and after. For what would penitence avail either before Baptism, unless Baptism followed, or after, unless it preceded? In the very Prayer too of the Lord, which is our daily cleansing, with what fruit, what effect, would men say, 'forgive us our trespasses,' unless they who said it, were baptized?" (de Nupt. et Concup. i. 33. add op. imp. c. Jul. ii. 212. de Pecc. Mer. iii. fin. de Perf. Just. Hom. c. 8. §. 18.)

It is plain from these passages that S. Augustine knew of no other confession, than that of great sins, for which men were excommunicated, and that lesser sins he believed to be remitted on daily confession to God only, in His Son's words by us as members of His Son.

Other of the passages also, above adduced from Bellarmine, so far from proving the indispensable necessity of confession, do, in fact, furnish arguments of the contrary; thus, the way in which S. Cyprian (de Laps. c. 4.) praised those who did penance for, and therewith confessed, the thought of denying the faith, implies that they were not ecclesiastically bound so to do. Origen, again, many ways implies the absence of any such discipline; 1) in the very difficulty which gives rise to one of the statements, quoted by Bellarmine. It is in reference to the different sacrifices appointed in the law, for sin; "But perhaps some Hearers in the Church will say, The ancients were better off than we, in that various sacrifices were provided whereby pardon was granted to sinners. With us there is only one forgiveness of sin, which is at the beginning given through the grace of Baptism.

After this no mercy or freedom is allowed to the sinner." For, (as Daillé argues, iii. 7.) such a difficulty never could have existed, had the discipline of the Ancient Church been such as that of the Roman now, wherein a second Sacrament is provided for the remission of the sins committed after Baptism, and any one, daily confessing, may be daily and that plenarily absolved. The difficulty implies that the remedy was at least indefinite or rare, not distinct and frequent, like the Sacrifices of the Old Law. 2) Origen meets the difficulty first by admitting the fact; " It is fitting that a severe discipline should belong to the Christian, for whom Christ died." 3) In setting forth the remedies, which God had laid up in the New Covenant, he speaks of them as so many ways in which forgiveness might be had for sin, and this as corresponding to the different Sacrifices of the Old. " Thou hast heard how many sacrifices there are for sin in the Law. Hear now how many remissions of sins there are in the Gospel. The 1st is that, whereby we are baptized to the remission of sins. The 2d in the suffering of martyrdom. The 3d that given for almsgiving, for the Saviour saith, ' but give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.' The 4th that, whereby we also forgive our brethren their sins, for thus saith our Lord and Saviour Himself, ' if ye forgive your brethren from the heart their trespasses, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you your trespasses.' The 5th is when one turneth a sinner from the error of his way, (S. Jas. v. 19, 20.) A 6th is also through the abundance of love, as also the Lord Himself saith, " Verily I say unto you, ' her sins, being many, are remitted to her, because she loved much.' " And then follows the 7th, the laborious and painful course of public penitence, in which alone confession is spoken of.

Since then the remission of sins in these is promised, upon our Lord's own authority, to the qualities of mind or actions spoken of, and no mention is made of confession in them, but mention is made of it in that one, in which we know it to have been used, it seems obvious that in it only was it required. Bellarmine tries to set this aside, by arguing, that these several modes of remission were not independent of each other, " but that most included the others, at least ' in desire' (in voto); for that almsgiving or forgiveness of injuries alone and the rest (though of benefit in their degree) did not suffice to justification without Baptism, actually or in desire, and as these suffice not for the unbaptized without Baptism, so neither for the baptized without confession actually or in desire." But this is not so; for first, the several modes of remission are set forth by Origen, as being each complete in itself and for its own end; Baptism is admitted to be so for the time plenarily; Martyrdom was held to take the place of Baptism, or renew it, if wasted; (see ab. on Apol. fin. p. 106. n. b.) the others after Baptism are set forth as belonging to Christians; the very question is, " What remedies has a Christian after the first remission in Baptism?" Origen answers, " Martyrdom, &c.;" the very case presupposes that they are appointed for baptized persons; it is then no argument that because they would not be available alone to unbaptized persons, therefore they are not so without another condition, confession, of which no mention

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

is made at all. Then also it suffices that the absence of any one does not destroy the value of another in itself; almsgiving is sufficient without the forgiveness of brethren, if any one, (as may often be,) have none to forgive; forgiveness, without almsgiving, if any one have nothing to give; and so on. It is not the mere absence of any of these means, but the presence of some positive quality, in itself offensive to God, which would vitiate the rest; as, if any were unforgiving, churlish, unloving, &c.; else Origen, presupposing of course "an honest and true heart," states each of these ways to be appointed means whereby God severally forgave sins, as He did through the several sacrifices under the law. Origen sums up, by paralleling these means severally with the sacrifices; but as those sacrifices were not all offered together, so it is plain that he did not suppose these means to be necessarily required together; almsgiving, forgiveness of brethren, exceeding love, conversion of a sinner, if existing in such degree as to be indeed sacrifices to God, had, Origen states, the promise of forgiveness of sin annexed to them. In the same way, the several means pointed out in Holy Scripture for effacing past sin, are inculcated, as separate, by S. Chrysostome and Cassian[p].

It has been above remarked, how S. Gregory of Nyssa, in the Epistle quoted in proof of private penance, expressly leaves cases for which public penance had not been assigned, to be 'healed by the word of teaching only.' S. Chrysostome also in the passages cited to prove

[p] S. Chrysostome sets forth in this way the several remedies against sin, (de Pœnit. Hom. 3. ol. 9.) and Cassian (Collat. 20, 8.) having recounted charity, (1 Pet. 4, 8.) alms, (Eccles. 3, 6.) tears, (Ps. 6.) confession, (Ps. 32. Is. 43.) affliction of body, (Ps. 25, 18.) amendment, (Is. 1.) intercession, (1 Joh. 5. Jas. 5.) mercy and faith, (Prov. 16, 6.) conversion of others, (Jas. 5.) forgiveness, (Matt. 5.) applies it thus, "Seest thou how many avenues of mercy the clemency of the Saviour has opened, so that no one, longing for salvation, should be crushed by despair, seeing himself invited to life by so many remedies. For if, through bodily weakness, thou pleadest that thou canst not efface sins by the affliction of fasts, nor say, 'My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth for want of fatness,' 'For I have eaten ashes for bread, and mingled my cup with weeping;' redeem them with largeness of almsgiving. If thou hast not what to impart to the poor, (although the plea of indigence and poverty excludes none from this work, since that widow's though but two mites are preferred to the large gifts of the rich, and the Lord promises He will reward the cup of cold water,) certainly without these, thou mayest be cleansed by amendment of life. But if thou canst not, by the extinction of all vices, attain the perfection of virtues, exert a pious anxiety for the salvation of others. If thou art not equal to this ministry, thou canst 'cover sins' by the affections of 'charity' If a certain remissness of mind make thee weak in this too, at least by prayer and the intercession of the holy, with a feeling of humility, implore the remedies for your wounds. Lastly, who is there who cannot suppliantly say, 'I have made known my sin unto Thee,' &c. so that by this confession he may attain to add with confidence, 'and Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of my sin.' To these Cassian, like S. Chrysostome, (see below,) subjoins the use of the Lord's prayer, closing the whole by saying, "that although we do all these things, they will not suffice for the expiation of our sins, unless the mercy and loving-kindness of our Lord blot them out, Who when He hath seen our services offered with a devout mind, receives our petty efforts with His unbounded largeness, saying, 'I, I am He Who blot out thine iniquities for My own sake."

private confession, shews that the sins of the people were unknown to the priests.

But besides these, there is other distinct evidence that confession was not regarded as essential to remission. This is chiefly furnished by S. Chrysostome[q], who yet, as alleged by Bellarmine, recommends public penitence, and himself enforced it[r]; still he most distinctly alleges that confession to God suffices for forgiveness, and this so repeatedly, and so strongly, as to leave no question as to his meaning. Certainly no words could be used, which should exclude any other meaning, if his do not. Thus he says, "Not this alone is wondrous, that He remits us our sins, but that He does not reveal, nor make them manifest or open, nor *compels* us to come forward and speak out our transgressions, but bids us plead *before Him Alone* and confess to Him;" (he uses the very technical word ἐξομολογήσασθαι,) again, "confess to *God Alone* thy sins; 'against Thee only have I sinned, and done evil before Thee,' and thy sin is forgiven," (Hom. de Pœnit. 3. (ol. 9.) t. ii. p. 300.) and after contrasting the willingness with which men would even with shame confess to an earthly judge, "despising the shame through longing for safety," he adds, "but here this is not so, but He remits the sins also, and compels not to parade them in the presence of others, but seeks this one thing only, that he who enjoyeth the benefit, should learn the greatness of the gift. How then is it not preposterous, if when, wherein He benefits us, He is satisfied *with the testimony from us alone*, we, wherein we serve Him, seek to have others as witnesses, and do any thing for display?" (Catech. 2. ad illum. §. 4. t. 2. p. 240. ol. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Ant.) This language he uses in other places as even with reference to grievous sins, fornication or adultery, "if he [the sinner] will converse alone with Him, no one knowing, and will utter every thing accurately, he shall soon repair his offences." (Hom. 20. in Gen.) and putting the words in the very mouth of God, "'I *compel* thee not,' He saith, to come into the midst of a theatre, surrounded by many witnesses. Tell Me Alone thy sin apart, that I may heal the sore, and free from the pain." (Hom. 4. de Laz. §. 4. t. i. p. 758.) Again, in a passage remarkable for acknowledging what Romanists seem to forget, that there is shame in confessing sin at all, even though man be not by, if any but realize what his defilements are, and how holy God is; "But thou art ashamed and blushest to utter thy sins; nay, but even were it necessary to utter these things before men and display them, not even thus shouldest thou be ashamed; (for sin, not, to confess sin, is

[q] The passages were brought together, and the Romanist attempts to do away their force, considered by Daillé, (iv. 25—32.)

[r] Public penitence is distinctly recognized by S. Chrysostome as existing in his time, Hom. 3. de David et Saul. init. Hom. 3. in Eph. v. fin. p. 132. Oxf. Tr. as afterwards by Nilus Ep. 3. ad Charicl. Presb. init. Method. ap. Goar. p. 893. (quoted by Tourneley) the Council of Trullo, Can. 89. and S. Chrysostome speaks of exercising it himself, Hom. de Dav. l. c. Hom. 17. in Matt.

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

shame,) but now it is not even necessary to confess before witnesses. Be the examination of transgressions in the thoughts of conscience. Be the judgment-seat unwitnessed. Let *God Alone* see thee confessing, God Who upbraideth not sins, but remitteth sins on confession. But thou hesitatest even thus, and drawest back? *I know that conscience endures not the memory of its own transgressions.* For if we come to recall our transgressions, the mind starts, like an untamed, ungoverned, colt. But hold it to, rein, soothe it with the hand, pacify it, persuade it, that if it confess not now, it shall confess there, where the punishment is greater, the exhibition fuller; here the judgment-seat is without witnesses, and thou who hast sinned judgest thyself; there every thing will be done in the midst of the theatre of the whole world, unless we anticipate it here, and efface them." (Hom. non esse ad gratiam concionaud. §. 3. t. 2. p. 663.) Again, (speaking of the approach to the Lord's Table,) "Wherefore he (the Apostle) says, 'Let each prove himself, and then let him come, and he biddeth us not prove ourselves, the one to the other, but each himself, making the Judgment-seat private, the proof unwitnessed.'" (Hom. 28. in 1 Cor. §. 1.) In another place (Hom. de Pœnit. 2. init. ol. de Pœnit. Achab t. ii. p. 287.) he words it differently, that he requires nothing else but confession to God; "Hast thou sinned? say to God, 'I have sinned;' what toil is there herein? what long course? what difficulty to say the word, 'I have sinned?' For unless thou confess thyself a sinner, hast not thou the devil as accuser? Be beforehand, and take from him his prerogative, to accuse. Why then art thou not beforehand with him, uttering the sin and blotting it out, knowing that thou hast an accuser who cannot keep silence? Thou hast sinned; *enter the Church; say unto God, 'I have sinned;' I ask of thee nothing else but only this:* for Holy Scripture says, 'tell thou first thine iniquities that thou mayest be justified,' tell thy sin that thou mayest be free from thy sin." In another (Hom. 31. in Hebr. §. 3.) he expresses it, that confession in thought suffices; "Let us persuade ourselves that we have sinned. Let us not say so with the tongue only, but with the mind; let us not call ourselves only sinners, but let us also count up our sins, recounting each severally. I tell thee not, expose thyself to public show, nor accuse thyself to others, but I counsel thee to obey the Prophet who saith, 'Reveal thy way unto the Lord;' confess these things to God; confess thy sins to the Judge; praying, *if not with the tongue, yet with the memory*, and so obtain mercy." Again, in the same contrast with "a theatre" and "witnesses," he says, "Within, in the conscience, none being present except the All-seeing God, enter into judgment and examination of sins, and reviewing thy whole life bring thy sins into the judgment of thy mind; correct thy transgressions; and thus with a pure conscience, touch the Holy Table and partake of the Holy Sacrifice." (Hom. de Pœnit. 6. (ol. 8.) fin. t. 2. p. 326.) Again, as he exhorted to confess "to God, Who upbraideth not," so also as "to Him Who already knoweth," (which could not be said of confession to God in presence of a priest,) "If this Lamech declined not to confess the murders he had com-

mitted, how should we be objects of pardon if we will not confess our sins to Him Who accurately knoweth all our transgressions? For doth He wish to learn because He knoweth not? He Who knoweth all things before they are, requireth confession from us, not because He knoweth not, but willing, at once, that we through the Confession, should come to a sense of our offences, and shew forth our thankfulness." (Hom. in Gen l. c.) And to obviate all doubt he contrasts this confession with that to a single fellow-servant. "Nothing is so destructive to sin, as to accuse and condemn it with repentance and tears. Hast thou condemned the sin; thou hast put off the burden. And who saith so? God Himself, Who judgeth. 'Tell thou first thy sins, that thou mayest be justified.' For why art thou ashamed and blushest, to tell thy sins? Tellest thou them to man, that he may reproach thee? Confessest thou to thy fellow-servant, that he make a show of thee? Thou shewest the wound to the Lord, Who careth for thee, The Friend, The Physician. For though thou tellest not, is He ignorant, Who knew, even before it was done? Why then not tell it? Does sin, on thy confession, become more burthensome? Nay, but milder and lighter. And He therefore bids thee tell, not to punish but to pardon thee; not that He may Himself know the sin (for how should He Who knoweth?) but that thou mayest learn what a debt He pardoneth." (Hom. 4. in Laz. l. c. p. 758.) This also S. Chrysostome sets forth as the provision for the whole tenor of life, continual confession of sin, as he elsewhere (Hom. 31. in Hebr. 12. c. 2.) dwells on the necessity of holding it continually in remembrance, "Wherefore I exhort and beseech and entreat you to confess (ἐξομολογεῖσθαι) unto God continually. I do not bring thee into any theatre of thy fellow-servants, nor *compel* thee to reveal thy sins to men; unfold thy conscience to God, and to Him shew thy wounds, and of Him ask the remedies; shew them to Him who reproacheth not, but healeth. For though thou be silent, He knoweth all things. Speak then, that thou mayest gain; speak, that here putting off (thy sins) thou mayest depart thither clean, and be freed from that intolerable display there." (Hom. 5. de incomprehens. Dei nat. §. 7. t. i. p. 490.)

There could, if Romanists would fairly consider this, be no way in which confession to God alone, exclusive of man, could be expressed, if not here. S. Chrysostome says, "to God Alone," "apart in private," (κατ' ἰδίαν) "to Him Who knoweth beforehand," "no one knowing," "no one present save Him Who knoweth," "God Alone seeing," "unwitnessed," "not to man," "not to a fellow-servant" "within" "in the conscience," "in the memory," "judging thyself," [in lieu of the Priest being the judge,] "proving ourselves, each himself, not the one to the other," "in Church, to God." [i. e. in the general Confession.] Accordingly, one Romanist writer boldly pronounces all these passages spurious; and (since they are unquestionable) another of great name, Petavius, condemns them as "being uttered in a declamatory way to the ignorant multitude for the sake of impressiveness." But certainly, poor as such an excuse would be for what, according to Romanists, is false teaching, the passages are too numerous and too uniform, to admit of it; they manifestly contain

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

S. Chrysostome's settled teaching, and Petavius condemns them as "devoid of sound meaning, if fitted to the rule of the exact truth."

The statements of S. Chrysostome do not stand alone; in his comment on our Lord's prayer, there is a remarkable parallel with S. Augustine, in that he also speaks of that prayer, as the means of obtaining forgiveness of sins, which occurs so continually in S. Augustine; "Since even after the washing of regeneration, we fall into sin, here too shewing His great loving-kindness, He bids us for the remission of these sins to approach the All-merciful God, and say thus, 'Forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors.' Seest thou the exceeding loving-kindness? After taking away so many evils, and a gift so unspeakably great, He deigns to forgive us, again sinning." Hom. 19. al. 20. in Matt. c. 6. §. 8. There is, again, much correspondence with the language of other fathers, in what he says of taking shame, or laying open the wounds to the physician; or of being beforehand with the accuser, by accusing ourselves [not of necessity to the priest, as Romanists require, but to God.] On the other hand, from the frequent use of the word "*compels* thee not," it seems that S. Chrysostome does not mean to disparage the value of voluntary confession, as a means of discipline or for obtaining absolution, but only to assert, that it was not essential.

Besides Cassian (who Collat. xx. 8. follows S. Chrysostome,) S. Ambrose further, S. Hilary and S. Augustine in the Latin Church, and S. Basil in the Greek, all write, as certainly one would not write who had the notions of modern Romanists on the absolute necessity of confession. The passages[s] are; S. Hilary in Ps. 51. contrasting confession in this life with the state after death, where there is no confession, "teaching to confess to none other, but to Him Who, in the mercy we hope for, hath made us a fruit-bearing olive for ever and ever." S. Basil (Hom. in Ps. 37, 8.) remarkably corresponding with S. Chrysostome, thus paraphrases the Psalmist's words, "I roared from the groaning of my heart;" "for I do not confess with the lips, that I he made manifest to people, but within, in the very heart, closing my eye, I shew the groanings within me to Thee only, Who seest in secret, roaring within myself. For neither had I need of many words for confession; for the groans of my heart sufficed for confession, and the mournings sent up from the depth of the heart to Thee, O God." The passage of S. Ambrose is an application of the penitence of S. Peter to ourselves, "I find not what he said; I find that he wept; I read of his tears; I read not of his excusing himself [satisfactionem], but what cannot be excused, can be washed away. Let tears wash away the guilt, which one is ashamed to confess with the voice. Tears express the fault without alarm; tears confess the sin, without injuring bashfulness; tears obtain the pardon they ask not for. Peter wept most bitterly, that with tears he might wash out his offence. Do thou also, if thou wouldest obtain pardon, wash out thy fault with tears." in Luc. l. 10. c. 22. Bellarmine's answer to this relates only to the case of

[s] Brought together by Daillé, (iv. 33.)

S. Peter, that "at that time Sacramental Confession was not instituted;" that S. Peter's tears were in fact a confession of his fault, since our Lord knew it: but the force of the passage is in the case being made our own; tears can confess sin only to one who knows it; but men know not our sin for the most part; therefore they are confession to God only, and, on such confession, S. Ambrose says, He remitteth our sin. This is, in fact, admitted by Bellarmine when he says, "All this is to be taken of Confession made to God, or even to man who knows the crime beforehand." The tears also are plainly a confession to Him, from Whom they obtain pardon, i. e. to God. S. Augustine (on Ps. 31. 5. §. 15.) has the same contrast as others, between confession and concealment, but, from the language itself, as well as from the passage commented upon, it is clear that the confession insisted on is to God only, "'I acknowledged my sin, and my unrighteousness I hid not.' This is what I said long since, 'Seek not thou to hide, and God hideth.' 'Blessed are they whose unrighteousnesses are forgiven and their sins covered.' Who hide sins, are bared; but he bared them that they might be hid. What means 'hid not?' I had long-time been silent. What now, 'I said?' Somewhat contrary to that silence. 'I said.' What saidst thou? 'I will declare my unrighteousness against myself to the Lord, and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my heart.' 'I said.' What saidst thou? he does not as yet declare; he promises that he will declare, and He at once forgives. Take heed, brethren; it is a great thing; he said, 'I will declare;' he said not, 'I declared and Thou forgavest,' he said, 'I will declare, and Thou forgavest;' for by his very saying, 'I will declare,' he shews that he had not as yet declared with his mouth, but with his heart. This very saying, 'I will declare,' is to declare, therefore 'Thou also forgavest the iniquity of my heart.' My confession had not as yet come to my mouth; for I had said, 'I will declare against myself,' but God heard the voice of my heart. My voice was not yet on my lips, but the ear of God was already in my heart. 'Thou forgavest the iniquity of my heart,' because 'I said, I will declare.'"

In this passage, S. Augustine is not speaking of confession to man one way or the other; but one who thought it essential, would not have written thus of forgiveness being immediate upon confession to God only.

Besides the above, there are two other classes of *positive* testimony, (adduced by Daillé,) which prove that "confession" in the ancient Church, did not relate to offences, incidental to all Christians, but to certain deeper sins only; and consequently that confession was not of universal obligation. The 1st consists of passages, in which the fathers say, that Confession was not necessary previous to Communion; the 2d of such, in which they state that they were unacquainted with the sins of their people.

Of the first, the testimonies are, S. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 1. "Both these [teachers and hearers] must needs examine themselves, the one whether he be fit to speak, and leave treatises behind him; the other whether he be entitled to hear and read. According as some, having divided the Eucharist, as is usual, allow each individual of the people to take his por-

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

tion. For conscience is the best guide to take or avoid rightly. But its best foundation is a right life, with fitting instruction." (The leaving each communicant to take his portion seems to have been used as a sort of symbol, that he must judge himself, whether he be fit.) Origen, on the words "Jesus lift up His eyes," leaves it to the responsibility of each, whether he will take upon himself that penance which excludes from the Holy Eucharist, or partake of it. "If any one oppose the case of the publican, 'who would not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven, but smote upon his breast, and said, God be merciful to me a sinner,' we must say to him, that as this 'sorrow according to God, which worketh repentance unto salvation not to be repented of,' is not by all and at all times to be undertaken, but only by those, and by all those, who have done things worthy of such sorrow—so, perhaps, it fitteth not for all, not to will to lift up the eyes, or to stand afar off. But let each judge himself as to such things, and 'so' not only 'eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup,' but 'lift up his eyes' also, and raise them aloft in prayer; submitting himself to God, and humbling himself to Him." (In Joann. t. 28. §. 4. t. 4. p. 372, 3.) S. Chrysostome again expressly; "if we do this [reconcile ourselves with our brethren], we shall be able with a pure conscience to approach His Holy and awful Table, and to utter boldly those words joined to our prayers, (those admitted know what I mean); wherefore I leave to every one's conscience, how, fulfilling that command, we may at that fearful moment utter these things with boldness." (Hom. 27. in Gen.) It almost amounts to the same sort of evidence, that S. Chrysostome, enumerating with much detail, how they who have their "conscience filled with sins," may, within the five days remaining, become fit for the Holy Communion, does not mention confession; he does not suggest that they should unload to the priest "the very heavy burthen" which he supposed some to "bear upon them." (Hom. de B. Philogon. §. 4.) S. Augustine, in like way, leaves it entirely to the conscience of his hearers, whether they will approach the Holy Table or no; "Considering your several degrees, and adhering to what ye have professed, approach ye to the Flesh of the Lord, approach to the Blood of the Lord. Whoso proveth himself not to be such, let him not approach. Be ye rather pricked by my words." (Serm. 132. §. 4.) Ambrosiaster: (ad loc.) "He teaches, that with devoted mind and fear we must approach to the Communion, that the mind may know it oweth reverence to Him, to receive Whose Body he approaches. For this he ought to judge *with himself*, that it is the Lord, Whose Blood he in a mystery drinks, which is a witness of the lovingkindness of God." And the author of the Quæstt. ex V. et N. Test. (q. 102. ap. Aug. t. 3. p. 98. App.) answers the Novatian objection, "Why do they give the Body of Christ to those whom they know to be sinners?" "As though the same could be accusers and judges! For if they [the sinners] be accused and manifested, they can be cast out;" and alleging our Lord's bearing with Judas, "we must employ this instance, in proof, that we may not cast out, who is not publicly detected." Pelagius (ad loc.) is a witness of the prevailing prac-

tice; and the more as he affected strictness. He paraphrases, "First the conscience is to be thoroughly examined, whether it reprove us in any thing, and so ought we to offer or communicate." (ad loc.)

The other class of passages has been noted out of S. Chrysostome, S. Augustine, Innocent I. and S. Leo. (Daillé iv. 12.) One strong statement of S. Chrysostome has already occurred; (see ab. p. 386.) Again, in the same work, expressly on the duties of the priesthood, after inculcating the necessity of sowing daily, that at least by continuance the word of doctrine might abide with the hearers; and, mentioning some hindrances to its coming to the very surface, he adds, "but of sins, not the very smallest proportion can become manifest to them, [the priests]; for how should they, where most they know not even by face?" de Sac. 6, 4. It need scarcely be said how different a modern Romanist treatise on the priesthood must needs be. Again: "since the priests do not know all sinners and those who partake of the mysteries unworthily, God ofttimes doth this, and delivereth them to Satan." (Hom. 5. in 1 Tim. §. 3.) and "since many, full of innumerable evils, when they see the festival approaching them, as though driven by the very day, touch the sacred mysteries; which persons, so minded, should not even see, such of them as are manifest to us, we will ourselves assuredly exclude: but those who are unknown to us, we will leave to God, Who knoweth the hidden things of every man's heart." Hom. in eos qui absunt a divinis off. §. 4. (de Bapt. Christi, t. ii. p. 373.) add Hom. i. adv. Jud. §. 4. "Believe me, I will rather lay down my head, than overlook any who are thus disordered, if I see it; but if I know it not, God will surely forgive me."

S. Augustine (Serm. 392. ad conjug.) and Innocent I. (Ep. 3. al. 2.) both speak of the sins of adulterers becoming known to them by the accusation of their wives, and of their not knowing them in any other way. S. Leo (de quadr. Serm. 5. c. 3.) speaks of those "who passed well-nigh the whole period of the year carelessly or negligently; and warns such, out of the love he owes them, not to flatter themselves, *because the consciences of individuals cannot be open to us;* whereas no hidden places separate from the eyes of God, Who seeth all things at once; nor are thoughts and actions only, but what is about to be done and thought, known to him."

Even negative evidence has much weight, when the materials are adequate; if under parallel circumstances equally detailed, and in a sufficient number of instances, mention is uniformly made of a religious practice at one period, while it is omitted at another, it does imply a different view as to the virtue of the practice. Religious persons would not, without some adequate ground, uniformly neglect at one period, what was practised at another; and such ground is furnished by the different view of the Church respecting it; at the one time, when recommended by the Church, they performed it: if at another they neglect it, when obedience to the Church was equally recognised as a duty, it would be, because the Church did not require it. The instances, then, being in each case very numerous, the absence of any mention of confession in the early Church under the following circumstances, does, when contrasted with the uniform mention of it in

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CONFESSION.

the later, put beyond question that at the earlier period it was not the received practice. The evidence is given at great length by Daillé. 1) " secret confession has, among the modern Latins, a chief place in the religious acts of all the faithful; clergy, monks, lay; princes, private persons; nobles, people; men and women; but no where in the Ancient Church;" (D. iv. 3.) " especially at the close of life, as a bounden duty, it is universal among the moderns, unknown among the ancients;" (ib. c. 5.) " or in sudden perils, as sickness, wars, shipwrecks, journeys, &c.;" (c. 6.) " in persecution or by Martyrs;" (c. 7.) " at great festivals;" (c. 8.) and certainly the details are given so fully, that it is inconceivable, that the practice of confession should have been so uniformly mentioned with praise in the later, and wholly omitted in the earlier Church, had the practice of the earlier been the same as that of the later.

An argument of the same sort is deduced from the body of writings, the great number and variety of questions and discussions, to which the modern confessional has given rise, and from its very nature must give rise. (D. iv. 14.) It again is inconceivable that with the large remains of antiquity which we have, and the notices of lost works, there should be no vestige of any thing corresponding to all this, had the practice which occasioned it, existed.

Another, and unquestionable, ground has been furnished (D. iv. 40.) by the different use of the word " penitents" and " penitence" at different periods; in the early Church, it signified in itself public penitents, (as above, Conc. Carth. p. 390. S. Augustine, p. 393. Conc. Tolet. (A. 400.) can. 2.) " From the 8th to the 13th" the nature of the penitence is distinguished by the addition " public" or " private;" then " public" penitence being wholly disused, the terms again ceased to be distinguished by any addition, and as in the first period, when used alone, it signified " public," so now, " private" " penitence" or " penitent." This variation would not have been, had the modern private penitence existed in the early Church.

Daillé has shewn further that the " necessity" of confession remained an open question to a later period. P. Lombard (himself holding it to be necessary) says, " Some think it sufficient, if confession be made to God only, without the judgment of the priest, or confession to the Church, (Sent. L. iv. dist. 17.) Gratian says nearly the same, but leaves the question undecided, saying that there were " wise and religious men on both sides." (de Pœnit. dist. i. c. 89.) Auricular confession is still unknown to the sects, parted at an early period from the Greek Communion, the Æthiopians, S. Thomas' Christians, Babylonians, Armenians, Jacobites. (D. iv. 1.) It appears also that in the time of Theodorus, our Archbishop, it was not in the Greek Church itself[t].

[t] Gratian says, " Whence Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, says in his Penitential, ' Some say that sins are to be confessed to God only, as the Greeks; some judge that they are to be confessed to the priests, as well nigh the whole holy Church; both ways take place, and not without abundant fruit, within the holy Church." Bellarmine argues that the words " as the Greeks" crept into the text; this is improbable in itself, since Theodorus, a Greek among

Although, however, it is certain from the above evidence, that the early Church had no obligatory confession, except that of overt acts of sin, with a view to public penitence, and consequently that confession, as now practised in the Roman Communion, is not essential to the validity of the general exercise of the power of the keys, still, as a matter of discipline, it belongs to the Christian prudence of any Church to imitate or lay it aside; it does not follow that because it was not practised in the early Church, it may not be a salutary check in the degraded state in which the Church now is; if a Church have it, it should not be looked upon as a burthen, but as a privilege, as must any check upon our self-willed, forgetful, ways be; if a Church have laid it aside, there is no ground for misgiving, as though it had parted with any thing essential to the benefits of absolution, so that individuals do not omit the "works meet for repentance," self-chastisement, almsgiving, prayer; and these three remedies S. Augustine speaks of, as instruments for the cleansing even of our daily, lighter sins. "Weak is human nature, which can be slain even by the smallest animals. Such also are small sins; ye observe that they are small; beware of them, because they are many. How exceeding small are grains of sand! Yet if too much sand be put into a vessel, it sinks it that it be lost. How small are drops of rain! Fill they not rivers, and cast down houses? Therefore despise them not. But ye will say, 'Who can be without them?' That thou mayest not say thou canst, (because none can so say truly,) the gracious God, seeing our frailty, set some contrary remedies. What remedies? Alms, fasting, prayer; these are three. But that thou mayest

Latins, is more likely to have noted the Greek practice than a later Latin; rather, it appears to have been designedly struck out, for in the latter part, there are also two omissions, which betray themselves as designed; for the text, as it stands in Gratian, expresses the Greek and the ancient discipline, according to which penance was done for grievous sins, the "sins of daily incursion" were confessed to God only. It proceeds, "Both which take place not without great fruit, in the holy Church; in such wise that we confess our sins to God Who is the Forgiver of sins, *and this belongs to the perfect*, so that we say with David, 'I have acknowledged my transgression unto Thee, and my unrighteousness have I not hid. I said, I will confess my iniquities unto the Lord, and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.' But yet the Apostle's direction is to be followed by us, that we should confess our faults to each and other, pray for each other that we may be saved. Confession then which is made to God only, *which belongeth to the righteous*, purgeth sins. But that which is made to the priest, shews how the sins themselves may be purged. For God, the Author and Giver of salvation and holiness, *very often gives the medicine of His repentance* [i. e. which He bestows] *by an invisible ministration*, very often by the operation of physicians." The words in Italic mark a distinction between the two sorts of confession; by omitting them, it is made to appear that all sin is to be confessed to the Priest; and they were omitted doubtless, as contrary to the subsequent practice of the Church. The very way in which the last clause now runs, in itself betrays the omission. "Deus namque salutis et sanitatis auctor et largitor est plerumque medicorum operatione." "For God is the author and giver of salvation and soundness generally by the operation of physicians;" no one would ever have constructed such a sentence; but the clause in which the verb stood, having been omitted, *est* was substituted, and Auctor and Largitor were changed into predicates.

NOTES ON DE PŒNIT. CON-FES-SION.

speak truth in prayer [" as we forgive," &c.] thou must fulfil the measure of perfect alms. What are these? That whereof thou hast abundantly, thou givest to him who hath not, and when any injure thee, forgivest him." (Serm. 9. §. 17.) Again and with the same metaphor of the ship sunk though slowly filled: " What is to clear out the water, other than, by good works, by groaning, fasting, giving, forgiving, to provide that sins sink it not?" add Ep. ad Seleucian. fin. de Perf. Just. Hom. c. 8. §. 18.

THE FIRST BOOK TO HIS WIFE.

[It is clear that Tertullian wrote the two books "to his wife" before his fall; since in both he admits of a second marriage, (i. 7, 8. ii. throughout,) which excluded from the Montanist communion, (de Pud. c. 1 fin.) He allows also of flight in persecution, as the least of two evils, (i. 3.) The two Treatises were written nearly at the same time, (ii. Init.) and if, as S. Jerome says, he fell into his schism in middle life, early in life. The very commencement of this book "jam hinc providere" implies that he was providing for what, humanely speaking, seemed at a distance. No date is furnished by the fact that Christians were then liable to punishment, if informed against, (ii. 5—7.) since this was equally the case, whether in times of public persecution or its intermission.]

I HAVE judged it meet, best-beloved fellow-servant in the Lord, to provide, even at this time, for the course which thou must follow after my departure from the world, if I should be called away before thee; and that thou mayest observe that which I have provided, to commit it to thy trust. For in worldly matters we are sufficiently active, and will that the good of each of us be cared for. If for such things we give directions, why should we not be bound to provide the more for our future in things divine and heavenly, and in a manner to antedate our legacy[b], our admonition namely and representation of such things as are accounted to pertain to immortal goods and an heavenly inheritance. God only grant that thou mayest be able to receive in full[c] this gift of my admonition and my confidence committed to thee; to Him be honour, glory, brightness, dignity, and power, both now and for evermore. Amen[1]. I charge thee therefore, with what continency thou mayest, after my departure renounce marriage; not that thou wilt confer, on that head, any good

[1] added from V. D.

[a] talibus talibus—I suppose this may be defended by the analogous word qualis-qualis—it seems a sort of contemptuous expression. [Tr.] So Cod. Ag. Rig. proposes tabulas "writings;" needlessly. In the older Edd. V. D. the second 'talibus' was omitted.

[b] i. e. make it public, (as he does here,) before our decease.

[c] In allusion to the Julian and Papian laws, which in certain cases only allowed the widowed to inherit the whole property of the deceased; comp. de Monog. c. 16. Rig.

Ad Ux. i. X. 2.

upon me, save in what thou shalt profit thyself. Besides to Christians after their departure from the world no restoration of marriage is promised in the day of Resurrection, being, as they are, translated to the quality and holiness of angels[e]. Wherefore there is no care which is of the jealousy of the flesh. Even she, who, they would have it, had married *seven brethren* in succession, shall not, according to the Lord's declaration, offend one of so many husbands on the Day of Resurrection, nor doth any man wait for her to put her to shame. The question of the Sadducees hath given place to the judgment of the Lord. Think not[1] that it is to preserve thy body untouched for myself, that I am even now instilling the advice to remain a widow, suspicious because of the pain of being slighted. No debasing pleasure shall then be resumed between us. For God promiseth not to His people things so vain, so impure. But whether what we advise shall be profitable for thee, or for any other woman belonging to God, this we may thoroughly discuss.

Matt. 22, 30.

Matt. 22, 28.

[1] ne *restored*

II. We deny not, indeed, that the union of man and woman is blessed by God as the means of propagating the human kind, and devised for replenishing the globe, and furnishing the world, and thence permitted; yet, but once. For both Adam was the one husband of Eve, and Eve was his one wife, one woman, one rib[f]. In truth, among our ancestors, and even the Patriarchs themselves, it was lawful not only to marry, but even to have many marriages at once. Concubines too there were. But although the Church came in, figuratively, in the Synagogue[g], yet (to interpret simply[h]) it was neces-

[d] Proinde sollicitudo nulla, quæ de carnis zelo. Vel, Domini sententia, illa quam septem fratribus per successionem nupsisse voluerunt, neminem tot maritorum resurrectionis die offendet. Such is the old reading. Rig. perplexed himself by joining together "Vel Domini sententia," which could thus have no good sense; and finding in A. a mutilated text, substituting venit etiam for vel D. sententia, [vel Dni sen*tẽtia* (D. has v. in s.)] illam quam for illa quæ, dies for die, and omitting nupsisse voluerunt, neminem tot, he omitted, further, quæ and fratribus per successionem, which justify the former reading, and read sollicitudo n. q. d. c. z. venit illam septem maritorum res. die offendet;" no care which cometh of the jealousy of the flesh, shall, on the Day of the Resurrection, offend even that woman of seven husbands," a text wholly conjectural.

[e] de Cult. Fem. i. 2.

[f] Imitated by S. Jerome, Ep. 123. ad Ageruch. §. 12.

[g] i. e. even under the Synagogue the Church was figured, namely, in Sarah. The old reading is, however, easier, "licet [figuratum or] figura tum in Synagogam et Ecclesiam cesserit;" "but although the figure" [or "in a figure, it"] "related to the Synagogue and the Church;" referring to Gal. iv. 24 sqq. of Sarah and Agar. see Aug. Confess. iii. 14. and note.

[h] i. e. to take it as simple history.

sary to establish certain customs which might hereafter deserve to be cut off or modified. For the law was about to come afterwards. It was meet that occasions for perfecting the law should have gone before. So too the Word of God was presently to succeed[i] the Law, bringing in the spiritual circumcision. Wherefore by means of the then unlimited licence the materials for future amendments were provided, which the Lord by His Gospel, and next the Apostle, in *the ends of the world*, either cut off as superfluous, or set in order as being undigested. 1 Cor. 10, 11.

III. But I would not premise this, touching the licence of the olden, and the correction of the latter, times, to pre-establish that Christ came to dissolve marriages, to abolish unions, as though I would rule that from this time there was to be an end of marrying. Let them[k] look to it who, among other their perversities, teach to *put asunder* the *one flesh* in two persons, denying Him Who, having borrowed the woman from the man, *joined together* again, by the combination[l] of marriage, the two bodies taken from the same compound of matter. Finally, we read in no one place that marriage is forbidden, doubtless as being a good. But what is better than that good we learn from the Apostle, who permitteth indeed to marry, but preferreth abstinence[m], the one because of the snare of temptations, the other because of the *distress* of the times: which reasons for each declaration being considered, it is easily discerned that the power to marry hath been granted to us through necessity: but what necessity giveth, it of itself lowereth in esteem. Lastly, whereas it is written, *It is better to marry than to burn*, what sort of good is this, pry'thee, which is commended through comparison with an evil[n]? so that *it is better to marry*, only because it is worse *to burn!* But how much better is it then neither to marry nor to burn! Even in persecutions *it is better* to flee as is permitted, *from city to city*[1], than being seized and tortured to deny the faith. But what sort of blessedness is this, to lose the confession of 1 Cor. 7, 9. 1 Cor. 7, 26. Matt. 10, 23.

[1] in oppidum *restored.*

[i] A. succurrere, "come in aid of the Law;" Edd. D.

[k] The Marcionites, see adv. Marc. i. 29.

[l] computatione A. compactione Edd. V. D.

[m] Ambr. de Virg. i. 6. and 7.

[n] Imitated by S. Jerome, adv. Jov. i. 7. and 9. Ep. 123. ad Ageruch. §. 4. 5. 8. Ep. 79. ad Salvin. §. 10.

Ad Ux. i. X. 4.

a blessed testimony, lest one deny[o]? I may say, 'what is permitted is not good.' 'And why?' I must needs die. If I bewail this, then it is good; but if I fear, that which is permitted rendereth the cause of its permission suspicious[p]. But that which is better none hath 'permitted,' as being undoubted, and by its own integrity manifest. Certain things are not to be therefore sought after, because they are not forbidden; though they are in a manner forbidden, when other things are preferred to them; for the preference of the higher is a dissuasion of the lower[q]. A thing is not therefore good, because it is not bad[1]; nor is it therefore not bad, because it hurteth not. Moreover a thing completely good surpasseth in this, that it not only hurteth not, but profiteth besides: for thou oughtest to prefer that which profiteth to that which merely hurteth not. For every race is a struggle for the first place: the second hath a solace[2], but hath not a victory. But if we listen to the Apostle, *forgetting those things which are behind*, let us *reach forward unto those things which are before*, and be followers after better rewards. Thus, though he doth not *cast a snare upon* us, he sheweth what benefit there is[r], when he saith, *The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and spirit; but she that is married careth how she may please her husband.* But no where doth he in such sort permit marriage, as not rather to prefer that we should endeavour after his own example. Happy he, who sheweth himself like unto Paul!

[1] quia malum non est *restored.*

[2] V. Æn. v. 367.

Phil. 3, 13.

1 Cor. 7, 35.

1 Cor. 7, 34.

1 Cor. 7, 7.

IV. But *the flesh*, we read, *is weak;* and with this we

Matt. 26, 41.

[o] At quæ ista beatitas est, ideo ne qui neget, beati testimonii confessione excidere? Pam. This reading has been restored as having a good sense, without conjecture; else that of Rig. is good, who in that of the cod. Ag. "atque isto beatiores, qui valent beata testimonii confessione*m* excedere," corrects only "confessione *non* excidere," "and more blessed than such, are they who have strength not to fall from the blessed confession of their testimony."

[p] T. states as a general principle, that "what is [merely] permitted, is not [in itself] good." Then, as an instance, if, under persecution, any grieve to have to die the martyr-death what is permitted, flight, *is* good (for him;) but the very permission involves a suspicion of the cause of the permission; i. e. as granted to fear, it is a questionable good; whereas what is better [in this case, death] no one permits; what is good in itself (he repeats) no one permits.

[q] Prælatio enim superior dissuasio est infimorum Edd. A. D. Semler conjectures superiorum, which in Mss. continually only differs by a line; the sense however is the same, and the authorized reading bolder, and so more like T.

[r] Quid utilitatis sit; or "on which side advantage lies;" "which is most beneficial," [lit. of usefulness.]

sooth ourselves the more largely[s]. Yet we read also that *the spirit* is strong; for both are placed in the same sentence. The flesh is an earthy, but the spirit an heavenly, material. Why therefore do we, too prone to excuse ourselves, put forth in our defence the things which are weak in us, and guard not those which are strong? Why may not *the earthy* yield to *the heavenly?* If the spirit be stronger than the flesh, because it is also of higher birth, it is through our own fault that we follow the weaker. For to those, who are separated from marriage, two kinds of human weakness make marriage necessary. The first indeed most powerful, which cometh of the lust of the flesh; the next, of the lust of the world. But each must be renounced by us, the servants of God, who renounce both luxury and ambition. The lust of the flesh advocateth the functions of mature age, demandeth to reap the fruits of beauty, glorieth in its shame, saith that a husband is necessary for the sex of the woman, as a source of authority and of comfort, or that she may be safe from evil report. And do thou, against these its counsels, take the examples of our sisters, whose names are with the Lord, who, when their husbands are gone before them, put no opportunity of beauty or of age before holiness. For they had rather be espoused to God. Their beauty is for God, their youth for God: with Him they live, with Him they converse, Him they *handle* day and night: to the Lord they assign their prayers as dowries: from Him too, as oft as they desire, they obtain honour as a marriage-gift. Thus have they secured to themselves an eternal possession, the gift of the Lord; and already, by not marrying in the world, are numbered among the *family* of angels[t]. By the examples of such women as these, training thyself to emulate their continency, thou wilt bury, through spiritual affection, that carnal lust[u], in annulling, by the compensation of immortal goods, the temporal and fleeting desires of beauty or of youth. But the

Phil. 3, 19.

1 John 1, 1.

Eph. 3, 15.

[s] impensius, V. D. and Edd. Rig. has in quibusdam "in certain cases" (from A.) but this seems flat.

[t] i. e. "they thus far live already, as the glorified shall live hereafter," Luke 20, 36. This text is the ground of the like language in Cypr. de Hab. Virg. §. 13. p. 129. Oxf. Tr. Ambros. de Virg. l. 1. c. 8. §. 52. Athanas. Apol. ad Imper. Const. v. fin. §. 33. Jerome, Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. §. 21. c. Ruff. i. 29. Greg. Nyss. de Virg. c. 13 fin. Naz. Or. 43. in Basil. s. 62. comp. S. Aug. in Ps. 43. §. 15. and see ab. c. 1. p. 410.

[u] See S. Aug. Conf. ix. 1. and note, Oxf. Tr.

Ad Ux. i. X. 5.

other lust, of the world, hath for its causes, vain-glory, covetousness, ambition, insufficiency; by means of which it trumpeth up this necessity for marriage, promising heavenly things truly! to lord it in another's household, to rest upon another's wealth[x], to extort finery from another's store, to lay out moneys which thou dost not feel[y]! These be far from the faithful, who *take no thought* for sustaining *life*, except we distrust the promise of God, and His care and providence[z], Who *clotheth the lilies of the field* with so much beauty, Who *feedeth the fowls of the air* without *toil* of theirs, Who forbiddeth us to *take thought* for the *meat* and *raiment* of *the morrow;* assuring us that He *knoweth* what each one of His servants *hath need of:* not indeed the burdensome necklace, not the tedious garment, not a multitude of Gallic or German porters[a], which things light up the pomp of marriage, but that sufficiency which befitteth modesty and chastity. Presume, I beseech thee, that thou needest nothing, if thou attendest upon the Lord; yea, that thou hast all things, if thou hast the Lord, Whose are all things. Think upon heavenly, and thou wilt despise earthly things.

Matt. 6, 25. ver. 28. ver. 27. ver. 25. 34. ver. 32.

V. For a widowhood ratified before the Lord nothing more is needed than to persevere. Men indeed make for themselves new excuses for marriage in their anxiety for descendants, and the pleasure, so bitter, of children. With us this is idle. For why should we long to bear children, whom, when we have them, we desire to send before us, in consideration, that is, of the impending distress[b], ourselves also longing to be removed from this most wicked world, and to be taken to the Lord? which was the *desire* even of an Apostle. An offspring is necessary forsooth to the servant

Phil. 1, 23.

[x] or "watch over," as Virg. defosso incubat auro. [Tr.] Incubare seems to have the same sense as the "incumbere" of the Edd., which is a gloss upon it, "press, lie, weigh heavily upon it."

[y] sumptu, quem non sentias, ecdere in te, Edd.; lit. "that out of an expense, which thou feelest not, things should come to thee," [or, since the construction is harsh, the preceding infinitives being personal, "to extort finery at the expense of another which thou dost not feel to come upon thee," Tr.] This being flat, and A. having eædere, omitting in te, Rig. conjectures, s. q. n. s. edere.

[z] et cura et providentia are omitted by A. alone, and thence by Rig.

[a] so A. which is favoured by another reading, mulos, and corresponds with Clem. Al. Pædag. iii. 4. (ap. Rig.) καὶ φορέδην βαστάζοντες χιλτοὶ πολλοί; else the reading G. *vultus*, (Rh. D. V. 3 V. ap. Pam.) "not Gallic countenances [figures] or German porters," is more like T.'s broken style.

[b] persecutions, or the end of the world, Apol. c. 32, &c. and latter part of this c.

of God! for we are secure enough about our own salvation, so that we have leisure for children! We must seek for burdens, which are avoided by most even of the Heathen, which have laws even to encourage them[c], which are annihilated by unnatural murders, to us, finally, especially grievous, as being dangerous to faith[d]. For why did the Lord prophesy, *Woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck*, unless because He testifieth that the encumbrance of children would be an hindrance in that Day of disencumbrance[e]? surely because he would lay marriage to their charge[f]. But this will not pertain to widows: they will start forth unencumbered at the first trump of the angel: they will freely bear any pressure and persecution, no burden of marriage swelling in their womb, none in their bosom[g]. Therefore whether marriage be for the sake of the flesh, or of the world, or of having descendants, not one of those necessities belongeth to the servants of God, so as that I should not be content to have once yielded to some one of them, and by one marriage to have compounded for every desire of this sort. Let us marry daily, and, marrying, be overtaken, like Sodom and Gomorrah[h], by that Day of fear. For there they were not surely engaged in marriage and traffic only, but when He saith, *they married* and *they bought*, He denoteth the very vices which are most notable[i], of the flesh and the world, which call men off the most from divine exercises, the one through the pleasure of wantonness, the other through the desire of gain. And yet that blindness in those days subsisted long before *the ends of the world*. What then will the case be, if He now forbid us those things which were of old hateful in the eyes of God? *The time*, saith He, *is short: it remaineth that they that have wives live as though they had none.*

Matt. 24, 19.

Luke 17, 27. 28.

1 Cor. 6, 29.

[c] The jura trium liberorum, &c. Juv. ix. 87—90.

[d] de Virg. Vel. c. 14.

[e] The Day of Judgment, in which the saints will be freed from the chains of death.

[f] utique nuptias imputaturus Edd. V. D. ea utique nuptias imputantur A. which Rig. corrects into nuptiis.

[g] Tertullian blends the first and second fulfilment of the prophecy, (Matt. xxiv.) the straits of the Church in this world, (of which the destruction of Jerusalem was an eminent instance,) and the Day of Judgment. Alacrity amid trouble here, was an earnest of "boldness," (παῤῥησία, 1 John ii. 28. iv. 17.) in the Day of Judgment.

[h] de Monogam. c. 16.

[i] lust and avarice.

Ad Ux. i. X. 6.

VI. But if when they have, they are bound to do away with what they have, how much more, when they have not, are they forbidden to *seek* again that which they have not! so that she whose husband is departed from the world, may forthwith enjoin rest to her sex by abstinence from marriage, which very many of the heathen women[k] devote as an offering to the memory of their most dear husbands. When any thing seemeth difficult, let us remember others who are undergoing things more difficult. For how many are there, who directly after the laver put a seal upon their flesh[l]! how many also, who, by a like consent between themselves, cancel the debt of marriage, *eunuchs* of their own accord, through desire of *the kingdom of heaven*[m]! But if, while marriage remaineth, abstinence be endured, how much rather when it is taken away! For I suppose it more difficult that that which remaineth should be abandoned, than that that which is lost should not be longed after. An hard matter truly, and sufficiently arduous, is the continency of an holy woman, after the departure of her husband, for the sake of God, when the Heathen endure it for their own Satan, in the priesthood both of virgins and of widows! At Rome indeed they who deal with the image of that *unquenchable fire*, tending the tokens of their own punishment[n] shared with the *dragon* himself, are of the class of virgins. At the town of Ægium a virgin is allotted to Achæan Juno: and they who are phrenzied at Delphi know not marriage. Besides we know that widows attend upon the African Ceres[o], allured from their marriage by a most hard forgetfulness. For not only do they quit their husbands yet remaining alive, but even introduce others to them in their own place, (they no doubt smiling on it,) refusing themselves all contact, even to the kiss of their sons: and yet, during possession, do they persevere in this rule of widowhood, which shutteth out the comforts even of an holy affection. These things the Devil teacheth his own,

1 Cor. 6, 27.

Matt. 19, 12.

Matt. 3, 12. Rev. 12, 9.

[k] Val. Max. ii. 7. "Those who were content with one marriage, they honoured with the crown of chastity—accounting the multiplication of marriages a sign of a sort of lawless unrestrainedness."

[l] alluding to "the seal" as a title of Baptism, comp. de Cult. Fem. ii. 9.

[m] de Res. Carn. c. 8. de Veland. Virg. c. 10. Apol. c. 9. Cypr. Test. iii. 32.

[n] See ab. de Idol. c. 15. p. 242, 3. de Cult. Fem. ii. 6. "ill, exceeding ill, do they with a yellow head" [the colour of fire,] "form a token of their doom."

[o] de Exhort. Cast. c. ult.

and is obeyed. He challengeth doubtless, as though on equal terms, the servants of God by the continency of his own. Even the priests of Hell are continent. For he hath found how to destroy men even in good pursuits; and it maketh no matter to him that some perish through indulgence, others through continency.

VII. To us continency hath been set forth by the Lord of salvation as a preparation for eternity; as a testimony of Faith; as a commendation of that flesh, which must be furnished by *the putting on* hereafter of *incorruption;* last of all, as a waiting upon the will of God: for besides these things I warn thee to reflect that no one is taken out of the world save by the will of God, if not even a leaf falleth from a tree without the will of God. The Same That bringeth us in, must needs also take us out of the world. Wherefore, the husband being dead by the will of God, the marriage also is dead by the will of God. Why shouldest thou restore that to which God hath put an end? Why, by renewing the bondage of marriage, disclaimest thou the liberty offered to thee? *Art thou bound*, saith he, by marriage? *seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed* from marriage? *seek not* to be bound. For though thou *sinnest not* in marrying again, yet he saith that *trouble in the flesh* followeth. Wherefore let us love, as much as we can, the opportunity of continency: as soon as it offereth itself, let us drink it in, that we may follow, in widowhood, that which we could not in marriage. The occasion must be embraced, which taketh away that which necessity demanded. How much second marriages detract from the Faith, how much they hinder holiness, the discipline of the Church and the rule of the Apostle declareth, when he suffereth not the twice-married to preside[p]; when he suffereth not *a widow*, unless *the wife of one man*, to be *taken into the number;* for the altar of God must be set forth clean. All this beauty of the Church is made up of holiness[q]. Among the heathen there is the priesthood of widows, and celibacy. According to the rivalry of the Devil, it is unlawful for their chief priest, a king of this world, to

1 Cor. 15, 53.

1 Cor. 7, 27.

ver. 28.

Titus 1, 5. 1 Tim. 5, 9.

[p] i. e. to be Bishop or Priest, Apol. c. 34. de Cor. c. 3. See note N, at the end of this Treatise.

[q] sanctitas, chastity; as below, quantum Deo sanctitas placet.

Ad Ux. I. x. 8. marry a second time. How pleasing to God is holiness, when even His enemy affecteth it! not surely as being akin to any thing good, but as insultingly affecting the things which are pleasing to the Lord God.

VIII. For as touching the honour which widowhood hath with God, it is briefly comprehended in one word of His, spoken by the Prophet, Do justly to *the widow* and *the fatherless*, and *come, let us reason together, saith the Lord.* These two titles, laid open to Divine compassion in proportion as they are destitute of human aid, the Father of all taketh on Him to defend. See how he, who doeth good to the widow, is held in equal esteem with the widow herself, whose advocate shall *reason* with *the Lord!* The gift, methinks, is not for virgins only. Although the perfect purity in them, and their entire holiness, shall the most closely behold the face of God, yet the widow hath a somewhat harder task[r], because it is easy not to desire that which thou knowest not, and to turn away from that which thou never hadst to regret. More glorious the continence, which hath a sense of its own right[s], which knoweth that whereof it taketh heed. The virgin may be deemed the happier, but the widow is the more striving: the one, because she hath ever had the good, the other because she hath gained the good for herself. In the one, grace, in the other, virtue, is crowned. For some things are of God's bounty, some of our own working out. Such as are freely given by God are ruled by the grace proper to them; such as are aimed at by man are achieved by study. Study, then, for obtaining the virtue of continency, modesty[t], which ministereth to shame; industry, which dealeth not with trifles; thriftiness, which despiseth the world. Follow after company and conversations worthy of God, remembering that verse, sanctified by the Apostle,

Is. 1, 17. 18.

1 Cor. 15, 33.

"Ill company good manners doth corrupt." (*Menander.*)

Tattlers, *idlers*, wine-bibbers, *busy-bodies*, gossips, especially hinder the purpose of widowhood. Through tattling creep in

1 Tim. 5, 13.

[r] de Veland. Virg. c. 10. de Patient. c. 13. Cypr. de bono Pat. §. 14.

[s] of marrying, [Tr.]

[t] modestiæ, omitted by A. and Rig. has been restored; modesty, diligence, thriftiness, or simplicity of habits, are set forth by T. as so many handmaids to continence, as cutting off the occasions of the contrary: see above, c. 4.

words adverse to modesty: through idleness they draw them off from strictness: through wine-bibbing they instil every evil: through busy-prying they convey a rivalry in lust. Not one of this sort of women knoweth how to speak of the good of marrying but once: for *their God*, as saith the Apostle, *is* Phil. 3, *their belly*, and so too is the purtenance of the belly. These 19. things I now commend unto thee, dearest fellow-servant, which it hath been superfluous indeed to treat of after the Apostle; yet which shall be to thee a comfort too, because in them thou wilt, if so it shall happen, oft renew the memory of me.

Note N, *on page* 417.

There seems to have been some difference of view between the Churches of Asia and the rest, on the interpretation, or at least the application, of the Apostolic direction, 1 Tim. 3, 1; the Asiatic Churches, apparently understanding the Apostle to forbid those to be ordained, who had had more than one wife at once, whether in consequence of the divorces, which our Lord forbids, and by forbidding implies to have existed, or (among heathens) of actual polygamy, however rare; the rest taking the words "husband of one wife" in their strict sense, one who had not in any way had more than one. Of the Asiatic interpretation there is little direct proof; for S. Chrysostom, who gives it when explaining 1 Tim. (Hom. 10. init.) mentioning also the other, inculcates the other exclusively, on Tit. 1. (Hom. 2.) S. Jerome mentions the interpretation, as held by some, (ad Tit. 1.) perhaps referring to S. Chrysostom himself; Theodoret mentions it only. But it was probably the basis of the Asiatic practice, which Theodoret attests, when (Ep. 110. ad Domn.) he justifies his consecration of Irenæus, by the existing custom. "As to the matter of digamy, we have followed those before us." "We have followed the custom, and men, distinguished and far-famed for their knowledge and life." As instances, he names Alexander of blessed and holy memory, who ruled this Apostolic see, [Antioch,] the most blessed Acacius Bishop of Berœa, and the blessed Praylius," [Bishop of Jerusalem.] He mentions also that it was done at the recommendation of the Bishops of Phœnicia, and approved and praised by Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, the chief bishop of Pontus, and all those of Palestine, and that no doubt had been raised about it. On the other hand, Tertullian, (de Monog. c. 11.) Origen, (Hom. 17. in Luc. fin.) S. Ambrose, (de Off. i. ult. §. 257. and Ep. 63. ad Vercell. §. 63.) S. Jerome, (adv. Jovin. i. 14. 34. 35. "he who has had, not who has one wife," Ep. 123. ad Ageruch. c. 6. ad Tit. i. 6.) S. Augustine, (de bono Conj. c. 18.) S. Epiphanius, (Hær. 59. §. 4.) Innocent I., (Ep. 3. ol. 22. ad Syn. Tolet.

NOTE ON AD UX. I.

fin.) not only give the stricter interpretation, but severally attest it to have been the practice of the Church not to ordain such as had been married twice. Some extend this to those whose first or even both marriages had been before Baptism, on the ground that the Apostle's rule was peremptory, and such marriage, not being a sin, was not effaced by Baptism; so S. Ambrose, l. c. followed by Innocent I. l. c. S. Aug. refers to the exposition of S. Ambrose as acute, but still only as a private opinion, "they who have thought (censuerunt) that not even he, who as a catechumen or a heathen had a second wife, is to be ordained." The milder side is taken by S. Jerome, Ep. 69. ad Ocean. §. 2, 3. where he reports, "of such ordinations the whole world is full; I do not say of Presbyters, nor of the inferior grade; I come to Bishops, whom if I would name severally, the number would exceed that of the Synod of Ariminum;" (300, for which, however, he was censured by Chrysogonus, a follower of Ruffinus, Apol. 1. c. Ruf. fin.) Again, on Tit. 1, 6. he treats this extension of the prohibition "rather as superstitious than true." Tertullian, even as a Montanist, admits the same principle, de Monog. c. 11. "a second husband will not be imputed, because after embracing the faith, he is the first." The rule appears to have been gradually enforced in the Western Church, for Tertullian though he mentions that some twice-married Bishops had been deposed, (de Exhort. Cast. c. 7.) taunts the Church with being full of such; "How many twice-married preside among you, forsooth insulting the Apostle;" (de Monog. c 12.) "and S. Leo, (Ep. 4. ad Episc. per Camp. &c. c. 2.) mentions that some such (quibus fuerint numerosa conjugia) had been admitted indiscriminately to holy Orders." Aquinas, (Quodl. iv. art. 13.) Durand, (in Sent. iv. d. 27. g. 4.) Vazquez, (in 3 P. T. 3. disp. 24. c. 25.) quoted by Bp. Taylor, (Rule of Conscience, iii. 4. rule 20. §. 30.) also declare it "only to be a constitution of the Church," which the Pope may dispense with; and, as has been observed, the permission of such marriages is no greater departure from the letter of Scripture on the one side than the dispensing with a married Clergy on the other.

THE SECOND BOOK TO HIS WIFE.

I. I HAVE but just now, best-beloved fellow-servant in the Lord, traced out for thee, as well as I was able, what course should be followed by an holy[a] woman, when her husband is, by whatever hap, taken away. Let us now turn to the next best counsel, out of regard to human infirmity, the examples of certain women warning us, who, when by divorce[b], or an husband's death, an occasion of continency is offered, have not only thrown away the opportunity of so great a good, but, even in marrying, have not chosen to remember the rule, that first and chiefly they should marry *in the Lord*[c]. Wherefore my mind hath been troubled, lest I, who lately exhorted thee to stedfast keeping unto one husband and unto widowhood, may now, by the mention of marriage, make the removal of the caution a downfall unto thee. But if thou art perfect in wisdom, surely thou must therein observe that which is the more profitable. But because this most important purpose of life is difficult and not without its *necessities*, I have abated somewhat: nor should I have had reasons for referring to thee on this point also, had I not found herein a weightier anxiety. For in

1 Cor. 7, 39.

ver. 37.

[a] i. e. a Christian, as in c. 2. 3. 6. and i. 6.

[b] See Note O, at the end of this Treatise.

[c] i. e. to a Christian. 1 Cor. 7, 39. is so interpreted by S. Cyprian, Test. iii. 62. S. Jerome, Ep. 123. ad Agerueh. (ol. ad Geront.) §. 5. adv. Jovin. i. 10. (quoted Ep. 40. ad Pamm. §. 5.) Theodoret, Ambrosiaster, Sedulius, ad loc. S. Aug. de Conj. Adulterin. i. 21. S. Chrysostome's paraphrase "with chastity, with honour," (ad loc. Hom. 39 fin.) includes this, and adds to it, not differs from it, as Rig., who thinks T. too strict. The Fathers quote to the same purpose, 2 Cor. 6, 14 sqq. Gen 24, 1. 1 Kings 11. Ezr. 10. Tob. 6. Marriage with heathen was forbidden by the first Council of Arles, can. 11. and that of Elliberis, can. 15.; it is mentioned as one cause of the decay of Christian life, by S. Cypr. de Laps. c. 4. is warned against by S. Ambr. Ep. 19. ad Vigil. 1. 8. in Luc. init. add de Abr. ii. 9.

Ad Ux. II. XIII. 2.

proportion as the continency, which ministereth to widowhood, is great, doth the not enduring it seem pardonable. For in things difficult pardon is easy. But as to marry *in the Lord* is practicable, as being within our power, so much the more culpable is it not to obey what thou canst. To this is added that the Apostle, as touching widows indeed and the unmarried, adviseth that they *so remain*, when he addeth[1], *But I would that all would persevere according to my example;* but, as touching marrying *in the Lord*, when he saith, *only in the Lord*, he no longer adviseth, but plainly commandeth. Wherefore, in this instance especially, if we obey not, we are in peril. Because one may neglect a thing advised more safely than a thing commanded: for the one cometh of counsel, and is proposed to the will; but the other is derived from power, and is tied to necessity: in the one liberty, in the other contumacy, seemeth to transgress[2].

[1] adjicit. cf. 1 Cor. 7, 7.

[2] derelinquere

II. Wherefore when a certain woman in these days removed her marriage out of the Church, and was joined unto an Heathen, and when I called to mind that others in time past had done the same, wondering at either their own wantonness, or the crookedness of their counsellors, since no Scripture holdeth out license for this act, "Do they," said I, "flatter themselves with that passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where it is written, *If any one of the brethren have an unbelieving wife, and she be consenting to the union, let him not put her away. In like manner a believing woman being married to an unbeliever, if she find her husband consenting, let her not put him away. For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving wife by the believing husband: else were your children unclean?* Perchance, by understanding in a general sense this admonition touching believers who are married, they may think it lawful also to marry with unbelievers[d]." Whoso thus interpreteth, God forbid that he be knowingly cheating himself! But it is manifest that that Scripture denoteth those believers, who have been found by the grace of God in marriage with

1 Cor. 7, 12, &c.

[d] i. e. whereas Scripture addresses this direction to believers who *are actually* married, they, by giving it a more general interpretation, extend it to believers who are not married, as giving them a license to marry unbelievers, as if they too would become sanctified by marriage. [Tr.]

Heathens. According to the very words themselves, "If any believer," saith he, "have an unbelieving wife;" he saith not, "take an unbelieving wife:" he sheweth that one already in the married state with an unbelieving woman, and afterwards converted by the grace of God, ought to continue with his wife; to wit for this reason, lest any, having *obtained Faith*, should think that he ought to be divorced from a woman now an *alien*, and, in some sense, a *stranger*. Eph. 2, 12. Wherefore he subjoineth also the reason, that we are *called* 1 Cor. 7, in *peace* to the Lord God; and that the unbeliever may, 15. 16. through use of marriage, be gained[e] by the believer. This very clause too proveth that this must so be understood: ver. 17. 20. *As every one*, saith he, *is called by the Lord, so let him abide*. Now Heathens, methinks, not believers, are called. But if he had declared absolutely concerning the marriage of believers only, he had permitted the saints to marry indiscriminately. But if he had permitted this, he would never have subjoined a declaration so different, and so contrary to his own permission, saying, *A woman, if her husband be* 1 Cor. 7, *dead, is at liberty: let her marry whom she will: only in* 30. *the Lord*. Here surely is no question to be made: for that, concerning which a question might have been made, the Spirit hath declared. Lest we should make an ill use of that which He saith, *Let her marry whom she will*, He hath added, *only in the Lord*, that is, in the Name of the Lord, which is, doubtless, to a Christian. That Holy Spirit therefore, who had rather that widows and the unmarried should *abide* in their integrity, Who exhorteth us to the example of himself[f], prescribeth no other mode of repeating ver. 7. marriage, save *in the Lord*. To this condition alone doth He allow the loss of continency. *Only*, saith He, *in the Lord*. He hath added a weight to His own law, *only;* with whatever tone and manner thou shalt pronounce that word, it is weighty: it both commandeth and adviseth, both teacheth and exhorteth, both asketh and threateneth. 'Tis a

[e] The word is taken from S. Matt. 18, 15. as below, c. 7. [Tr.]

[f] The Apostle himself. S. Paul being guided to speak of himself in Holy Scripture, his action is directly sanctioned by the Holy Spirit, Who inspired him; whence T. blends in one the Holy Spirit and the inspired writer, though the action itself was that of an inspired Apostle, not as an inspired writer.

Ad Ux. II. XIII. 3.

sentence sharp, brief, and, by its very brevity, eloquent. Thus useth God to speak, that thou mayest understand at once, obey at once. For who may not understand that the Apostle hath, in this kind of marriage which he forbiddeth, provided against many dangers and wounds to the Faith, and hath first of all guarded against the defilement of holy flesh by Heathen flesh? At this point some one saith, 'What difference then between him who is chosen by the Lord, when married to an Heathen, and one long ago, that is, before marriage, believing, so that they should not equally take care for their own flesh? whereas the one is forbidden marriage with an unbeliever, the other commanded to continue in it! Why, if we be defiled by an Heathen, is not the one loosed, even as the other is not bound?' I will answer, if the Spirit shall permit, first of all alleging that the Lord rather approveth that marriage should not be contracted, than in any ease dissolved; finally, He forbiddeth divorce, *saving for the cause of fornication*, but commendeth continency. Let then the one have the necessity of *abiding*, the other moreover the power of not even marrying.

Mat. 5, 32.

III. Then if, according to the Scripture, they that are found by faith[g] in marriage with an Heathen, are therefore not defiled, because with themselves others also become *sanctified*; without doubt they, who before marriage were sanctified, if they be joined with strange flesh, cannot sanctify that wherewith they were not found. But the grace of God sanctifieth that which it hath found. So that which could not be sanctified is unclean; that which is unclean hath no fellowship with the holy, save that, of its own, it defileth and slayeth. This being so, it is evident that believers entering into marriage with Heathens are guilty of fornication, and must be forbidden all communication with the brotherhood, according to the letters of the Apostle, who saith, that *with such an one* we must *no not eat*. Or shall we in that Day produce our marriage-deeds before the Judgment-seat of the Lord, and allege that which He Himself hath forbidden? 'That which is forbidden is not adultery; is not fornication! The admission of a strange spouse less *defileth the temple of*

1 Cor. 7, 14.

1 Cor. 5, 11.

1 Cor. 3, 17.

[g] "A fide deprehenduntur." So above, c. 2. "inventi a Dei gratia." [Tr.]

God[h], less joineth *the members of Christ* with *the members of an harlot.*' As far as my knowledge serveth, *we are not our own,* but *bought with a price:* and with what price? the Blood of God. In hurting therefore that flesh, we hurt Him most nearly. What meant he, who said that to marry a stranger was indeed a sin, but a very little one? whereas, in any case, setting aside the wrong done to the flesh which pertaineth to the Lord, every wilful sin is, in the Lord, a great one[i]. For as was his power of avoiding it, so is the weight of the charge of contumacy upon him. Let us now review the other dangers, or, as I have said, wounds to faith, provided against by the Apostle, most hurtful not only to the flesh, but also to the spirit itself. For who can doubt that faith is day by day effaced through intercourse with unbelievers? *Evil communications corrupt good manners:* how much more living together, and undivided familiarity! Every believing woman must needs obey God. And how can she *serve two masters?* the Lord and an husband, add, too, an Heathen? For, in obeying an Heathen, she will enact Heathen things: the form, the building up[k], the elegancies of the world, the baser blandishments, even the sin-stained secrets of marriage themselves; not as the duties of the sex are performed among saints, with respect shewn to the very *necessity*, with modesty and moderation, as under the eyes of God.

1 Cor. 6, 15. ver. 19. ver. 20.

1 Cor. 15, 33.

Matt. 6, 24.

IV. But no matter after what fashion she pay her duties to her husband: the Lord assuredly she cannot satisfy according to His rule, while she hath at her side a servant of the devil, a minister to his own lord in hindering the pursuits and offices of believers: so that, if a station[l] is to be kept, the husband engageth her all day to the baths; if

[h] So S. Jerome adv Jov. i. 10.

[i] i. e. every wilful sin, though seemingly slight, becomes great when committed by one who is "in Christ," as being so hallowed, and against the suggestions of the indwelling Spirit.

[k] "Extructis." i. e. by means of dress and ornaments. So Juvenal, Sat. vi. 502.

Tanti est quærendi cura decoris!
Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput. [Tr.]

[l] See de Orat. c. 19. p. 311. and n. a. Isidore (Etym. vi. ult.) says, some distinguished "statio" and "jejunium," that the "station" was the observance of certain days and seasons with fasting; days, as the Wednesday and Friday in each week; seasons, as "the days in which the Bridegroom was taken away, or the Apostolic institution of Lent;" "jejunia" were voluntary fasts.

Ad Ux. II. XIII. 5. a fast to be observed, the husband on the same day holdeth a feast; if a procession[m] to be made, never doth household business fall more upon her hands. And who would allow his wife, for the sake of visiting the brethren, to go from street to street the round of strange, and indeed all the poorer, cottages? Who will willingly bear her to be parted from his side, by the meetings at night, if her duty so call? Finally, who will without heed endure her being away all night at the solemnities of Easter[n]? Who, without his own suspicions, will let her go to that feast of the Lord which they defame[o]? Who will suffer her to creep into a prison to kiss the chains of a martyr? Yea, and to meet any one of the brethren for the kiss[p]? to offer water for *the saints' feet*[q]? to seize on their meat, their cup[r]? to long for them, to have them in her thoughts? If a *stranger* brother come to her, what *lodging* in an alien's house? If a present is to be made to any, the barn, the storehouse are closed against her.

1 Tim. 5. 10.

ibid.

V. But some man (suppose) beareth with our ways and murmureth not. This then is a sin, that the heathen know our ways, that we are subject to their cognizance, that it is their kindness if we do any work. He cannot be ignorant of a thing who beareth with it: or, if it be concealed, because he beareth not with it, it is feared. But seeing that Scripture

[m] S. Jerome uses the same word, Ep. 107. ad Læt. §. 8. "Never let your daughter go forth into public without you; let her not visit the Basilicas of the Martyrs and the Churches without her mother." and Ep. 128. ad Gaudent. §. 3. "Let her not go too freely into public; let her not always seek the full assembly of the Church." and Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. de Custod. Virg. §. 17. "Go out rarely into public. Seek thou the Martyrs in thy own chamber. Never will a plea for going forth (procedent) be lacking, if whenever you have occasion, you are to go out." (egressus.)

[n] The Paschal vigils are mentioned in the Apost. Const. v. 20. by Euseb. H. E. vi. 9. vii. 5. Lact. vii. 19. S. Chrys. Hom. 30. in Gen. c. 9. as universal by S. Jerome, adv. Vig. c. 10. in that, according to "an apostolic tradition, the people were not dismissed until midnight, looking for the coming of Christ." S. Jer. in S. Matt. c. 25. The Churches were so lighted that it seemed as day. Greg. Naz. Or. 45. in Paseh. §. 2. et 18. in Patr. ej. Greg. Nyss. Orat. Paseh. 1 init. t. 3. p. 382. Eus. de Vit. Const. iv. 22. see Kortholt de Cal. Pag. c. 16. §. 11. 12.

[o] See Apol. c. 6. 7.

[p] See above, de Orat. c. 18. This rite, which was universal at the Holy Communion, in the Ancient Church (see Bingham, 15. 3. 3.) appears to have taken place, at first, without distinction of sexes; hence caution is given about it by S. Athenagoras, Legat. §. 32. who quotes from an apocryphal book, 'The kiss of love, or rather of reverence, must be given with such great care, as that if it be ever so little defiled by thought, it excludes us from eternal life." S. Clement. Alex. also insists on its being "mystic," "holy," on evils arising from its profanation. Pædag. iii. 11 fin.

[q] S. Jerome alludes to this, as his own practice. Apol. c. Ruff. l. 3. §. 17.

[r] See below, c. 6. [Tr.]

commandeth both, to work for the Lord both without the knowledge of another, and without grievance to ourselves, it mattereth not on which side thou sinnest, whether in respect of thy husband's knowledge, if he bear with thee, or in the afflicting of thine own self, if, not bearing with thee, he be shunned. *Do not*, saith He, *cast your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again, and overthrow us also.* *Your pearls* are the notes of even your daily conversation. The more thou shalt take care to hide them, the more suspected wilt thou make them, and the more needful to guard against heathen curiosity. Wilt thou escape notice when thou signest[s] thy bed, thy little body[t]? when with thy breath thou blowest away any thing unclean[u]? when thou risest even in the night to pray[x]? and wilt thou not be thought to be working somewhat of sorcery[y]? Will not thy husband know what thou tastest in secret before all food[z]? and if he knoweth it to be bread, will he not believe it to be that which is reported[a]? And will any man, not knowing the reason, simply bear with these things? without a groan? without a suspicious doubt whether it be bread or a charm? Some do bear with them: but that they may trample on, that they may mock such women, whose secrets they reserve for the danger which they believe will come[b], in case they be haply vexed. They bear with those whose dowries they may, by bringing up their name[c] against them, make the price of silence, being ready, that is, to go to law before the executioner as the judge. The which most women not foreseeing have been wont to discover either in the extortion of property, or the breach of faith.

cf. Mat. 6, 1. cf. 2 Cor. 9, 7.

Mat. 7, 6.

[s] With the sign of the Cross: see de Cor. c. 3. and note f.

[t] corpusculum. A term of endearment as from a husband. [Tr.]

[u] see de Idol. c. 11. p. 235. and note k.

[x] see Apol. c. 39. p. 83, and note z.

[y] see Suet. Ner. c. 16. Niceph. H. E. xvi. 58. and of the imputation of Christian miracles to magic, Apol. c. 23. p. 59. as those of our Lord, Orig. c. Cels. i. 6. 38. ii. 49 sqq. Eus. Dem. Ev. iii. 6. Recogn. iii. 47. Acta Mart. ap. Baron. A. 286. see Kortholt de Cal. Pag. c. 15.

[z] see de Orat. c. 19, and note. S. Basil. Ep. 93. add Eus. H. E. vi. 44. Greg. M. Dial. iii. 33. and others, ap. Bingham, 15. 4. 13. On the primitive practice of receiving the Holy Eucharist, fasting, see S. Chrys. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. S. Greg. Naz. Or. 40. in S. Bapt. §. 30. S. Aug. Ep. 54. ad Jan. c. 6. Bingham, 15. 7. 8.

[a] see Apol. c. 2. p. 5, and note g. and c. 7.

[b] from the supposed practices, sorceries, of their wives, as above.

[c] see on Apol. c. 2. p. 4.

Ad Ux. II. XIII. 7. VI. The handmaid of God dwelleth amidst alien services, and, among them, with all the names of gods, all the solemnities of kings. In the beginning of the year, in the beginning of the month, she will be disquieted by the savour of frankincense, and make her procession from a door laurelled and candle-lit[c], as from a new consistory of public lusts. She will sit down with her husband ofttimes in clubs, ofttimes in taverns: and she will minister sometimes to the wicked, who was once wont to *minister to the saints*. And will she not herein recognise the fore-determined sentence of her own *damnation*, obeying those, whom she was about to *judge*? Whose hand will she long for? of whose cup partake? What will her husband sing to her, or what will she herself[1] sing to her husband? She may hear forsooth, she may hear somewhat from the stage, from the tavern, from hell[d]! What mention of God? what calling upon Christ? Where the cherishing of faith by the intersertion of Scriptures? where the Spirit? where the refreshment? where the divine benediction? All extraneous! all adverse! all condemned! sent by the evil one to level[2] salvation to the earth!

1 Tim. 5, 12. 1 Cor. 6, 2.

[1] ipsa

[2] atterrandæ

VII. If these things may happen to those also, who having obtained faith while married to heathens, so continue, yet are they excused as being found by God in this very state of things, and are commanded so to *abide*, and are sanctified, and receive an hope of gaining[e]. If therefore a marriage of this kind be ratified before God, why may it not also turn out happily, so as not to be in such sort harassed by grievances, and straits, and hindrances, and defilements, having already, in part, the countenance of Divine grace? For even this calling[f] from the heathen is, by its evidences of some honour awarded, a cause of fear to the heathen man that it hath also some celestial virtue[g], so that he disturbeth

1 Cor. 7, 13. 20.

[c] see Apol. c. 35.

[d] de Gehenna. A. V. and Edd. It stands as an indignant climax, "yea, from hell." De ganea "from the brothel," which Rig. adopted as a MS. reading, is only an ingenious conjecture of Ursini.

[e] their husbands.

[f] vocatus ille, has been taken as a substantive [Tr.] else it might be understood of the woman, "the called," as a little before qui in matrimonio Gentili fidem adepti—deprehensi—perhaps to mark the superior power of the Christian convert, see n. g; but T. again uses juncti (Ag.) below in a different case.

[g] i. e. the majesty of holiness with which the new-created Christian was invested, awed the Heathen, as indicating some unknown power vouchsafed to her. Unholiness does stand in awe

himself the less[h], knoweth less, enquireth less. He hath come to be sensible of great things, hath seen proofs, knoweth that she hath become a better woman: thus himself also is, through *fear*, an aspirant after God. Thus are men of this sort the more easily gained, to whom the grace of God hath become familiar. But it is another thing voluntarily and of one's own accord to come down unto things forbidden. Things which do not please the Lord assuredly offend the Lord, assuredly are brought in by the Evil one. This is the proof of it, that the Christian Name pleaseth the wooers[i] only. Therefore there are found those who abhor not such, that they may destroy them[k], snatch them away, shut them out from the Faith. Thou hast a reason why thou mayest not doubt that no such marriage runneth its course prosperously, while it is joined together by the Evil one, but condemned by the Lord. Ps. 111, 10.

VIII. Hereupon let us enquire whether it be rightly so, as though we were in very truth censors of the Divine judgments! Do not, even among the Heathens, all the severest masters, and the most tenacious of discipline, forbid their servants to make marriages out of doors? to wit lest they break bounds for wantonness' sake, desert their duties, bring forth their master's cheer for strangers. Have they not moreover enacted that those may be claimed for slaves, who have continued in cohabitation with another's slaves, after warning from their masters? Shall earthly discipline be held stricter than heavenly rules? so that Heathens indeed when joined unto strangers lose their liberty, while our own join unto themselves the slaves of the Devil and continue in their condition? They will deny forsooth that they have been warned by the Lord, through His Apostle! On what can I lay hold as the cause of this madness, save the weak-

of holiness; the heathen, Satan's slave, before the Holy Spirit in the Christian. Virtus seems to have a two-fold sense, virtue and power, or in one, the might of virtue, as derived from the Presence of the Holy Ghost.

[h] About the Christian practices of his wife, see above, [Tr.]

[i] petitoribus restored, A. has petitioribus, whence Rig. conjectures "petioribus" "the worser Heathen," as on the contrary in the Scorp. c. 1. T. speaks of "the better;" "de melioribus Ethnicum."

[k] i. e. Satan for the time (while they are wooers) suppresses in such the hatred they bear to the Christian Name, that getting these women into their power, they may persecute them more severely afterwards.

Ad Ux. II. XIII. 8. ness of faith ever prone to the lusts of worldly joys? Which indeed is the most found in the wealthier sort: for in proportion as any is rich, and puffed up with the name of matron, doth she require a more capacious house for her burthens, as a field wherein ambition may run its course. In the eyes of such the Churches are vile. *Hardly shall the rich be in the house of God*, and if any such be there, hardly the unmarried rich. What then can they do? Whence, save from the Devil, can they fetch an husband able to keep their sedan, and their mules, and their hair-curlers of outlandish height? A Christian, though rich, may not perchance furnish these things. I beseech thee, set before thee the examples of Heathens. There very many noble in birth, and rich in property, are every where joined with the ignoble and the middling, sought out for pleasure, or mutilated for licentiousness. Some[1] match themselves with their own freedmen and slaves, (a thing despicable in the estimation of all men,) provided only that they have those from whom they fear no hindrance to their own liberty[1]. Doth a Christian believer dislike to marry a believer her inferior in fortune, when she will be more enriched in a poor husband? For if *the kingdoms of Heaven* pertain to the *poor* because they do not to the *rich*, the rich will gain the more in the poor, will be dowered with the greater dowry out of the goods of him, who is rich in God. Let her be on his level in the earth, who in the heavens perchance shall not be so. Must she doubt, and enquire, and ever and anon deliberate whether he be sufficient for the dowry she hath brought, to whom God hath *committed* His own *riches?* How can we find words to describe the happiness of that marriage, which the Church joineth together, and the Oblation confirmeth, and the blessing sealeth, the angels report, the Father ratifieth? for not even on the earth do sons marry rightly and lawfully without the consent of their fathers. What an union is that of two believers, of one hope, one vow, one discipline, the same service! Both brethren, both fellow-servants! no distinction of spirit

Mat. 19, 23.

Luke 6, 20. ver. 24. and Mat. 19, 23.

Luke 16, 11.

[1] Nonnullæ se libertis et servis suis conferunt, omnium hominum existimatione despectandum, dummodo [At modo Edd.] habeant a quibus nullum impedimentum libertati suæ timeant, omitted by Rig. without authority or assigning any reason.

or of flesh, but really *twain* in *one flesh!* Where the flesh is one, one also is the spirit. Together they pray, together fall down, and together pass their fasts; teaching one another, *exhorting one another*, waiting on one another. Both are together in the Church of God, together in the Feast of God, together in straits, in persecutions, in refreshments. Neither hideth from the other, neither shunneth the other, neither is a burden to the other. Freely the sick is visited, the needy supported. Alms without torture, sacrifices without scruple, daily diligence without hindrance! No stealthy signing, no hurried salutation, no silent benediction! Psalms and hymns resound between the two, and they *provoke one another* which shall sing the best to his God. Such things Christ seeing and hearing rejoiceth. To these He sendeth *His peace*. *Where two are*, there is Himself also: where Himself also is, there also the Evil one is not. These are the things which that word of the Apostle hath left to be understood by us under its brevity. Of these things put thyself in mind, if need shall be. By these turn thyself away from the examples of certain women[n]. It is not *lawful* for believers to marry otherwise: it is not *expedient*.

Mark 10, 8. Heb. 10, 25. Heb. 10, 24. John 14, 27. Mat. 18, 20. 1 Cor. 7, 39. 1 Cor. 10, 33.

[m] sustinentes, as προσκαρτερῇ, Mark 3, 9. [Tr.]

[n] see c. 1. beg. [Tr.]

Note O, *on page* 421.

Tertullian here, not less explicitly because incidentally, allows of marriage after divorce. Only, here, from the context, it appears that it is marriage of a woman, who has divorced her husband, not been divorced by him. The same is implied in the adv. Marc. iv. 34. "That marriage abideth which is not duly severed. To marry, while a marriage abideth, is adultery. Thus, if He conditionally prohibited to put away a wife, He did not wholly prohibit it; and what He did not wholly prohibit, He permitted in other cases, in which the cause for which He prohibited it, no longer exists." i. e. Marriage was not to be severed by man, he was not to "put away his wife, for the sake of marrying another;" (ib.) but if the marriage was severed by God, through death, or ipso facto broken through adultery, so that they ceased to be one, in either case alike it ceased. A new marriage was adultery, only while the former endured; and it endured until it was duly severed; but since adultery of the divorced was such a severance, a new marriage, according to T.'s argument,

NOTE ON AD UX. II.

ceased to be adultery. It is remarkable that Pamelius and others explain away this testimony of Tertullian, being opposed to the Roman practice, by reference to the treatise de Monog. c. 9. 10. written against the Church, and because he there does not allow of the marriage of the divorcing party, infer that neither does he here; forgetting, that he there rejects second marriage altogether, even of the widowed, which he here admits. Epiphanius (Hær. 59. c. 4. quoted by Bingham, 22. 2. 12.) allows re-marriage, in case of the marriage being dissolved by adultery; the Apostolic Constit. (iii. 1.) speak of "one who has lost her husband by death or *any other occasion*, having the *gift of widowhood*," and declares her "blessed" "if she abide by herself," implying plainly that if she had not the gift, she might marry; Ambrosiaster (in 1 Cor. 7, 15.) allows re-marriage when the heathen party departed, as being sin against the Author of marriage, but he thinks that in the case of adultery, 1 Cor. 7, 11. permits it to the man only. S. Jerome Ep. 55. ad Amand. §. 3. thinks it forbidden to the woman by Rom. 7. and 1 Cor. 7, 39.; but in that he mentions as remarkable, (Ep. 77. ad Ocean. de morte Fabiolæ,) that one did penance for it, this, (as Bingham observes,) does not seem to have been then required; himself also calls it "a fault" only, (§. 3, 4.) excuses it on the ground of "necessity," calls the marriage "the shadow of a miserable marriage." S. Basil Ep. Can. i. can. 9. thinks the man pardonable, and his second wife not to be condemned, but that the woman is prohibited by the custom of the Church. Origen mentions that even some Bishops permitted it in the case of women, but regards it as a concession to infirmity, as contrary to the letter of Rom. 7, 3. 1 Cor. 7, 39. (in Matt. 19, 8. Tom. xiv. §. 23.) Lactantius Instt. vi. 23 fin. thinks Scripture admits it in the case of the man, (about the woman he is silent;) as do the Conc. Venetic. (A. 465.) can. 2. the [so-called] Synod. S. Patricii, can. 26. the Synod. Roman. under Leo IV. (A. 853.) can. 36. Bituric. (A. 1031.) can. 16. Lemovic. ii. can. 15. quoted by Coteler. Patr. Ap. i. p. 88. The law ascribed to Constantine, permitting it in three cases only, (ib.) perhaps had the sanction of the Church; although the later civil laws were laxer than those of the Church; the 1st Council of Arles (A. 312.) advises against re-marriage in such cases, does not forbid it; S. Augustine dissuades from it, but thinks it a venial error; on the other hand it is peremptorily called adultery by Hermas, Pastor ii. 4. Innocent I. Ep. 6. ad Exup. c. 6. S. Jerome in Matt. 19, 9. Yet in a case of extreme sin of the husband, it was allowed even to women, in a decree attributed to Pope Zachary, (ap. Gratian Caus. 32. q. 7. c. 23. Bingham l. c.) but taken from the Pœnitentiale ap. Burchard. l. 19. c. 5. and by the Council of Vermeriæ, (A. 753.) can. 18. by Pope Gregory III. (A. 726.) to a man, even in the case of infirmity only. (ib. c. 18. and note, ed Richter.) The Council of Vermeriæ (can. 10.) allowed it to men in an aggravated case only, (ib.) The Council of Trent (Sess. 24. can. 7.) does not directly anathematize those who hold that "marriage is dissolved by adultery," but those who say "that the Church erred in teaching that it was not." Coteler. (l. c.) states it to be "still held by the Greeks and Armenians that adultery

dissolves marriage." It might seem from one expression in the adv. Marc. iv. 34. that T. allowed of the marriage not only of the injured but of the adulterous party; in that he says, "he that marrieth one unlawfully put away, as being not put away, is an adulterer;" but this seems rather incidentally said, as applying our Lord's words, than as implying that one marrying one lawfully put away is no adulterer; for the adulteress does not cease to be such, because put away; and Tert.'s strong feeling of the unlawfulness that the members of Christ should become the members of an harlot, would prevent his accounting such a marriage lawful and Christian. Such marriage is allowed, after the husband's death, by S. Augustine (de Nupt. et Conc. i. 10. de Bon. Conjug. c. 14.) and the Council of Eliberis, (can. 9.) which also forbids any other, (can. 72. Bingham l. c. §. 13.) but forbidden by the Synod. Forojul. (c. 10. ap. Coteler. l. c.) and by the Roman Court except under dispensation.

ON PRESCRIPTION AGAINST HERETICS.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV.

[The whole tenor of the "de Præscriptione Hæreticorum" certainly is such, as makes it difficult to think that it could have been written by one, who had himself separated from the Church. The force of this argument can hardly be represented by particular expressions; the colour cast over the whole is a yet stronger indication. Besides this general ground, however, there is the distinct declaration that the promise of the Comforter was fulfilled at the day of Pentecost, and so, that no further revelation was to be expected, (c. 22.) which is directly opposed to Montanism. Certainly the language here and in the Monog. c. 2. is very different: here, he says, "The Lord had indeed once said, 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now,' yet when He adds, 'When He, the Spirit of truth, shall come, He shall lead you into all truth,' He shews that they *were ignorant of nothing* who He promised should attain all truth through the Spirit of truth, and accordingly He fulfilled the promise, the Acts of the Apostles proving the descent of the Holy Spirit:" there, "Is it admissible that the Paraclete should have taught any thing which can either be accounted new against Catholic tradition, or burthensome against the light load of the Lord? The Lord Himself has pronounced as to both. For when He says, 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; when the Holy Spirit shall come, He shall lead you into all truth,' He sufficiently sets forth that He will guide to things which may both be accounted new, as never before published, and in a degree burthensome, as being on that account not published.—The Paraclete, having many things to teach, which the Lord deferred for Him, as before defined," &c. Tertullian makes out his consistency to himself, in that as a Montanist, he still contended that the "rule of faith" is to be retained, that the Paraclete would teach nothing against it, and that the heretical and "opposed spirit appears from the difference of teaching, first adulterating the rule of faith, and so the order of discipline." But it still remains, that quoting the same two texts, he here, without any restriction, declares them to have been completely fulfilled at the Day of Pentecost, while, as a Montanist, he looks chiefly to a fulfilment after two hundred years, in his own time. 2) Then, he does not argue simply from the priority of Catholic truth, but appeals to it, as embodied in the Church, and adduces the Apostolic succession in proof of it. (c. 20. 26—30. 32. 36. 37.) He would hardly have framed his rule thus, when he had declared against the Church. 3) Then, he so connects revelation with the Incarnation as to require that they who claimed to be instruments of a fresh revelation, should shew that our Lord had again been manifest in the flesh, and had conferred on them power to work the same miracles as Himself; (c. 30.) yet Montanus did not claim to work miracles, only to have ecstatic visions. 4) Again, he here explains the continued office of the Holy Ghost, as "Christi Vicarius," to be to retain the truth which He had taught through the Apostles (c. 28.) in the de Virg. Vel. c. 1. using the same title, he declares it to be, gradually to enlarge the truth so delivered. "Since the Lord therefore sent the Comforter, that inasmuch as human infirmity could not receive all things at once, the discipline might gradually be guided and ordered and brought to perfection by that Vicegerent of the Lord, The Holy Spirit."

5) It is remarked (Bp. Kaye's Tertullian, p. 51.) that "some mention of the Paraclete would probably have been introduced into the short summary of the faith given, c. 13. as is the case in the de Virg. Vel. c. 1." Whereas the mention here is *only* of the ordinary guidance of believers, ("He sent the vicarious power of the Holy Spirit, who should lead believers;") there he speaks *only* of His developing guidance of the Church. 6) It is supposed that S. Augustine refers to the Appendix to this book, (adv. omnes Hæreses, c. 52.) "Tertullian went over to the Phrygians whom he had before overthrown." (de Hær. 86.) This seems to me also probable, and the adv. omnes Hæreses, though an imperfect sketch, bears, I think, here and there, the stamp of Tertullian's vivid way of characterizing principles. In this case, the work itself must, of course, be written before his Montanism, since in the Appendix he condemns it. The only ground, on the other side, of any account, is that in the first book against Marcion, which he certainly wrote as a Montanist, (c. 29.) he is thought to refer to this tract as not yet written. His words (c. 1.) are, "In so far will that which is brought in subsequently be accounted heresy, in as far as what was delivered in times past and from the beginning will be held to be truth. But another brief treatise will maintain this position against heretics, that they may be confuted even without considering their doctrines, as being ruled to be such, through their novelty. Now, so far as any trial of strength is to be admitted, I will, for the time (interdum), lest the uniform calling-in of this compendious argument from prescription should be imputed to want of confidence—first set forth the rule of the opponent, &c." In itself, this language might equally apply to a work written or unwritten; the words "for the time" may mean as well, "waiving this ground for the present." On the other hand, the passage implies that the argument from prescription had been already urged (as some would think) to satiety, and so it seems probable that this book had been already written. He fears lest the continuance of the same line of defence might be misinterpreted, (he makes the same apology here, c. 16.) and so waiving this vantage-ground for the time, he takes the lower ground of entering into the details of the actual heretical system. Then also the obvious meaning of the close of this book is, that this was a general introduction to all the treatises against particular heresies; as indeed they all, probably, (except the adv. Hermogenem, as to which there is no proof either way, but which was subsequent to this,) were written while he was a Montanist.]

I. The state of the present times calleth for this admonition also from us, that we ought not to wonder about these heresies, either that they are, for they were foretold[a] as about to be, or that they overturn the faith of some, for to this end are they, in order that Faith, by having wherewithal it may be tried, may have also wherewithal it may be proved. 1 Cor. 11, 19. Vainly therefore and without due thought are very many offended by this very thing, namely, that heresies have so much power. How much would they have, if they were not? When a thing hath attained to this, that in any case it is, it hath a final cause, on account of which it is: this obtaineth a power through the means of which it is, so that it is not possible that it should not be.

[a] Matt. 7, 15. 24, 11. 24. Acts 20, 29. 30. 1 Tim. 4, 1 sqq. 2 Pet. 2, 1.

DE PRÆSCR. HÆR. XIV. 2.

II. To instance briefly, we do not wonder as touching fever, which, among other deadly and painful ends, is appointed for the destruction of man, either that it existeth, for it doth exist, or that it destroyeth a man, for to this end it existeth. Wherefore, as touching heresies, which are brought into being for the weakening and destruction of Faith, if we are alarmed because they have this power, we must first be alarmed because they have this being; for in that they have a being, they have a power, and in that they have a power, they have a being. But again a fever, as being, what it is known to be, an evil both as respecteth its final cause, and as respecteth its power, we rather detest than wonder at; and, as much as in us lieth, we guard against it, not having the abolition of it in our power. But as to heresies, which bring upon men eternal death, and the burning of a mightier fire, some would rather wonder that they have this power than avoid their having it, though they have the power of avoiding it. But they would have no force, if men would not wonder that they have so much force. For either in that they wonder, they become subjects for the stumbling-block, or because they stumble they therefore wonder, as though it came from some truth in them, that they have so much force. It is forsooth a wonder that evil hath its proper power! unless it be that heresies are very strong with those who are not strong in Faith. In a contest of boxers and gladiators, a man for the most part conquereth, not because he is strong, or cannot be conquered, but because he, who is conquered, was a man of no strength: and so this very conqueror, being afterwards matched against a right lusty man, is also conquered and retreateth. In like manner heresies derive what strength they have from the weaknesses of certain men; having no strength, if they encounter a faith of right good strength.

III. This weaker sort of men indeed are wont to build themselves up unto their fall, by means of certain individuals who have been caught by heresy. How cometh it (say they) that such and such a man, the most faithful, the most prudent, and the most practised in the Church, have gone over to that side? Who, when he sayeth this, doth not himself make answer to himself, that they ought not to be

accounted prudent, or faithful, or practised men, whom heresies have been able to change? This too is a wonder, I suppose, that one, who hath in time past been approved, should afterwards fall away! Why, Saul, a good man above others, is afterwards subverted by envy. David, a good man *after the Lord's heart*, is afterwards guilty of murder and adultery. Solomon, gifted by the Lord with all grace and wisdom, is enticed to idolatry by women. For to the Son of God alone was it reserved to continue to the end *without sin*[b]. Why then, if a bishop, if a deacon, if a widow, if a virgin, if a doctor, if even a martyr shall have fallen from the right rule[c], shall heresies on that account be thought to have truth on their side? Do we test the creed by the persons, or the persons by the creed? None is wise save a believer; none is great save a Christian; but none is a Christian, save *he who endureth even to the end.* Thou, as a man, knowest each man outwardly: thou thinkest that to be which thou seest: and thou seest, so far as thou hast eyes. But, saith the Scripture, *The eyes of the Lord are high*[d]. *Man looketh on the outward appearance, the Lord on the heart.* And therefore *the Lord knoweth them that are His.* And *the plant, which He*[1] *hath not planted, He rooteth up;* and He sheweth that *of the first* there are that *shall be last;* and He carrieth *His fan in His hand to purge His threshing-floor.* Let *the chaff* of a light faith flee as much as it will *with every wind* of temptation; the more pure will the mass of *wheat* be laid up in the *garner* of the Lord. Did not some of the disciples, being offended, turn aside from the Lord Himself? and yet the rest did not think on that account that they also ought to depart from His footsteps: but those who knew that He was *the Word of life*, and that *He had come forth from God*, continued sedfastly in His company even to the end, after that He had mildly put the question,

1 Sam. 13, 14.

Heb. 4, 15.

1 Sam. 16, 7. 2 Tim. 2, 19.

[1] Pater *omitted*

Mat. 15, 13. Mat. 20, 16. Mat. 3, 12. Eph. 4, 14. John 6, 66.

1 John 1, 1. cf. John 6, 68. John 16, 30.

[b] Rig. remarks the omission of the Blessed Virgin, as also the language in the de Carne Christi, as different from later Theologians.

[c] The rule of faith, the sum of saving faith, the Creed. see hel. c. 13.

[d] Is. 2, 11. "The lofty looks of man shall be humbled, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that Day." [Tr.] Others suppose T. here to quote 2 Chron. 16, 9. "The eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth." coll. Job 34, 21. Jer. 16, 17. 32, 19. Pam., that he quotes Ezra 4, 8. "Lord, Thou inhabitest eternity, Whose eyes are raised aloft." The words still do not agree.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 4.

whether "they also would go away." It is a less matter, if certain, as Phygellus, and Hermogenes, and Philetus, and Hymenæus left His Apostle also: the betrayer of Christ was himself of the number of the Apostles. Do we wonder concerning His Churches, if they be forsaken by some, seeing that those things shew us to be Christians, which we suffer after the example of Christ Himself? *They went out from us*, saith he, *but they were not of us. If they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us.*

John 12, 67.

1 John 2, 19.

[1]pronunciationum [2]pronunciaverunt, *restored*

IV. But rather let us remember, as well the declarations[1] of the Lord, as the letters of the Apostles, which have both declared[2] to us that heresies should be, and determined beforehand that they must be avoided: and as we are not alarmed at their existence, so let us not wonder that they have power to do that, on account of which they are to be avoided. The Lord teacheth that many *ravening wolves* shall come *in sheep's clothing*. What are these *sheep's clothings*, but the outward surface of the Christian name? What are these *ravening wolves*, but those thoughts and deceitful spirits, which lurk within to infest *the flock of Christ*? Who are *false prophets*, but false preachers? Who *false apostles*, but spurious evangelists? Who Antichrists now and ever, but rebels against Christ? At this day there are heresies not less attacking the Church through perversity of doctrines, than Antichrist will in that day pursue her with cruelty of persecutions; save that persecution maketh martyrs besides, heresy apostates only. And therefore *need was that there should be heresies, that all such as were approved might be made manifest*, as well those who were stedfast in persecutions, as those who did not fly off unto heresies. For he doth not direct that those should be accounted *approved*, who change the faith into heresy, as they perversely interpret it in their own favour, because he hath said in another place[c], *Prove all things; hold fast that which is good;* as if it were not possible, after *proving all things* ill, to fall, through error, upon the choice of some ill.

Mat. 7, 15.

1 Cor. 11, 19.

1 Thess. 5, 21.

[c] As though the Apostle, when he bid men "prove all things," represented it as indifferent what result people came to, so they were "fully persuaded in their own minds," or as though people were not responsible for their convictions.

V. Moreover, if he chideth dissensions and *divisions*, which without controversy are evils, he immediately addeth *heresies* also. That which he joineth with evils, he doubtless confesseth to be an evil, and indeed the greater, since he saith that he *believed* as touching *divisions* and dissensions for this reason, because he knew that there *must be also* 1 Cor. 11, 19. *heresies*. For he sheweth that, in beholding[1] a more grievous evil, he easily *believed* as touching lighter ones: not surely that he believed as touching those evils, because heresies were good, but because he would forewarn them, that they ought not to wonder concerning temptations even of a more serious stamp, which he said tended to *make manifest* all *those who were approved*, that is, those, whom they were not able to pervert to ill. Finally, if the sense of the whole section point to the keeping of unity, and the restraining of divisions, and if heresies separate men from unity no less than divisions and dissensions, without doubt he placeth *heresies* also in the same predicament of reproach, in which he placeth *divisions* and dissensions. And by this he maketh not those to be *approved*, who have turned aside unto heresies, seeing that he specially rebuketh them that they may turn aside from such sort, teaching that *all speak* 1 Cor. 1, 10. *the same thing*, and be *in the same mind*, which also heresies allow not.

[1] con-spectu A. ver. 18.

VI. And of this no more, if this be the same Paul, who elsewhere also, writing to the Galatians, numbereth *heresies* among the wicked *works of the flesh*; and who adviseth Gal. 5, 20. Titus that *a man that is an heretic, after the first rebuke*[f] Tit. 3, 10. 11. must be *rejected*, seeing that *he that is such, is perverted*

[f] The words "and a second" are omitted from this text below, c. 16. by S. Iren. iii. 3. (where the Greek Text has them; in i. 6. they occur in the old Lat. Transl. also) by S. Cyprian, (Ep. 59.[55. Pam.]ad Corn. fin.;) S. Ambrose, (de Abr. ii. 6. and seven other places, see Sabatier ad loc.) S. Augustine, (Ep. 43. ad Glor. &c. init.) Ambrosiaster, (ad loc.) and several other Latin Fathers, ap. Sabatier. In S. Jerome ad loc. they have been inserted in the text, but his commentary implies that he had them not; "There is read in Latin MSS. (which Athanasius also approved as true,) 'After a first and second admonition,' i. e. that it sufficed not that he who had been corrupted by some error should be reproved or admonished once only, &c." This however often happens in MSS. that citations from Scr. are unconsciously corrected from the Vulg.; so on this text, S. Cypr. Test. iii. 78. S. Leo, Serm. 96. c. Eut. which now have the addition. For Athanasius in S. Jerome, one corrects Anastasius: S. Athanasius, as the other Greek Fathers and MSS, having the words; Ep. ad Adelph. §. 2. Ep. ad Maxim. §. 1. Ep. iv. ad Serap. init.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 7.

and sinneth, as being condemned of himself. But in almost every Epistle besides, when he urgeth them about avoiding false doctrines, he censureth heresies, the works whereof are false doctrines. They are named by a Greek word 'heresies' in the sense of 'choice,' which a man exerciseth either to establish or to adopt them: wherefore also he hath called the heretic *condemned of himself*, because he hath chosen for himself even that wherein he is condemned. But for us it is not lawful to bring in any doctrine of our own choice, as neither is it to choose that which any one hath brought in of his own choice. We have for our authority the Apostles of the Lord, who did not even themselves choose any thing of their own will to bring in, but faithfully delivered over to the nations the Religion which they had received from Christ. Wherefore, *though an angel from heaven* should *preach any other Gospel*, he would be called by us *accursed*. The Holy Spirit had even then foreseen that there should be in a certain virgin, Philumene[g], an angel of deceit, *transforming himself into an angel of light;* induced by whose miracles and tricks, Apelles induced a new heresy.

Gal. 1, 8.

2 Cor. 11, 14.

1 Tim. 4, 1.

VII. These are the *doctrines* of men and *of devils*, gendered, for itching ears, of the spirit of *the wisdom of this world*, which the Lord calling *foolishness*, *hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound* even Philosophy itself. For such is the material of *the wisdom of this world*, the rash interpreter of the Nature of God, and of the order by Him established[h]. Finally, heresies themselves are tricked out by Philosophy[i]. Hence the Æons, and I know not what infinite[k] 'forms,' and 'the trinity of man[l]' accord-

1 Cor. 3, 19.

Ib. 1, 27.

[g] See more fully below, c. 30. The same woman is mentioned by T. adv. Marc. iii. 11. de Carne Christi. c. 6. Euseb. H. E. v. 13. S. Jerome, c. Pelag. init. and in Gal. 1. where he praises this passage.

[h] dispositio, a word frequent in the old Lat. Vers. of S. Irenæus, i. 4. ii. 4.

[i] See Apol. c. 47. de Res. Carn. c. 3. adv. Marc. i. 13. v. 19. c. Herm. c. 8. de Anim. c. 3. 23. Iren. 2. 14. 2. Jerom. in Naum iii. 17.

[k] infinitæ A. Tert. below, c. 33. adv. omn. Hær. c. 49. and adv. Val. c. 8. names thirty, as Iren. i. 1.

[l] These were three classes of men. 1) Material; formed of invisible matter. 2) Animal; into whom a living soul had been breathed. (These two were said to be created, the first after the image, the second after the likeness, of God.) 3) Spiritual; the spiritually-conceived by Achamoth. (Iren. i. 5. 5.) The first were held to be incapable of salvation, the third of perishing, the second needed continence and faith and good action. The Church was the second; the heretics the third; they held that being spiritual by nature, they could not be defiled by works of the flesh, in

ing to Valentinus: he was of the school of Plato. Hence the god of Marcion, more excellent by reason of his indolence[m]: he came of the Stoics[n]. And the doctrine that the soul dieth is maintained from the Epicureans[p]. And the denial of the restoration of the body is taken from the united school of all the Philosophers. And where matter is made equal with God[q], there is the doctrine of Zeno: and where ought is alleged concerning a god consisting of fire[r], there cometh in Heraclitus[s]. The same matter is turned and twisted by the heretics and by the philosophers, the same questions are involved: Whence cometh evil[t]? and wherefore? and whence man? and how? and, what Valentinus hath lately propounded, whence God[u]? to wit, from an exercise of Mind and from an abortive birth. Wretched Aristotle! who hath taught them the dialectic art, cunning in building up and pulling down, using many shifts in sentences, making forced guesses at truth, stiff in arguments, busy in raising contentions, contrary even to itself, dealing backwards and forwards with every subject, so as really to deal with none. Hence those *fables and endless genealogies*, and *unprofitable questions*, and *words that spread like a canker*, from which the Apostle restraining us, testifieth of philosophy by name, that it ought to be shunned; writing to the Colossians, *Beware lest any one beguile you through*

1 Tim.1, 4. Tit.3,9. 2 Tim.2, 17. Col.2,8.

which they immersed themselves, (ib. c. 6. see also c. 7. Tert. c. Valent. c. 17. 24—26. 29. S. Epiph. Hær. 31. §. 23.) who says that they regarded Cain, Abel, and Seth, as types of these three classes.

[m] inf. c. 30. de Carn. Xti. c. 18. de An. c. 23. S. Clem. Al. Strom. v. 14. p. 254. quotes from Plato a treble division of man, "Ye who are in this city are all brethren, (as we will say to you in allegory,) but God creating, in as many of you as are fit to rule, mingled gold in their production, wherefore they are the most honourable. But in as many as give help, silver; brass and iron in husbandmen and other artificers." Valentinus illustrates his 'spiritual' by gold. Iren. i. 6. 2. S. Clem. Strom. iii. 3. says of Marcion at least, that he "took Plato's doctrine ungratefully and unskilfully," i. e. without acknowledgment and mistaking it.

[n] see Apol. c. 47. p. 96. de test. An. c. 2. p. 134. Theoph. ad Aut. ii. 4. "Some, of the Stoa, either deny altogether that God is, or if He be, assert that He hath a care for nothing but Himself." The Stoics, being Pantheists, necessarily denied a Providence.

[p] By Lucanus, (de Carn. Res. c. 2.) a disciple of Marcion. (adv. omn. Hær. c. 51.)

[q] By Hermogenes, c. Hermog. c. 1. 8. init.

[r] Apelles, below, c. 34. de Anim. c. 23. de Carn. Christi. c. 8.

[s] Apol. c. 47.

[t] see adv. Marc. i. 2. S. Aug. Conf. iii. 7. vii. 12. 16.

[u] i. e. the Creator, whom the Valentinians fabled to be produced by Enthymesis, the abortive birth of Sophia, when separated from the Pleroma. S. Iren. i. 4 and 5. iii. fin.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 8.

philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, beside the providence of the Holy Spirit[x]. He had been at Athens, and had, through his conflicts therewith, become acquainted with that wisdom of man, which affecteth the Truth and corrupteth it, itself also being divided many ways into its own heresies by the variety of sects opposing each other. What then hath Athens to do with Jerusalem? What the Academy with the Church? What heretics with Christians? Our School is of *the porch of Solomon*, who himself also hath delivered unto us, that we must *in simplicity of heart seek* the Lord. Away with those who have brought forward a Stoic, and a Platonic, and a Dialectic Christianity!

Wisd. 1, 1.

VIII. To us there is no need of curious questioning now that we have Christ Jesus, nor of enquiry now that we have the Gospel. In that we believe this, we desire to believe nothing besides. For this we believe first, that there is nothing which we ought to believe besides. I come therefore to that point, which even our own brethren put forward as a reason for entering upon curious enquiry, and which heretics urge for bringing in curious doubt. It is written, say they[y], *seek, and ye shall find.* Let us remember when it was that the Lord uttered this saying: in the first beginning, I trow, of His teaching, when it was yet doubted by all men *whether He were the Christ;* when[1] as yet not even Peter had declared Him to be the Son of God; when even John had ceased to be assured concerning Him[z]. With good cause therefore was it then said, *Seek, and ye shall find,* seeing that He was yet to be sought, Who was not yet acknowledged. And this with reference to the Jews: for to them pertaineth the whole speech of this reproach, who had wherein they might seek Christ. *They have,* saith he, *Moses* and *Elias,* that is, the Law and the Prophets, which preach Christ: as also openly[2] in another place, *Search the Scriptures, in which ye hope for salvation, for they speak of Me.* This will be the meaning of, *Seek, and ye shall find:*

Mat. 7, 7.

[1] et *omitted*

Luke 16, 29.

[2] inquit *omitted* John 5, 39.

[x] Who had brought the Apostle to Athens, in order that he might take occasion of what he saw, to warn the Church against it.

[y] "It is ever their excuse that they are seeking. For they are blind. And find they never can." S. Iren. 3. 24. (ol. 40.) 2.

[z] see on the de Bapt. c. 10. p. 267. n. e.

for that the words which follow, also pertain to the Jews is manifest: *Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.* The Jews had been in past times in the presence of God: afterwards, being cast out because of their sins, they began to be shut out from God. But the Gentiles never were in the presence of God, except as *a drop from a bucket*, and as *dust from the threshing-floor*, and were ever without the door. How then shall he, who was ever without the door, knock at the place where he never was? what door doth he know, where he was never either received or cast out? Doth not he rather knock, and doth not he rather know the door, who knoweth that he was once within, and that he hath been cast out of doors? Again, *Ask, and ye shall receive*, pertaineth to him who knew from Whom he must ask, from Whom also something had been promised, to wit, from *the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, of Whom the nations knew no more than they did of any promise from Him. And therefore He spake to Israel: *I am not sent*, saith He, *but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.* He had not as yet *cast to dogs the children's bread.* He had not as yet commanded them to *go into the way of the Gentiles;* for it was in the end that He taught them to *go and teach and baptize the nations*, and that they should presently receive the Holy *Spirit, the Comforter, Who should guide them into all truth.* And this therefore tendeth hitherwards. But if the Apostles, appointed the teachers of the Gentiles, were themselves to obtain a Teacher in the Comforter, the saying, *Seek, and ye shall find*, was much more out of place as respecteth us, to whom the doctrine was to present itself, of itself, through the Apostles, as it did to the Apostles through the Holy Spirit. All the sayings indeed of the Lord were set forth for all: they have passed down to us through the ears of the Jews; but most of them, being directed towards particular persons, form for us not a special admonition but an example[a].

Mat. 7, 7. Is. 40, 15. Mat. 7, 7. Mat. 15, 24. ver. 26. Mat. 10, 5. Mat. 28, 19. John 16, 13.

IX. I now of my own accord quit this ground. Be it that the precept, *Seek, and ye shall find*, was spoken to all. Yet even then it is right to set the meaning of the words against

[a] i. e. not a specific command but a principle.

DE PRÆSCR. HÆR. XIV. 10.

the rule of their literal construction. No Divine saying is so loose and vague, that the words only are insisted on, while the true bearing of the words is not determined. But in the outset I lay down this: that there is some one definite thing taught by Christ, which the Gentiles are by all means bound to believe, and therefore to *seek*, that they may be able, when they have *found*, to believe it. Moreover, the search after a thing taught, which is one and definite, cannot be indefinite. Thou must *seek* until thou *findest*, and believe when thou hast found: and there is nothing more, save to keep that, in which thou hast believed; so that thou believest this moreover, that any thing besides is not to be believed, and therefore not to be sought after; seeing that thou hast *found*, and hast believed, that which was taught by Him, Who doth not command thee to *seek* any thing, besides that which He hath taught. If any one doubteth what this is, it will be proved that that, which was taught by Christ, is in our hands. Meanwhile, relying on my proof, I anticipate it, in warning certain persons that they must *seek* nothing beyond the things which they have believed: that this is that which they were bound to *seek*: lest they interpret, *Seek, and ye shall find*, without regard to the rule of reason.

X. Now the reason of this saying lieth in three points: in the matter, in the time, in the measure. In the matter, for the question 'what' thou must seek? in the time, for the question 'when?' in the measure, for the question 'how long?' Thou must seek then 'that' which Christ hath taught; of course, at the time 'when' thou dost not find it; of course, 'till' thou dost find it. But thou hast found it as soon as thou hast believed; for thou wouldest not have believed, if thou hadst not found, as neither wouldest thou have sought, except that thou mightest find. To this end therefore thou *seekest*, that thou mayest *find*; and to this end thou findest, that thou mayest believe. Thou hast, by believing, put a stop to all farther protraction of *seeking* and *finding*. The very fruit of thy search hath set thee these bounds. He Who willeth that thou shouldest not believe, and therefore shouldest not seek, any thing besides what He hath taught, hath Himself determined for thee this line of entrenchment. But if, because so many other things also have been taught by others, we are

on that account bound to *seek* so far as we are able to *find*, we shall ever be *seeking*, and shall never believe at all. For where will be the end of *seeking?* where the resting point in believing? where the completion of *finding?* With Marcion? But Valentinus also propoundeth *seek, and ye shall find.* With Valentinus? But Apelles also will press me with this maxim: and Hebion, and Simon, and all in their turn have no other means whereby they may warm themselves into my good graces, and join me to their party. I shall therefore be no where, while I every where meet with *Seek, and ye shall find;* and I would I were thus no where[b], as though I had never apprehended that which Christ hath taught, which ought to be *sought*, which is necessary to be believed.

XI. A man may safely go wrong, unless he goeth from what is right, although to go wrong is to go from what is right: a man, I say, goeth astray safely, who goeth away from nothing. But if I have believed that which I ought to believe, and think that there is something else to be *sought* anew, I expect, surely, that there is something else also to be *found:* and this I could in no wise expect, unless I either had not from the first believed, though I seemed to believe, or had ceased to believe. Thus going away from my Creed, I am found to be a denier of it. Let me say once for all, no man seeketh a thing, save he who either hath never had it, or hath lost it. The old *woman* had *lost one* of *ten pieces of silver*, and therefore *sought* it; but when she *found* it, she ceased to *seek* it. The neighbour had no bread, and therefore *knocked;* but as soon as *it was opened unto him*, and he received the bread, he ceased to knock. The *widow asked* to be heard by *the judge*, because she was not received; but as soon as she was heard, she persisted no farther. There is therefore a limit both to *seeking* and to *knocking* and to *asking*. He saith, *For to every one that asketh it shall be given, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened, and by him that seeketh it shall be found.* No matter for him, who is ever *seeking* because he *findeth* not, for he *seeketh* there where it shall not be *found*. No matter for him, who is ever *knocking*,

Luke15, 8.

Luke11, 5.

Luke18, 3.

Luke11, 10.

[b] Velim (A. Ge.) sic nusquam, [om. et A. V.] quasi qui &c. i. e. would I were no where (viz. with no fixed belief,) in such wise as never to have had the truth,—not, as must now be, to have forfeited it.

De Præscr. Hær. xiv. 12.

because none will ever *open* to him, for he *knocketh* there where there is no one. No matter for him, who is ever *asking*, because none will ever hear, for he *asketh* from one who heareth not.

XII. For ourselves, even though we ought to be seeking up to this time and at all times, yet where ought we seek? Among the heretics? where all is foreign and opposite to our truth? whom we are forbidden to come nigh? What servant looketh for food from a stranger, not to say an enemy, to his lord? What soldier seeketh to obtain bounty and pay from unallied, not to say hostile, kings, unless he be altogether a deserter, and a runaway, and a rebel? Even that old woman sought for the piece of silver in her own house: even that knocker at the door knocked at his neighbour's door: even that widow appealed to not an adverse, though a hard judge. No man can be built up[1] by that whereby he is pulled down. No man is enlightened by that whereby he is darkened. Let us "seek" therefore in our own, and from our own, and concerning our own: and that only, which can be brought into question without touching the rule of faith.

2 Johul, 10.

[1] strui

XIII. Now the rule of faith[c]—that we may at this point confess what it is that we maintain—is that whereby it is believed that there is in any wise but One God, and no other than the Creator of the world, Who, by His own Word first of all sent forth[d], brought all things out of nothing: that this

[c] Tertullian entitles the Creed "the rule of Faith, alone unalterable and irreformable," again in the Vel. Virg. c. 1. add adv. Prax. c. 2. adv. Marc. i. 5. and 21. "the rule of the Sacrament of Baptism." S. Irenæus, "the unalterable rule of Faith which each received in Baptism." c. 9. 4. and 10. 1. add 3. 4. 2. Orig. de Princ. Præf. Novatian. de Trin. init. and c. 9. "the rule of truth," (as Tert. adv. Herm. init.) add Epist. Conc. Antioch. ap. Eus. vii. 30. Ruffin. de Exp. Symb. §. 2. S. Ambr. de Sp. S. i. 2. §. 30. S. Aug. Enchir. c. 56. Petr. ii. 3. Serm. 186. §. 2. &c. "the Catholic rule," ib. Ench. c. 8. "the rule of faith and salvation." Serm. 215. in reddit. Symb. §. 2. S. Jerome. Ep. 41. ad Marc. c. Err. Montani. §. 3. S. Leo, Serm. 62. de Pass. Dom. xi. §. 2. Maxim. Hom. in trad. Symb. B. P. vi. 43. Chrysol. Serm. 61. in trad. Symb. Ib. vii. 892. The plural "Catholicam fidem et Ecclesiæ regulas," seems used in the same sense by Theophilus, Ep. ad Hieron. 87. (al. 69.) On the Apostolic Creed, see further, Note P, at the end of this Treatise.

[d] emissum, Edd. demissum, "sent down." A. "Emissum" has been preferred, as agreeing with the language elsewhere used of the Word going forth to create the world. adv. Prax. c. 2. "qui ex ipso processerit," used also c. 7. and by Novatian, c. 31. Zeno Serm. 1 and 3 de Æterna Filii Generat. See Bp. Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. iii. 5. 6. 7. 8. and especially §. 10. on the doctrine of the προβολή, and the terms προπηδᾶν, ἐρεύγειν, processio. In the same sense, Tertullian uses the terms probola, protulit, prolatio, adv. Prax. c. 7. 8. excessit. Apol. c. 21. (above, p. 48.) Bp. Bull, in explaining the doctrine, use-

Word is called His Son, Who, with the Name of God, was in divers manners seen by the Patriarchs[f], ever heard in the Prophets, brought down at last by the Spirit and the Power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, made flesh in her womb, and, being born of her, appeared under the character of Jesus Christ[g]: that thenceforth He preached a new law, and a new promise of the Kingdom of Heaven; worked miracles; was nailed to the cross; rose again the third day; was taken up to Heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father; sent in His stead the power of the Holy Spirit, to work upon believers; and that He shall come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of eternal life, and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the ungodly to everlasting fire, having caused the resurrection of both classes to take place, with the restoration of their bodies.

XIV. This rule, taught, as will be proved, by Christ, hath no questions raised upon it amongst us, save those which heresies introduce, and which make men heretics. But so long as its form remaineth in its own proper order, thou mayest *seek* as much as thou listest, and discuss, and exhaust all thy longing after curious enquiry; if any thing seem to thee either to hang in doubt or to be dimly seen through darkness, there is doubtless some brother, a doctor

the term "non erat Ejus prius non existentis productio sed tantum Ipsius missio sive *emissio* ad producendas creaturas." (l. c. 3. 10. 7.)

[f] So all early Catholic antiquity. See Tert. again, c. Jud. c. 9. adv. Prax. c. 14. and 16. de Carne Christi. c. 6. adv. Marc. ii. 27. iii. 6. S. Justin. Martyr, Dial. c. Tryph. §. 56. 58, 9. 60. 63. 125. S. Irenæus 4. 5. 2. S. Theophilus ad Aut. ii. 22. S. Clem. Al. Pædag. i. 7. and 11. Orig. c. Cels. iii. 14. iv. 6. vi. 78. Novat. de Trin. c. 25—27. S. Athanas. Orat. c. Ariau. i. 41. iii. 12—16. S. Hil. in Ps. 68. §. 19. de Trin. iv. 23 sqq. v. 11 sqq. xii. 46. 47. Theodoret. Quæst. 68. in Gen. Philastr. Hær. 84. S. Chrys. Hom. 8. ad Pop. Ant. et in Heb. c. 7. S. Ambros. de Sp. S. i. 4. init. S. Aug. Ep. 164. (ol. 99.) ad Euod. §. 17. S. Leo, Ep. 31. ad Pulcher. ol. 27. c. 2. quoted by Bp. Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. i. 1. 3—8. 12. ii. 4. 5. and Grabe Annot. ii. 4. S. Cyril Jer. x. 6. 7. xii. 16. It was acknowledged in the Creed of Eudoxius, &c. ap. Athan. de Syn. §. 26. p. 114. Oxf. Tr. Elsewhere, however, S. Ambrose (ad Luc. i. 1. 11. quoted by S. Aug. Ep. 147. ol. 14. ad Paulin. §. 17 sqq.) speaks doubtfully, and St. Augustine himself seems to oppose it, (as cont. Maximin. Arian. ii. 27.) argues that it is not proved by Holy Scripture; for though it established the pre-existence of The Son against the Photinians, yet the Arians used it as an argument of His inequality with the Father, as though The Father were invisible, The Son not. Yet, as both these fathers shew, it only implies that The Son, being, as God, equally invisible with The Father, was pleased to manifest Himself "in what Form His will chose." see further, note q, on S. Ath. de Conc. Arim. p. 120. Oxf. Tr.

[g] Jesum Christum egisse, i. e. did what it was foretold The Christ should do and suffer.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 14.

1 Cor. 12, 8.

endowed with the grace of *knowledge*[h]; there is some one familiar with those who are well-practised, some one curiously, with thee, enquiring, yet with thee *seeking*. Thou newest of novices[i], it is better for thee to be ignorant, lest thou know what thou oughtest not, for, what thou oughtest to know, thou knowest. *Thy faith*, saith He, *hath saved thee*, not thy exercises in the Scriptures. Faith is fixed in a rule. It hath[l] a law, and, in the keeping of that law, salvation: but this exercising of thyself consisteth in curious enquiry, having glory only in a zeal for skilfulness. Let curious enquiry yield to Faith; let glory yield to salvation. At least let them either not clamour in opposition, or let them be still. To know nothing contrary to the rule is to know every thing. Even though heretics were not enemies of the truth, even though we were not forewarned to avoid them, what sort of act is it to confer with men, who themselves profess that they themselves also are still seeking[k]? For if they are still really seeking, they have as yet found nothing certain; and therefore whatsoever they seem in the mean while to hold, they shew their own doubtfulness as long as they are seeking. Thou, therefore, who art likewise seeking, looking to those who are themselves also seeking, thyself in doubt being led by those who are in doubt, thyself unassured by those who are unassured, thyself *blind* by those who are *blind*, must needs be led *into the ditch*. But when, for the sake of deceiving, they pretend that they are still seeking, that they may, by instilling an anxiety into us, palm their conceits upon us, and when moreover, as soon as they have gained access to us, they directly maintain those

Luke 18, 42.

[l] habet

Mat. 15, 14.

[h] S. Irenæus (5. 6. 1.) speaks of spiritual gifts, still continuing in the Church. "We hear of many brethren in the Church having prophetic gifts, (charismata,) and, through the Spirit, speaking with many various tongues, and 'making manifest the hidden things of men' for the common good, (1 Cor. 14, 25.) and declaring the mysteries of God, whom also the Apostle calls spiritual." The "Doctor" is spoken of as an order of men, above, c. 3. as in Eph. 4, 11.

[i] 'Novissime' is opposed to the exercitati 'well-practised' or (as in c. 3.) usitatissimi, where the Ed. princeps has 'vetustissimi,' 'the most ancient' in the Church. Praxeas also, he addresses 'Novissime,' c. 27. [where the title is contrasted with our Lord and His Apostle. "Learn then with Nicodemus.—So also the Apostle when he calleth Him the Mediator between God and man, establishes that He is in substance Both. Youngest of novices, who explainest the title 'Son of God' of the flesh, declare who is the 'Son of Man.'"] "Novissimus, novitius, Ang. a novice. 'Novitiole' occurs in the de Pœnit. c. 51." (c. 6. p. 357.) [Dr. Routh.] It seems said with indignation both here and adv. Prax. like Is. 3, 5. The other meaning of "novissimus" is also probably comprised, "last and least."

points, which they said ought to be questions, then ought we so to account of them, that they may know that we deny, not Christ, but them. For in that they are yet seeking, they have not as yet laid hold; and in that they have not laid hold, they have not as yet believed; and in that they have not as yet believed, they are not Christians. But when they do indeed hold a thing and believe it, and yet, in order that they may maintain it, say that it must be enquired into[k],—before they maintain it, they deny that which, by making it matter of enquiry, they confess that they do not as yet believe. Those therefore who are not Christians even in their own eyes, how much less in ours! What must the faith be, which those argue for, who come to us by means of deceit? What the truth, which those support who introduce it with a lie?

XV. But 'these very persons treat of the Scriptures, and argue out of the Scriptures.' Why! could they possibly speak of the things of the Faith, except from the records of the Faith? We come therefore to the question before us. For this we were ordering, and this we were preparing, in this prefatory discourse, that we might henceforward begin to battle the point on which the adversaries challenge us. They put forth the Scriptures, and by this their boldness they forthwith move some: but in the actual battle they weary the strong, catch the weak, send away the wavering with a doubt. The first and chief step, therefore, which we take against them, is that of not admitting them to any discussion touching the Scriptures. If in these be that strength of theirs, in order that they may be able to possess it, it ought to be considered to whom the possession of the Scriptures belongeth, that he may not be admitted to it, to whom it doth in no wise belong.

[k] "Whoso after he hath found the truth, discusseth any thing further, seeketh a lie." Conc. Chalc. Act. 3.

[l] "Remember, that there is now no heretic, who doth not assert falsely that he utters according to Scripture the things wherein he blasphemes.—All utter Scripture without the mind of Scripture, and unbelieving plead belief." S. Hil. ad Const. ii. 9. "The Holy Scriptures themselves, which exhort to believe great truths before understanding them, cannot profit you, unless you understand them. For all heretics, who acknowledge their authority, seem to themselves to follow after them, whereas they do rather follow after their own errors, and are heretics, not because they despise them, but because they understand them not." Aug. Ep. 120. ad Consent. §. 13. add S. Athanas. Orat. i. c. Arian. §. 8. p. 189. Oxf. Tr

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 16.

XVI. It might be that I advanced this, prompted by distrust of my cause, or from a desire of entering on the debate in some other way, were there not a clear reason for it; first and chiefly this, that our Faith oweth obedience to the Apostle, when he forbiddeth us to enter upon *questions*, to lend our ears to new sayings, to deal with *an heretic after the first admonition*[m], not after disputation. Thus hath he forbidden disputation, in noting *admonition* as the cause for dealing with *an heretic*, and *the first*, for this reason, namely, because he is not a Christian; that it may not be thought that he should be reproved, like a Christian, once and again, and before *two or three witnesses*, seeing that he ought to be reproved for the very cause for which he ought not to be questioned with. The next reason is because a discussion of the Scriptures can avail nothing except to lead, in some sort, to a sheer turning of the stomach or of the brain.

1 Tim. 6, 4. Tit. 3, 10.

Mat. 18, 16.

XVII. This heresy doth not receive certain of the Scriptures[n], and whatever it doth receive[1], by adding to them and diminishing from them, it turneth about according to the plan of its own purpose: and if it receiveth, it doth not in fact receive them[2], and if, to a certain extent, it furnisheth them entire[o], nevertheless, by devising different expositions

[1] non recipit integras *omitted*

[2] et si recipit, non recipit *added*

[m] see ab. c. 6.

[n] S. Irenæus, i. 28. (29.) 4. states that, (in his time,) Marcion alone of heretics mutilated the Scriptures; S. Cyril Jer. vi. 16. xvi. 7. that he was the first; Origen answers Celsus, that he "knew of none who altered the Gospel except the followers of Marcion, Valentinus, and perhaps those of Lucanus." (c. Cels. ii. 27.) He like Tert. argues against them as newly sprung up, "they who change the Gospel, and bring in, as additions to the teaching willed by Jesus, strange heresies, are not to be imputed to true Christianity." In this proceeding, however, the heretics mutually convicted each other, and bore witness to the Church; for since each omitted what was opposed to his own heresy, left what did not, their witness agreed not in what they omitted, and collectively they attested the whole, the one accrediting what the other impugned. Thus an ancient writer, ap. Eus. H. E. v. 28. "whence they have fearlessly laid hands upon the Divine Scriptures, saying that they have amended them. And that in this I do not charge them falsely, whoso wills may know. For if any one, having brought together their copies, would examine them by each other, he would find that they greatly vary. Thus, those of Asclepiades vary from those of Theodotus. And we may have abundance of them, because their disciples eagerly note down [in the genuine Gospels] what either of these has 'corrected,' i. e. defaced. Again, those of Hermophilus agree not with these, those of Apollonius not even with themselves. For we can compare what they first prepared with their subsequent additional perversions, and find that they far from harmonize.—Neither can they deny that this is their own daring deed, inasmuch as they are written by their own hand, and they did not so receive the Scriptures from those by whom they were instructed in the Faith, nor can they produce any copies, whence they transcribed them."

[o] S. Augustine (Hær. 70.) and S. Leo, Ep. ad Thurib. c. 16. notice this as a difference between the Priscillianists

it perverteth them. An adulteration by the sense imposed is as much opposed to the truth as a corruption by the pen. Their various presumptions must needs be loth to recognise those things whereby they are refuted. They rely on what they have falsely trumped up[p], or have derived from some ambiguity[q]. What wilt thou gain, O man most practised in the Scriptures, when, if thou affirmest any thing, it is denied, and, on the other hand, if thou deniest any thing, it is affirmed? And thou indeed wilt lose nothing, but thy breath in the dispute, gain nothing, but vexation from their blasphemy.

XVIII. But he, if any such there be, for whose sake thou enterest into a discussion of the Scriptures, that thou mayest strengthen him when wavering, will he incline the more to the truth or to heresies? Being moved by the very fact that he seeth that thou hast advanced not a whit, being on an equal footing in denying and affirming, on a different side, yet, questionless, in a like position, he will depart, rendered more uncertain by the contest, not knowing which to judge the heresy. It is their part, too, surely to retort these things upon us. For they also, who in like manner affirm that the truth is with them, must needs say that the corruptions of the Scriptures and the falsities in the expositions of them have been rather introduced by us[r].

XIX. To the Scriptures therefore we must not appeal; nor must we try the issue on points, on which the victory is

and the Manichees. The Priscillianists pretended to receive the Scriptures, but allegorized them away. S. Irenæus, (3. 12. 11.) having spoken of the Marcionite mutilations of Holy Scripture, says, "all the rest, who are puffed up with science falsely so called, admit the Scriptures, but pervert their interpretation, as we have shewn in the first book."

[p] Apocryphal writings, as the Psalms of Valentinus. de Carne Christi, c. 17. 20. comp. S. Iren. 3. 11. 9.

[q] "But if some of those who follow after heresies venture to employ the prophetic writings, first, they do not employ all, secondly, not as a whole, nor as the substance and context of the prophetic word suggests, but selecting what is spoken ambiguously, they conform these to their own opinion, besprinkling here and there a few texts, not regarding their meaning, but employing the bare letter." Clem. Al. Strom. vii. 16. p. 322. comp. Iren. 2. 10. 1. Neglect of the context is censured by S. Cyprian de Laps. c. 11. p. 139. Oxf. Tr. S. Aug. c. Adim. c. 14. S. Iren. (ap. La C.) "they seek to adapt what was said well, to what themselves have devised ill."

[r] The very rejection of books or parts of the books of Holy Scripture by the heretics implied a charge of falsification by the Church; only they mutually refuted each other; see p. 450, not. n.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 20.

either none, or doubtful, or too little doubtful[s]. For though the debate on the Scriptures should not so turn out, as to place each party on an equal footing, the order of things would require that this question should be first proposed, which is now the only one to be discussed, 'To whom belongeth the very Faith; whose are the Scriptures; by whom, and through whom, and when, and to whom was that rule delivered whereby men become Christians.' For wheresoever both the true Christian rule and Faith shall be shewn to be, there will be the true Scriptures, and the true expositions, and all the true Christian traditions.

XX. Christ Jesus our Lord, (may He suffer me for the moment so to speak,) Whosoever He be, of Whatsoever God the Son, of whatsoever substance both Man and God, of whatsoever faith the Teacher, of whatsoever reward the Promiser, did Himself while He lived in the world, declare what He was, what He had been, of what will of His Father He was the Minister, what He determined should be done by man, either openly to the people, or privately to His disciples, out of whom He had chosen to be attached to His person twelve principal ones, the destined teachers of the *nations*. Wherefore, one of them being struck off, He, when departing to the Father after His resurrection, commanded the other eleven to *go and teach all nations*, who were to be *baptized into the Father, and into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost*. Immediately therefore the Apostles, (whom this title intendeth to denote as 'sent,') having chosen by lot a twelfth, Matthias, into the room of Judas, on the authority of a prophecy, which is in a Psalm of David, having obtained the promised power of the Holy Spirit, for the working of miracles and for *utterance*, first having throughout Judæa borne witness to the faith in Jesus Christ, and established Churches, next *went forth* into the world, and preached the same doctrine of the same Faith to the nations, and forthwith founded Churches in every city, from whence the other

Mark 4, 34.

Mat. 28, 19.

Ps. 109, 8. Acts 1, 20.

Mark 16, 20.

[s] Since the very doubt is their victory, aut parum incerta, Edd. A. V. γ. There is no need then for Rig.'s conjecture, "aut par incertæ," "as good as doubtful."

[t] Scorp. c. 12. "Who shall understand the marrow of Scripture better than the school of Christ itself, whom the Lord hath adopted as His disciples, namely, to be taught all things, and set as masters over us, namely, to teach all things?"

Churches thenceforward borrowed the tradition of the Faith and the seeds of doctrine, and are daily borrowing them, that they may become Churches. And for this cause they are themselves also accounted Apostolical, as being the offspring of Apostolical Churches. The whole kind must needs be classed under their original. Wherefore these Churches, so many and so great, are but that one primitive Church from the Apostles, whence they all spring[x]. Thus all are the primitive, and all Apostolical, while all are one[y]. The communication of peace, the title of brotherhood[z], and the token of hospitality[a] prove this unity, which rights no other principle directeth than the unity of the tradition of the same mystery[b].

[u] "Apostolic Churches" are Churches founded by the Apostles, to which they addressed Epistles, and to which they appointed Bishops, see c. 21. 32. 36. In the adv. Marc. iv. 5. as here, T. distinguishes those joined on to them; "I say then, among them, and not the Apostolic only, but among all who are confederated with them through the participation of the Sacrament, &c." So S. Aug. de Doctr. Christ. ii. 8. "In the Canonical Scriptures, let him follow the authority of as many Catholic Churches as he can ascertain, and among these, such to whom it has been vouchsafed to have Apostolic sees, and receive their Epistles. In those Scriptures which are not received of all, let him prefer those, received by the greater number, and the weightier authorities, to those, held by the fewer and less weighty." and de Bapt. c. Donat. ii. 16. "Why do ye not communicate with Churches, the Apostolic Epistles to whom ye have and read, and say ye live after their rule." add c. Petil. ii. 16. c. Crescon. iii. 15. lib. post Collat. c. 2. So Sozom. i. 16. calls Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, together, Apostolic seats; S. Cyril, (ih. iv. 24.) and Juvenalis, (Conc. Eph. Act. 4. ap. Lup.) Jerusalem; Greg. M. (Ep. 5. 39.) Antioch. (see Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, Supp. 4. §. 8.) Since, further, all Bishops are successors of the Apostles, and have their authority from them, every Bishopric is an "Apostolic seat." C. Lupus gives the following instances, among others, Paulin. Ep. ad Victric., of Rouen; Radegundis, ap. Greg. Turon. ix. 42. of Tours; Conc. 6. Act. 18. of Constantinople; as also Amphiloch. in Vit. Basil. On the eminence of the Church of Jerusalem, "the Mother of all Churches," see Synod. Ep. of Counc. of Constant. in Theodor. H. E. v. 9. (comp. S. Iren. 3. 12. S. Jerome in Is. 2. although speaking of Apostolic times only) quoted by Barrow, l. c. Supp. 1 fin.

[x] S. Cyprian. Ep. 55. ad Anton. 6. 14. "Whereas there is one Church from Christ, divided into many members through the whole world, &c."

[y] Sic omnes prima et omnes Apostolicæ, dum una omnes. Prohant unitatem communicatio, &c. Dr. Routh has been followed in restoring the text before Rig. except that prima has been adopted from the Cod. Ag., as he did 'una.' The interpunction is Dr. Routh's.

[z] See ab. Apol. c. 39. p. 82, and note p. The Donatists fell under this mark, refusing to acknowledge the Catholic Church as brethren, "To those who say 'Ye are not our brethren,' say 'Ye are our brethren,' &c. Aug. Enarr. 2. in Ps. 32. Lib. post Collat. c. ult. adv. Gaud. ii. 11. Collat. Carth. iii. 23. S. Chrysostom implies that the title, amid the growing luxury, was becoming disused. Hom. in verba Nolo vos ignorare. §. 3. t. 3. p. 233. Lact. speaks of it as in use, v. 16.

[a] The "literæ formatæ;" see Bingham, 2. 4. 5. Sozom. v. 16. Julian "is said to have specially admired the formulæ of the Episcopal letters, whereby strangers, whithersoever going and coming to whomsoever it might be, were on the attestation of this mark, reciprocally received in hospitality, and diligently cared for, as well-known and dear friends." comp. S. Basil Ep. 190.

[b] The whole sacred truth of the Gospel (as in Eph. iii. 34 sqq.) embodied in the Creed. S. Augustine (Gesta Coll. Carth. iii. 230. quoted by Lupus)

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 21.

XXI. On this principle therefore we shape our rule: that, if the Lord Jesus Christ sent the Apostles to preach, no others ought to be received as preachers than those whom Christ appointed: for *no man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son hath revealed Him.* Mat. 11, 27. Neither doth the Son seem to have revealed Him to any other than to the Apostles, whom He sent to preach, to wit that which He revealed unto them. Now what they did preach, that is, what Christ did reveal unto them, I will here also rule, must be proved in no other way than by those same Churches which the Apostles themselves founded; themselves, I say, by preaching to them as well vivâ voce[c] (as men say), as afterwards by Epistles. If these things be so, it becometh forthwith manifest that all doctrine, which agreeth with these Apostolic Churches, the wombs and originals of the faith, must be accounted true, as without doubt containing that which the Churches have received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God: and that all other[1] doctrine must be judged at once to be false, which savoureth things contrary to the truth of the Churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ, and of God. It remaineth therefore that we shew whether this our doctrine, the rule of which we have above declared, be derived from the tradition of the Apostles, and, from this very fact, whether the other doctrines come of falsehood. We have communion with the Apostolic Churches, because we have no[2] doctrine differing from them. This is evidence of truth.

[1] reliquam *restored*

[2] nulla *restored*

XXII. But since the proof of this is so short, that, if it be brought forward at once, there would be no farther question to be treated of, let us for a while, as though it were not brought forward by us, give place to the other party, if they think that they can do any thing towards invalidating this

blends this note with the Apostolic succession. "Thou askest me, whence my communion taketh its beginning. The Lord Christ Himself maintaineth the beginning of my communion, saying, 'Christ must needs suffer and rise from the dead the third day, and repentance and remission of sins be preached in His Name in all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.' That preaching began from Jerusalem; thence, from a most glorious beginning it spread abroad, spreading abroad that Church which we hold; first, near, then, afar, it came even to Africa. Into this we were born, &c.

[c] 2 Thess. 2, 15. "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our Epistle."

rule. They are wont to say that 'the Apostles did not know all things[d],' being moved by the same madness whereby they turn about again and say that 'the Apostles did indeed know all things, but did not deliver all things to all[e]:' in either case subjecting Christ to reproach, in that He sent Apostles with either too little instruction or too little simplicity. Who then of sound mind can believe that they were ignorant of any thing[f], whom the Lord appointed as masters[g], keeping them undivided in attendance, in discipleship, in companionship; to whom *when they were alone, He expounded all things* that were dark, saying that *to them it was given to know the mysteries*, which the people were not permitted to understand? Was any thing hidden from Peter, who was called the *rock*[h] whereon the Church should be built, who obtained *the keys of the kingdom of heaven*[i], and the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth? Was any thing moreover hidden from John, the most beloved of the Lord, who *leaned upon His breast*, to whom alone the Lord pointed out beforehand Judas that should betray Him, whom He commended unto Mary as a son in His own stead? Of what would He have those be ignorant to whom He even manifested His glory, and Moses and Elias, and moreover the voice of the Father from Heaven, not as casting a reproach upon the rest, but because *in three witnesses shall every word be established?* Therefore they also were ignorant, to whom even after His resurrection He deigned to *expound all the Scriptures* as they journeyed! Certainly He had once said, *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now:* yet by adding, *when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth*, He sheweth that they were ignorant of nothing, who He had promised should attain unto *all truth*, through *the Spirit of truth:* and verily He fulfilled the promise, seeing that the Acts of the Apostles prove the descent of the Holy Spirit: the which Scripture they who

Mark 4, 34. Mat. 13, 11. Mat. 16, 18. ver. 19. John 21, 20. John 13, 25. John 19, 26. Mat. 17, 1 et seq. Deut. 19, 15. 2 Cor. 13, 1. Luke 24, 27. John 16, 12, 13.

[d] S. Iren. 3. 3. 1. 11. ult., 12. 7.

[e] S. Iren. 3. 5.

[f] Exh. ad Cast. c. 4. "The Apostles have, in a special way, the Holy Spirit, having it plenarily in the works of prophecy, and of working of miracles, and in the evidences of tongues, not partially, as others." comp. S. Iren. 3. 1.

[g] Scorp. c. 12.

[h] "i.e. through him." So T. explains himself, de Pudic. c. 21. see further, Note Q, at the end of this Treatise.

[i] See Note R, at the end.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 23.

receive not[i], can neither be of the Holy Spirit, seeing that they cannot acknowledge that the Holy[1] Spirit hath yet been sent to the disciples; nor can they even maintain themselves[k] to be the Church, seeing that they have not wherewithal to prove when and with what beginnings this body was established. For they are well content to have no proofs of those things which they do maintain, lest there be let in at the same time exposures of those things which they speak falsely.

[1] Sanctum *restored*

XXIII. They allege, therefore, in order to fix some charge of ignorance on the Apostles, that Peter, and they who were with him, were rebuked by Paul. 'Something therefore,' say they, 'was wanting in them;' that they may build hereupon this also, that a fuller knowledge might have been afterwards added, such as came to Paul, who rebuked those who went before him. Here also I[2] may say to those who set aside the Acts of the Apostles, 'You must first shew who this Paul was, and what before he was an Apostle, and how an Apostle,' inasmuch as they make the greatest use of him[l] in other questions also. For though he himself declares that he became from a persecutor an Apostle, this sufficeth not for any that believeth only on examination, seeing that even the Lord Himself did not bear witness of Himself. But let them believe without the Scriptures, in order that they may believe against the Scriptures; still let them shew from that which they allege, the rebuking namely of Peter by Paul, that another form of Gospel was introduced by Paul besides that which Peter and the rest had put forth before. But when, changed from a persecutor to a preacher, he is presented to the brethren by brethren as one of the brethren, and presented to them by those who had been clothed[m] with faith at the Apostles' hands,—then,

[2] possum

John 5, 31.

[i] The Marcionites, who received only St. Luke's Gospel in a mutilated form, and ten of St. Paul's Epistles, adv. Marc. iv. 5. Epiph. Hær. 42. §. 9. "If even herein [the subject of the Ep. to the Gal.] the Acts of the Apostles agree with Paul, it appeareth straightway why ye reject them; namely, as preaching no other God than the Creator, nor Christ from any other than the Creator; inasmuch as neither is the promise of the Holy Spirit proved to have been fulfilled, except by the document of the Acts." adv. Marc. v. 2.

[k] Sed nec Ecclesiam se defendere, A. V. The Edd. Ante-Rig. have "se dicant [dicant se γ] defendere." Rig. struck out se also.

[l] S. Iren. 3. 13. and 14. Perhaps also this may be one meaning of 2 Pet. 3, 16.

[m] as in Gal. 3, 17. "have put on Christ."

as he himself relateth, he *went up to Jerusalem to see Peter*, to wit, because of his office, and by right of a common faith and preaching. For they too would not have wondered at his becoming a preacher from being a persecutor, if he had preached any thing contrary to them, nor would they have moreover *glorified God*, for the coming of His enemy Paul unto them. Wherefore also they *gave the right hand* to him, the sign of concord and *fellowship*, and appointed among themselves a distribution of office, not a division of the Gospel; that each should preach, not a different Gospel, but to different persons, Peter to *the circumcision*, Paul to *the heathen*. But if Peter was reproved because, after having lived with the Gentiles, he separated himself from their company out of respect for persons, surely this was a fault in his conversation, not in his preaching[n]. For no other God was hereby preached than the Creator, no other Christ than the Son of Mary, no other hope than the Resurrection[o].

Gal. 1, 18. ver. 24. Gal.2,9. Ibid. ver. 12, et seq.

XXIV. I am not good enough, or rather I am not bad man enough, to set the Apostles the one against the other. But since these most perverse persons put forward this rebuke to the end that they may render suspected the doctrine before delivered, I will make answer[p] as it were for

[n] adv. Marc. v. 3.

[o] Marcionite heresies, see below, c. 26.

[p] Tert. makes the same remark, as his own view, adv. Marc. iv. 3. In order to avoid blaming so great an Apostle, S. Clemens Alex. Hypotyp. v. ap. Eus. H. E. i. 12. supposed that the Cephas or Peter in the Ep. to the Gal. was another of the same name as this Apostle; so others, ap. Gregory M. in Ezek. l. ii. Hom. 6. §. 10. S. Jerome ad loc. S. Aug. who argue against it. Origen, (in his Comm. on the Ep. to the Gal. Strom. l. 10.) followed, S. Jerome says, (Ep. 112. ad Aug.) by S. Chrysostome, (see ad loc. p. 38. Oxf. Tr.) and "other Commentators in succession," (S. Aug. Ep. 82. §. 23. thinks he means specifically Didymus, Eusebius Emisenus, Theodorus Heracleotes, whose works S. Jerome said he had used in his Commentary, ap. Aug. Ep. 75. §. 4.) and Theodoret (ad loc.) suppose S. Peter to have so acted in order to give an example of submission to S. Paul's rebuke, and so give it the more weight. S. Cyril Alex. thinks that it was an unblameable condescension to the infirmities of the brethren, and that S. Paul only warned him, fearing it might be misunderstood. (in Jul. ix. fin.) On the other hand, S. Cyprian, (Ep. 71. ad Quint.) and more at length S. Augustine, following, as he says, (Ep. 82. §. 24.) him and S. Ambrose, suppose (as Tert. c. 23.) that it was "a fault in his conversation;" S. Augustine being moved by reverence to Holy Scripture, regarding the other interpretation as doing violence to the plain meaning of its words, 'because he was to be blamed,' Ep. 28. 40. and most fully Ep. 82. S. Aug. was followed by S. Greg. M. in Ezek. ii. Hom. 6. §. 9. S. Jerome himself, in later life, took the passage in the obvious sense, "If the Apostle himself (S. Paul) says of Peter that he did not walk rightly in the truth of the Gospel, and was so much to be

De Præscr. Hær. xiv. 25. 1 Cor. 9, 22. 20.

Peter, that Paul himself said that he was *made all things to all men, to the Jews a Jew*, to those who were not Jews not a Jew, that he might *gain* all. And so they were wont, according to the times, persons, and reasons concerned, to reprove certain things, which they themselves as much approved according to the times, persons, and reasons concerned. It is as though Peter too should reprove Paul, because, forbidding circumcision, he himself circumcised Timothy[q]. Away with those who pass judgment on Apostles. Well that Peter is made equal to Paul even in his martyrdom! But although Paul was *caught up to the third Heaven*, and, *carried into Paradise*, there heard certain things, these cannot be thought to be such as to make him more fully instructed to teach some other doctrine, seeing that such was the nature of them, that they might be disclosed to no man. But if a something transpired[l] so as to be known of any one, and any heresy declareth that it followeth this, either Paul is guilty of betraying his secret, or it must be shewn that some other also was afterwards *caught up into Paradise*, to whom it was permitted to speak out those things, which for Paul it was *not lawful to utter*.

2 Cor. 12, 4.

[l] emanavit

Ibid.

XXV. But, as we have said[r], there is the same senselessness, when they confess indeed that the Apostles were ignorant of nothing, and did not preach doctrines differing the one from the other, but yet will have it that they did not reveal all things to all men, for that they committed some

blamed, that Barnabas also was led into the same dissimulation, who shall resent that that is denied to him, which the chief of the Apostles had not?" c. Pelag. i. 22.

[q] "If any approve not of this explanation, according to which it is shewn that on the one hand Peter sinned not, nor on the other did Paul rebuke unbecomingly an elder, he is bound to explain how Paul consistently blamed in another what he did himself." S. Jer. in loc. and more at length Ep. 112. ad Aug. §. 8—11. S. Aug. answers, "It was not with the same dissembling that the Apostle Paul either circumcised Timothy, or himself performed some sacred offices after the Jewish ritual; but with that liberty of opinion wherewith he maintained that circumcision neither benefitted the Gentiles, nor injured the Jews. Whence he laid down that neither should those be constrained to the practice of the Jews, nor the Jews be held back from that of their fathers. (1 Cor. 7, 18.)—With this liberty did Paul observe the ritual of his fathers, guarding and warning against this only, that it should not be thought that Christian salvation was null without it. But Peter, by his dissimulation, compelled the Gentiles to judaize, as though salvation was in Judaism, as the words of Paul shew, 'Why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as Jews?' For they had not been compelled, had they not seen him observe it, as though salvation could not be had without it." de Mendac. §. 8.

[r] c. 22.

things openly and to all the world, other some secretly and to a few[s], because Paul used this expression also to Timothy, *O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust;* and again, *that good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep.* What was this secret committed to him, that it should be accounted another doctrine? Was it a part of that *charge* of which he said, *This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy?* and of that commandment, of which he saith, *I give thee charge in the sight of God, Who quickeneth all things, and Jesus Christ, Who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, keep the commandment?* But what was the *commandment* and what the *charge?* From that which is written before and after, it is plainly seen, not that some dark hint touching a more secret doctrine was given in these words, but rather that it was urged upon him not to admit any other doctrine than that which he had heard from the Apostle himself, and (as I think) openly, *before many witnesses*, as he saith. By which *many witnesses* if they will not have it that the Church is meant, it mattereth nothing, since nothing can be secret, which was brought forward *before many witnesses.* Nor again, because he would have him *commit these things to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also*, is this to be understood as a proof of any hidden Gospel. For when he saith, *these things*, he speaketh of things concerning which he was at the time writing: but of hidden things, as being absent in the thoughts within, he would have said, not '*these*' but 'those.'

1Tim.6, 20. 2Tim.1, 14. 1Tim.1, 18. 1Tim.6, 13. 2Tim.2, 2. Ibid.

XXVI. Moreover it followed that to whom he committed the ministration of the Gospel he would give this command besides, that it should not be ministered[t] every where nor without discretion, according to the word of the Lord, that he should not *cast a pearl before swine*, nor *that which is holy unto dogs.* The Lord *spake openly*, without any hint of any hidden mystery. He had Himself commanded that what they heard *in darkness* and in secret, they should *preach in the light* and *on the housetops.* He had Himself foreshewn, by a parable, that they should not keep back and *hide* without *usury one pound*, that is, one word of His.

[t] administrandum A. V.

Mat. 7, 6. John18, 20. Mat.10, 27. Mat.25, 18. 27.

[s] Iren. 3. 14. 2.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 27. Mat. 5, 15.

He Himself taught that *a candle* was not wont to be thrust away *under a bushel*, but to be *placed on a candlestick*, that it may *give light unto all that are in the house*. These things the Apostles either neglected, or very ill understood, if they fulfilled them not, hiding somewhat of the *light*, that is, of the word of God, and the mystery of Christ. They feared, I am well assured, no one; neither the violence of the Jews nor of the Gentiles[t]. Much more then would they, who were not silent in the synagogues and in the public places, preach freely in the Church. Yea they would not have been able either to convert the Jews, or to bring in the Gentiles, if they had not *set forth in order the things which* they wished should be *believed* of them. Much less would they have kept back any thing from Churches already believing, that they might commit it privately to a few other persons. Although, even if they did discourse of certain things among their household friends, so to speak, yet it is not to be believed that they were such things as would bring in another rule of faith, differing from and contrary to that which the Catholic Churches[u] published to the world: so that they should speak of one God[x] in the Church, another in the private house; and should describe one substance of Christ openly, another in secret; should declare one *hope of the resurrection* before all, another before the few: seeing that they themselves, in their own Epistles, *besought* men that they would all *speak* one and *the same thing*, and that there should be *no divisions* and dissensions in the Church, because they, whether Paul or others, preached the same things. And besides, they remembered, *Let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil;* to wit, that they should not handle the Gospel in different ways.

Luke 1, 1.

1 Cor. 1, 10.

Mat. 5, 37.

XXVII. If therefore it is not to be believed either that the Apostles were ignorant of the fulness of the doctrine, or that they did not make known to all the whole order of the rule of faith, let us see whether perchance the Apostles taught it simply and fully, but the Churches, through their own fault,

[t] S. Iren. 3. 12. §. 10. 13.

[u] Catholicæ, A. V. γ. Catholice, Edd. Ante-Rig. "which they published to the world Catholically."

[x] See above, c. 23. fin.

received it otherwise than the Apostles set it forth. All these incentives to curious doubt thou mayest find put forward by the heretics. They remember that the Churches were rebuked by the Apostle, *O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?* and, *ye did run so well: who hindereth you?* And the very commencement of the Epistle, *I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him, that called His own in grace, unto another Gospel.* Likewise that which was written to the Corinthians, that they were *yet carnal*, and to be *fed with milk*, not being yet *able to bear meat;* who *thought that they knew* somewhat, when they *knew nothing yet as they ought to know.* When they object to us that the Churches were reproved, let them believe that they were amended: and let them also remember those, concerning whose *faith* and *knowledge* and conversation[y] the Apostle *rejoiceth*, and *giveth God thanks*, which nevertheless at this day join with those which were reproved, in the privileges of one instituted body.

Gal. 3, 1. Gal. 5, 7. Gal. 1, 6. 1 Cor. 3, 1, et seq. 1 Cor. 8, 2.

XXVIII. Well then: be it that all have erred; that the Apostle also was deceived in the testimony he gave in favour of some[1]; that the Holy Spirit had regard to no one of them so as to *guide* it *into truth*, although for this sent by Christ, asked of the Father, that He might be the Teacher of truth; that He, the Steward of God, the Deputy of Christ, neglected His office, suffering the Churches the while[z] to understand differently, to believe differently, that which He Himself preached by the Apostles—is it probable that so many Churches, and so great, should have gone astray into the same Faith? Never is there one result among many chances: the error in the doctrine of the Churches must needs have varied[a]. But where one and the same thing is found amongst many, this is not error but tradition. Let any one then dare to say that those were in error who delivered it.

[1] quibusdam *restored*

XXIX. In whatever way the error came, error, I suppose,

[y] Rom. 1, 8. 15, 14. 16, 19. Eph. 1, 15. Phil. 1, 3—6. Col. 1, 4—8. 1 Thess. 1, 3. 5—10. 2 Thess. 1, 3. 4.

[z] Until the heretics arose, to correct the error, see c. 29. beg.

[a] Nullus inter multos eventus unus exitus. Variasse debuerat error doctrinæ Ecclesiarum. The interpunction is Dr. Routh's. The reading that of Gel. Pam. A. V. γ. except that A. omits "unus exitus," (probably from the ὁμοστίλιυτον *tus*,) Gel. Pam. have *est* exitus.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 30.

reigned as long as there were no heresies. Truth waited for certain Marcionites and Valentinians that it might be set free. Meanwhile the Gospel was wrongly preached; men wrongly believed; so many thousands of thousands were wrongly baptized; so many works of faith were wrongly wrought; so many miracles, so many gifts wrongly in operation; so many priesthoods, so many mysteries[b] wrongly executed: finally, so many martyrdoms wrongly crowned! Or if it were not wrongly and to no purpose, what shall we say of this, that the things of God were going forward before it was known of what God they were? that there were Christians before Christ was found? heresy before true doctrine[c]? Whereas in all things the truth goeth before its copy, the likeness cometh after the reality. But it is sufficiently absurd that what came first in doctrine should be accounted the heresy, were it only that it is this which declared beforehand that men must beware of heresies which should be hereafter. It was written to a Church of this doctrine, yea the doctrine itself writeth to its own[1] Church, *Though an angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel than that which we have preached, let him be accursed.*

[1] suam *restored* Gal.1,8.

XXX. Where then was Marcion, the ship-owner of Pontus, the zealous disciple of Stoicism? where was Valentinus, the follower of Platonism? for it is agreed that they lived, not so long ago, in the reign, speaking generally, of Antoninus[d], and that at first they believed in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, in the Church of Rome, under the episcopate of the blessed Eleutherus, until, by reason of their ever restless curiosity, with which they infected[e] even the brethren, being once and again expelled[f], (Marcion indeed with the 200

[b] Mysteria, A. V. ministeria, (offices) Edd. Below, (c. 40. init.) V. substitutes "ministeriis" for "mysteriis."

[c] The same argument from the priority of the true doctrine occurs in the de Carne Christi, c. 2. adv. Marc. i. 1. and 20. ii. 1. iv. 5. v. 19. adv. Herm. c. 1. adv. Prax. c. 2. S. Iren. 3. 4. 4. 33. 8. 5. 20. 1. S. Clem. Al. Strom. vii. 17. Eus. H. E. v. 27. Firmilian, Ep. 75. ad Cyprian. §. 3. Pacian. Ep. 3. ad Sympr. init. Epiph. Hær. 75. c. 6. (ap. Lup.) S. Athan. de Conc. Arim. §. 4. p. 78. Oxf. Tr. and note o. Orat. c. Arian. i. §. 8. p. 191. ib.

[d] Justin M. speaks of Marcion as still alive and teaching, in the eleventh year of Antoninus. Apol. i. 26.

[e] Qua fratres quoque vitiabant, Edd. ante-Rig. V. γ. quam—vitabant A. "which the brethren themselves shunned."

[f] S. Irenæus (3. 4. 3.) mentions the relapses of Cerdon, and his final departure from the Church, (ἀφιστάμενος, the old Latin Translation speaks of his *expulsion*, abstentus est.)

sesterces which he had brought into the Church[g],) and being at last condemned to the banishment of a perpetual separation, they sowed abroad the poisons of their doctrines. Afterwards, when Marcion[1], having professed penitence, agreed to the terms offered him, that he should receive reconciliation, on condition that he brought back[h] to the Church the rest also[2] whom he had trained up for perdition, he was prevented by death. For it must needs be that there should *be heresies;* and yet heresies are not on that account a good, because it was necessary that they should exist. As if it were not necessary that evil also should exist! For it was necessary even that the Lord should be betrayed, but woe to the betrayer! lest any one should on this ground also defend heresies. If we must needs examine the genealogy of Apelles also, he is as far from being an ancient as Marcion his instructor and trainer; but going back from the continency of a Marcionite[i], and falling away to a woman, he retired from the presence of his most holy master to Alexandria. Thence returning after certain years in no wise improved, save only that he was no longer a Marcionite, he offended another woman, that Philumene, (whom we have before introduced to notice[j],) a virgin, but afterwards herself also a monstrous prostitute, by the workings of whose evil spirit being beguiled, he wrote "the revelations" which he learned from her. There are yet living in the world those who remember them, even their own disciples and successors, so that they may not deny that they[3] were of a later date. Although, besides this, they are convicted by their works as the Lord hath said. For if Marcion separated the New Testament from the Old, he is later than that which he separated, because he could

[1] idem *omitted*

[2] quoque *restored*

1 Cor. 11, 19.

Mark 14, 21.

[3] se *omitted*

Mat. 7, 16.

[g] "The Gospel of Luke, which we have, is so truly older than Marcion, that Marcion himself too once believed it, at which time also in the first fervour of his faith, he cast in his money into the Catholic Church, which was soon after cast forth with himself, after he fell away from our truth into heresy." adv. Marc. iv. 4.

[h] The same is urged upon Novatian by Dionysius Alex. (Eus. H. E. vi. 45.) They who did so were uniformly received back, S. Cyprian, Ep. 55. ad Anton. quoted by S. Aug. Ep. 93. ad Vincent. §. 41. see Cornelius ap. Cypr. Ep. 49. (ap. Lup.)

[i] Marcion forbidding marriage, (c. 33.) baptized only the "unmarried or separated," adv. Marc. i. 29. iv. 11. 34. see adv. omn. Hær. c. 7.

[k] Apelles held but one First Principle, and that our Lord had a real, not a phantastic, body, yet one taken from the elements, so denying the Incarnation.

[l] c. 6.

De Præscr. Hær. xiv. 31.

not separate save that which was united. Being therefore united before that it was separated, when it was afterwards separated, it shews that the separater was later. So also Valentinus, differently expounding, and amending doubtless, for this very reason sheweth that whatsoever he amendeth, as being faulty before, was before. These men we name as the most remarkable and the most frequent corrupters of the truth. But Nigidius (who he be I know not) and Hermogenes, and many others[1], still walk perverting the ways of God. I wish[2] they would shew me by what authority they have come forward. If they preach another God, why use they the things, and the books, and the names of that God, against Whom they preach[m]? if the same God, why in another way? Let them prove themselves to be new Apostles[n], let them say that Christ came down a second time, that He taught in person a second time, was a second time crucified, a second time dead, a second time raised again: for thus is He wont to make Apostles, and besides to give them the power of working the same miracles, which Himself also worked. I would therefore that their mighty works also should be brought forward[o]; though I acknowledge their mightiest work, whereby they vie with the Apostle by contraries: for those raised men to life from the dead, these make men dead from being alive[p].

[1] qui *omitted*
[2] Cupio

XXXI. But from this digression let me return to putting the prior date to the account of truth, the later to that of falsehood[q], with the support too of that parable, which placeth first the sowing of the good seed of the wheat by the Lord, and bringeth in afterwards the mixture of the barren weed, the wild oats, by His enemy the devil. For it properly representeth the distinction of doctrines, because in other places also the word of God is compared unto seed: so from the very order it is made manifest, that what was first delivered is of the Lord and true, but what was afterwards introduced, foreign and false. This sentence will

Mat. 13, 24.

[m] comp. de Carne Christi, c. 6.

[n] Opt. iii. 11. Pacian. Ep. 3. ad Sympr. init.

[o] S. Iren. 2. 31. §. 2. 3.

[p] comp. de Carne Christi, c. 5.

[q] revertar ad principalitatem veritati, (Edd. ante-Rig. V. ap. Pam.) et posteritatem mendacitati (A. V. γ. Rh. Pa.) deputandam. (Ibid. but that A. has disputandum, which is elsewhere also confused with deputandum as in c. 33 fin. V. has disputabatur for deputabatur.)

stand good against all the latter heresies, which have no conscientious ground of confidence, whereon to claim the truth for their own side.

XXXII. But if there be any heresies, which venture to plant themselves in the midst of the age of the Apostles, that they may therefore be thought to have been handed down from the Apostles, because they existed under the Apostles, we may say, let them then make known the originals of their Churches; let them unfold the roll of their Bishops so coming down in succession from the beginning, that their first Bishop had for his ordainer and predecessor some one of the Apostles, or of Apostolic men, so he were one that continued stedfast with the Apostles. For in this manner do the Apostolic Churches reckon their origin: as the Church of Smyrna recounteth that Polycarp was placed there by John[r]; as that of Rome doth that Clement was in like manner ordained by Peter[s]. Just so can the rest also shew those, whom, being appointed by the Apostles to the Episcopate, they have as transmitters of the Apostolic seed[t].

[r] Iren. 3. 3. 4. "And Polycarp, having not only been taught by Apostles and conversed with many of those who saw our Lord, but by Apostles also been made Bishop in Asia, in the Church at Smyrna, whom in our earliest years we too saw, for he endured long, and in extreme old age departed this life, yielding his testimony [i. e. a martyr], most gloriously and nobly, taught uniformly these things, which also he learnt from the Apostles, which also he delivered to the Church, which also alone are true."

[s] S. Jerome (de Vir. Ill. c. 15.) states this to be "the ordinary Latin opinion that Clemens was the second Bishop, following the Apostle Peter." The opinion may have been founded on the Ep. to S. James, under his name, (if this be so old,) in which he is made to speak of himself as ordained by S. Peter. No other extant writer places him as the immediate successor of S. Peter; most as the third Bishop (exclusive of S. Peter, or the fourth inclusive,) after Linus and Anacletus, S. Irenæus, 3. 3. 3. Eus. H. E. v. 6. iii. 2. 4. 13. and Chron. A. 70. Epiph. Hær. 27. §. 6. S. Jerome, l. c. Ruff. præf. ad Recogn. (Coteler. i. 486.); Ruffinus also implies that this was a prevailing opinion, in that he mentions that some asked how the statement in the Ep. ad Jac. was consistent with the fact, that Linus and Cletus were Bishops at Rome before Clemens, the fact being regarded as undoubted. Others, the Const. Apost. (vii. 46.) S. Augustine (Ep. 53. ad Gener.) and Optatus, l. ii. c. 3. name him as second after Linus and before Anacletus. It is observable that S. Jerome also (adv. Jov. i. and lib. 14. in Is. 52, 13.) names him as the successor of S. Peter, omitting the other two as less eminent; and so Tertullian also may mean that he was ordained by S. Peter, although not as his first successor. Epiphanius leaves it doubtful whether he were consecrated by S. Peter or by Cletus, but says that the succession was unquestionable. (see further, Tillemont, H. E. t. 2. note 1. sur S. Clement.) Cletus is but an abridged name of Anacletus. The only ancient writer who makes them two, is the author of the Carm. adv. Marc. iii. fin. A Greek translation of Jerome de Vir. Ill. has "Cletus" for the Anacletus of the Latin. (not. ad loc. ed. Vallars.)

[t] The same argument from the Apostolic succession occurs in S. Irenæus, 3. 1, 2, 3. and 4. 26. Orig. de Princ. Præf. §. 2. Optat. i. 10. ii. 3. Jerome

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 33.

Let the heretics invent something of the same sort; for after blasphemy what is withholden from them? But even though they invent it, they will advance never a step: for their doctrine, when compared with that of the Apostles, will of itself declare, by the difference and contrariety between them, that it had neither any Apostle for its author, nor any Apostolic man: because, as the Apostles would not have taught things differing from each other, so neither would Apostolic men have set forth things contrary to the Apostles, unless those who learned from Apostles preached a different doctrine! To this test then they will be challenged[1] by those Churches, which although they can bring forward as their founder no one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men, as being of much later date, and indeed being founded daily, nevertheless, since they agree in the same faith, are by reason of their consanguinity in doctrine counted not the less Apostolical. So let all heresies, when challenged by our Churches to both these tests, prove themselves apostolical in whatever way they think themselves so to be. But in truth they neither are so, nor can they prove themselves to be what they are not, nor are they received into union and communion by Churches in any way apostolical, to wit, because they are in no way apostolical, by reason of the difference of the sacred mystery[u] which they teach.

[1] provocabuntur *restored*

XXXIII. To these arguments I add the review of the doctrines themselves, which existed at that time under the Apostles, and were by the same Apostles both brought to light and denounced. For so too will they be the more easily exposed, when they are proved[2] either to have existed at that very time, or to have derived their origin from those, which at that very time did exist. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, noteth some that denied and doubted of the resurrection. This opinion belongeth properly to the Sadducees, Marcion adopteth a part of it, and Apelles, and Valentinus, and whoever else there be that interfere with the resurrection of the flesh. In writing also to the Galatians, he inveigheth against those, who observe and maintain circumcision and the law: this is the heresy of Hebion. In

[2] deprehenduntur

1 Cor. 15, 12.

Gal. 5, 1, et seq.

c. Lucif. fin. Aug. Ep. 53. ad Generos. Fulgent. de Trin. c. 1.
c. Faust. xxviii. 2. c. ep. Fund. c. 4.
[u] c. 22 fin.

instructing Timothy, he setteth a reproach likewise upon such as *forbid to marry:* so teach Marcion and Apelles his followers. In the same manner he toucheth those, who said, *that the resurrection was past already:* this the Valentinians assert of themselves[x]. But besides, when he speaketh of *endless genealogies*, we recognise Valentinus, according to whom that Æon, whoever he be, of a new name, and not of one name[y], generateth of his own Grace[z] Sense and Truth: and these in like manner produce two, Discourse and Life: next, these again generate Man and Church: and these are the first four pairs of Æons. Thence arise ten other Æons, and twelve besides them of strange names[a], to make up the entire fable of thirty Æons. The same Apostle, when he upbraideth those who were *in bondage* to *elements*, pointeth at something of Hermogenes, who, introducing matter as having no beginning, compareth it unto God, Who hath no beginning; and so making the mother of the elements a goddess, may well be in bondage to her, whom he compareth unto God. But John in the Revelation is commanded to chastise them which *eat things sacrificed unto idols*, and *commit fornication*. There are at this day also other *Nicolaitans:* it is called the Caian heresy[b]. But in his Epistle he calleth those especially antichrists, who *denied that Christ was come in the flesh*, and who thought not that Jesus was the Son of God: Marcion maintained the one point, Hebion the other. But the system of the *sorcery* of Simon, which doeth service to angels, was of course itself

1 Tim. 4, 3. 2 Tim. 2, 18. 1 Tim. 1, 4. Gal. 4, 9. Rev. 2, 14. 1 John 4, 3. Ib. 2, 22. Col. 2, 18.

[x] In that they had risen from "the death of ignorance;" this they supposed "they obtained through faith in the Lord when in Baptism they put Him on." adv. Val. c. 19.

[y] "They call him, speaking of his Substance, ἄῤῥητα τίλειον; as a Person, πρόαρχὴ and ἡ ἀρχὴ; also Bythos." adv. Valent. c. 7. "They say that in the invisible and unutterable height there is a perfect Æon, foreexisting; and him they call Proarche and Propator and Bythos." Iren. 1. 1.

[z] "To him, whom they will have to be alone, they yet assign a second person, in him and with him, Ennoia, whom also they moreover call Charis and Sige." ib.

[a] "On the one side Discourse and Life pour out together a Decury of Æons, on the other Man and the Church two more, equalling their parents. For they themselves, together with those ten make as many, as themselves produced. I give now the names of what I called a Decury; Bythos and Mixis; Ageratos and Henosis; Autophyes and Hedone; Acinetos and Syncrasis; Monogenes and Macaria. The twelve will be these, Paracletus and Pistis; Patricos and Elpis; Metricos and Agape; Ainus and Synesis; Ecclesiasticus and Macariotes; Theletus and Sophia." Ib. c. 8.

[b] Iren. 1. ult. Epiph. Hær. 38. c. 2.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 8

also counted among idolatries, and was condemned in Simon himself by the Apostle Peter.

XXXIV. These are, as I think, the different kinds of corrupt doctrines, which, we learn from the Apostles themselves, existed under the Apostles: and yet we find, among so many varieties of perverse teachings, no one school, which mooted any controversy respecting God as the Creator of all things. No one ventured to surmise a second God. Men doubted more readily concerning the Son than concerning the Father, until Marcion introduced, besides the Creator, another God of goodness only: and Apelles made some glorious angel of the higher God, the Creator[a], the God of the law and of Israel, affirming that he consisted of fire; and Valentinus scattered about his Æons, and traced the fault[b] of one Æon down to the first production of God the Creator. To these alone, and to these first, was the truth of the Divine Nature revealed, who obtained forsooth greater privilege and larger grace from the Devil, who in this also wished to rival God, that he might by poisonous doctrines make (what the Lord hath said cannot be) *the disciples above* their *Master*. Let therefore the whole body of heresies choose their times for themselves,—which were when,—so the unimportance be granted of the 'which were when,' they being not of the truth! Surely those which were not named by the Apostles could not have existed under the Apostles: for if they had, they too would have been named, that they too might be repressed. But those which did exist under the Apostles, are, in being named, condemned. Whether therefore those same heresies, which under the Apostles were in a rough form, be now somewhat more

Luke 6, 40.

[a] The received reading "creatorem Angelum" has been preferred to that of A. "Creatorem Angelorum:" in which case it would be, "made some glorious one" of (i. e. belonging to) "the supreme God, Creator of the Angels, the God, &c." The attempt to conform the construction of two neighbouring words, without reference to the whole sentence, is so frequent a source of corruption in MSS. that it seemed most probable that the reading "Creatorem Angelorum" owed its origin to it.

[b] The Ectroma or fall of Sophia from the Pleroma, from whom the Creator was fabled to be descended, see above, c. 7. not. n.

[c] "Quæ quando fuerint, dum non interest quæ quando, dum de veritate non sint." Rigalt has (with A.) "dummodo interest," "so the importance of the 'when' be granted:" but the immediate context is to shew its unimportance, since they were alike condemned, whether of Apostolic date or no: if so, they were mentioned, to be condemned; if not, they were self-condemned, as being later, and so corruptions. The reading of A. however might stand as ironical.

polished, they draw thence their condemnation: or whether those[1] indeed were different, but others rising up afterwards adopted a portion of opinion[2] from them, in sharing with these their doctrine they must needs share also their condemnation, according to the precedent of that definite rule, which was before laid down, touching 'the later date,' whereby, although they had no part in the condemned doctrines, they would be condemned at once on the ground of their age alone, being so much the more corrupt, as not being even named by the Apostles. Whereby it doth the more certainly appear that they are those, which even then were announced as about to come.

[1] illæ *restored*
[2] opinionis *restored*

XXXV. Challenged by us according to these rules and refuted, let all heresies—whether those which are after, or those which are coeval with the Apostles, so long as they differ from them; whether generally or specially noted by them, so long as they are fore-condemned by them—dare themselves also to allege in answer any rules of this kind against our Religion. For if they deny its truth, they are bound to prove that it also is heresy, refuted by the same rule whereby they themselves also are refuted; and at the same time to shew where that truth must be sought, which it is already proved is not with them. Our system is not later, nay, it is earlier than all. This will be evidence of truth, which every where holdeth the first place. It is certainly not condemned, nay, is advocated by the Apostles: this will be proof that it is their own. For that doctrine which they do not condemn, who have condemned every one foreign to them, they shew to be their own, and therefore also advocate it.

XXXVI. Come now, thou that wilt exercise thy curiosity to better purpose in the business of thy salvation, go through the Apostolic Churches[f], in which the very seats of the Apostles, at this very day, preside over their own places[g];

[f] See above, c. 14.

[g] Ign. Ep. ad Rom. init. "Ignatius—to the Church, which presides in the place of the region of the Romans." The χωρίου Ῥωμαιῶν is illustrated by the versio prisca of the sixth Canon of the Council of Nice. (Mansi vi. p. 1127.) "It is the ancient usage that the Bishop of the City of Rome should have the chief authority, so as to govern carefully the places contiguous (loca subrubicaria) and the whole province. But of all things in Egypt let the Bishop of Alexandria have care. In like way also around Antioch and in other provinces let their special privileges be re-

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 36.

in which their own authentic writings[h] are read, speaking with the voice of each, and making the face of each present to the eye. Is Achaia near to thee? thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi, thou hast the Thessalonians. If thou canst travel into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. But if thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, where we also[i] have an authority close at hand. What an happy Church is that! on which the Apostles poured out all their doctrine, with their blood[k]: where Peter

tained to the Metropolitan Churches," and in Ruffinus, H. E. x. 6. "And that in Alexandria and the city of Rome, the ancient usage be retained that the one take care for Egypt, the other for the contiguous Churches. (suburbicariarum Ecclesiarum.)

[h] The expression "authenticæ litteræ" might certainly signify the "originals" i. e. the "autographs" as opposed to "transcripts," as authenticæ tabulæ, rationes, testamentum in Ulp. l. 4. ff. Fa. Ercisc. lib. ult. ff. de Test. ap. Pa. "Græco authentico," (de Monog. c. 11.) the "original Greek," as opposed to the Latin translation. The context, however, implies nothing more than the original Greek, "echoing the voice of each," nor does the argument turn on their having these Epistles, addressed to them, but on their being Apostolic Churches, of which this was a proof. Aug. de Doctr. Christ. ii. 8. "In the canonical Scriptures follow we the authority of the majority of Catholic Churches, among which are such which were accounted worthy to have Apostolic sees and receive Epistles." The "authenticæ litteræ" may also be opposed to the mutilated copies among the heretics, as he says of Cerdon, "of the Apostle Paul he receives neither all the Epistles, nor these whole." adv. omn. Hær. c. 51.

[i] Africa not having any Apostolic Church, but having received the Gospel from Italy. comp. adv. Marc. iv. 5. "What the Romans, *close at hand*, trumpet forth, to whom both Peter and Paul left the Gospel, sealed moreover with their own blood." In like way they of whom S. Irenæus speaks as referring to Rome, are more recent Churches, in its neighbourhood, not themselves Apostolic, (3. 3.) "To this Church, on account of its higher original (potiorem principalitatem, ἀρχη, see Iren. 1. 31. 1. 2. principalis, ἀρχαίος, and 5. 14. 1. and 21. 1.) all Churches must have recourse, i. e. *the faithful who are on all sides.*" In each case, it is as the deposit of traditions that it is appealed to, not as having authority. Innocent I. (Ep. 25. ad Decent. §. 2.) still claims deference to the Roman *deposit* of truth only, and on the same ground. "Who knows not or observes not, that what has been delivered by Peter, the chief of the Apostles, to the Roman Church, and is kept until now, ought to be retained by all; nor ought any thing to be brought in, or superinduced thereon, which hath no authority, or seemeth to derive its precedents elsewhere? especially since it is manifest, that over all Italy, the Gauls, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and the interjacent islands, no one formed Churches except those whom the venerable Apostle Peter or his successors made priests. Or let them find documents, that any other Apostle be found to have been, or have taught, in these provinces. If not they ought to follow that which the Roman Church keeps, from whom they undoubtedly had their origin; lest while they eagerly follow foreign statements, they seem to neglect the fountain-head of their institutions."

[k] The eminent authority of Rome is thus, at first, ascribed not to the personal eminence of St. Peter, or any office peculiar to him, but to its being the Apostolic see of the West, and the depository of Apostolical tradition. Thus, its eminence is here ascribed to its having had three Apostles and Martyrs; in the adv. Marc. iv. 5. two, St. Peter and St. Paul; ("to whom both Peter and Paul," &c. in contrast with the Churches founded by S. Paul only, and subjoining "we have also Churches fostered by John.") So also S. Iren. (3, 3.) "Because it would occupy too much space in a volume of this size to enumerate the successions of all the Churches, we will, by pointing out that

had a like Passion with the Lord; where Paul hath for his crown the same death with John[l]; where the Apostle John was plunged into boiling oil, and suffered nothing, and was afterwards banished to an island. Let us see what she hath learned, what taught, what fellowship she hath had with the Churches of Africa likewise. She acknowledgeth one God the Lord[1], the Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus the Son of God the Creator, born of the Virgin Mary, and the resurrection of the flesh[m]. She joineth the Law and the Prophets with the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles,

[1] Dominum *added*

tradition, and that faith preached unto men, which that greatest and most ancient Church, known to all, founded at Rome by *two* most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, hath from the Apostles, and which hath come down even to us by the succession of Bishops, confound all those, who in any way by self-will, &c. make private conventicles.—The blessed *Apostles*, then, having founded and reared up the Church, delivered the ministry of the Episcopate to Linus." So that Linus is regarded as the successor of both, neither being regarded as Bishop of Rome in a proper sense, (see Barrow on the Supremacy of the Pope, Supp. 3. 4.) Again 3. 1. 1. "When Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding the Church." So Dionysius of Corinth, (ap. Eus. H. E. ii. 25.) writing to the Romans, "Ye have, by an admonition so valuable, again united the planting of the Romans and Corinthians, which was by the hands of Peter and Paul. For both came to our Corinth, and planting us, both alike taught; and alike going to Italy also, and having taught together, they gave their testimony [by martyrdom], at the same time. Eusebius (H. E. iv. 1.) says, "Alexander receives the Episcopate fifth in succession from Peter and Paul," [exclusive of both]. S. Epiphanius (Hær. 27. §. 6.) places both as joint Bishops at the head of the Roman succession; accounts for the varying accounts as to that succession, that it might be that, in the lifetime of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, other Bishops [Linus and Cletus], might have been appointed, on account of their frequent absence, that Clement "might have been compelled to take the Episcopate after the death of the holy Peter and Paul," see Barrow l. c. Supp. 3. §. 10. p. 145.) Paulinus (Perist. ii. 457. xi. 32.) still derives its eminence from both Apostles, although calling it the chair of Peter; Paulla and Eustochium ap. S. Jerome (Ep. 46. §. 8.) say "it is thought blessed, because in it Peter and Paul, leaders of the Christian host, shed their blood for Christ." And the author of the Serm. in Nat. Ap. Pet. et Paul 2. (ap. Aug. App. S. 202.) "The blessed Peter and Paul are eminent among all the Apostles, and excel by a special prerogative of their own. But of them, which is to be preferred to the other, one knows not. For I suppose they were equal in merits who were equal in their suffering.—And where endured they martyrdom? In the city of Rome, which is chief and head among the nations; that, where was the head of superstition, there should repose the head of holiness, and where the chiefs of the Gentiles dwelt, there should the chiefs of the Church die." (On the equality of S. Paul with S. Peter, see also S. Ambrose de Sp. S. ii fin. Ambrosiaster ad Gal. 2, 11. S. Cyril Jer. vi. §. 15. and others ap. Barrow l. c. Supp. 1. p. 124, 5.) S. Augustine, who often refers to Rome as the depository of sound doctrine, yet refers to it in no other way, than he does to Jerusalem, both being witness to Apostolic doctrine, which they had received from Apostles, c. Petil. ii. 21. "But be it that all throughout the whole world were such as thou most idly imputest, what hath the chair of the Roman Church aggrieved thee, where Peter sat, and in which Anastasius now sits, or that of the Church of Jerusalem in which James sat, and in which John now sits, with whom we are bound in Catholic unity, and from whom you in wicked phrenzy have separated?"

[l] the Baptist.

[m] See above, c. 23 and 26.

De Præscr. Hær. xiv. 37.

and thence drinketh in her faith. That faith she sealeth with water, clotheth with the Holy Spirit[n], feedeth with the Eucharist, exhorteth to martyrdom, and so receiveth no one in opposition to this teaching. This is that teaching, which I do not now say foretold that heresies should come, but from which heresies proceeded forth. But these were not of her, from the time when they began to be against her. Even from the seed of the cultivated, rich, necessary olive, the rough wild-olive ariseth: even from the kernel of the most delightful and most sweet fig springeth the empty and useless wild-fig. So also heresies are of our fruit, not of our kind, of the seed of truth, but, through falsehood, wild.

XXXVII. If these things be so, so that the truth be adjudged to belong to us *as many as walk according to this rule*, which the Churches[1] have handed down from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God, the reasonableness of our proposition is manifest, which determineth that heretics are not to be allowed to enter upon an appeal to the Scriptures, whom we prove, without the Scriptures, to have no concern with the Scriptures. For if they be heretics, they cannot be Christians[o], in that they have not from Christ that, which following according to their own choosing, they admit[p] the name of heretics. Therefore, not being Christians, they can have no right to Christian writings. To such it may be justly said, who are ye? when and whence came ye? not being mine, what do ye in that which is mine? In brief, by what right dost thou, Marcion, cut down my wood? by what licence dost thou, Valentinus, turn the course of my waters[q]? by what power dost thou, Apelles, remove my landmarks? This is my possession. Why do ye the rest sow and feed here at your own pleasure? It is my possession; I have held it of old; I held it first: I have a sure title down from the first owners themselves, whose the estate was. I am the heir of the Apostles. As

[1] Ecclesiæ

[n] See de Bapt. c. 13. p. 272. (comp. c. 6. p. 262. and note m.) de Monog. c. 7.

[o] See above, c. 7. 14. 16. de Pudic. c. 7. Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. c. 13. S. Jerom. adv. Lucif. init. Aug. de Civ. D. xviii. 51. Salvian. de gub. Dei iii. fin. iv. init.

[p] admittunt, i. e. in following out their own choice (αἵρεσις) they both receive and admit the names of heretics.

[q] Marcion mutilating the Scriptures, Valentinus perverting them.

they provided by their own testament, as they committed it in trust, as they have adjured[r], so I hold it. You, assuredly, they have ever disinherited and renounced, as aliens, as enemies. But why are heretics aliens and enemies to the Apostles, if not from the difference of doctrine, which each at his own pleasure hath either brought forward or received in contradiction to the Apostles?

XXXVIII. The corruption therefore both of the Scriptures and of the expositions of them must be thither referred, where difference of doctrine is found. Those, who had the purpose of teaching differently, necessity compelled to dispose differently the means of teaching. For they could not otherwise have taught in a different way, unless they held in a different way the means whereby they taught. As they could not have succeeded in corrupting the doctrine without corrupting its instruments, so the genuine doctrine could not have come to us, and from us, without the genuineness of those means whereby the doctrine is handled. For what is there in our Scriptures contradictory to ourselves? What have we introduced of our own that we should, by taking away, or adding, or changing, remedy any detected contrariety to what was in the Scriptures? What we are, that are the Scriptures from their beginning: of them were we, before that any thing existed contrary to that which we are. For, in a word, what was there in being[t] before that these were interpolated by us? But since every interpolation must be believed to be the later,—as coming of rivalry, its essential cause, which is never either prior to, or of one household with, that which it rivalleth,—it is quite as incredible to any man of sense that we should be thought to have introduced a corrupt text into the Scriptures, who are from the first, and the first, as it is that they have not introduced it, who are both later and adverse to them. One man altereth the Scriptures with his hand, another their meaning by his exposition. For though Valentinus seemeth to make use of the entire document[s], he doth not less lay hands upon the truth, though with more cunning skill than Marcion. For Marcion nakedly and openly used the knife not the pen,

[t] quam sumus. Quid denique fuit *restored*

[r] 1 Tim. 6, 13. 2 Tim. 2, 14. 4, 1—4.

[s] of Holy Scripture, integro instrumento.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 39.

since he made havoc of the Scriptures to suit his own matter[t]. But Valentinus spared them, because he did not invent Scriptures to fit his matter, but matter to fit the Scriptures: and yet he took away more and added more, in taking away the proper meanings of each particular word, and in adding systems of things not to be found therein.

Eph. 6, 12. 1 Cor. 11, 18.

XXXIX. These are the arts of *spiritual wickednesses* with which we, brethren, may well look to *wrestle*, necessary for faith, that the elect may be made manifest, the reprobate discovered. And therefore they have power, and a success in inventing and building up errors, not so much to be wondered at as though difficult and inexplicable, seeing that we have ready to hand the case of the same facility even in the writings of this world. Thou seest in our own day a totally different poem composed out of Virgil, the matter being made to harmonize with the verse, and the verse with the matter. In a word, Hosidius Geta hath most completely extracted from Virgil the Tragedy of Medea. A certain near relative of mine, among the other idle sallies of his pen, hath made out from the same poet the Table of Cebes. They too, who out of verses of Homer stitch, patchwork-like, works of their own into one piece out of many scraps brought together from all parts, are wont to be called Homeric centones[u]. And surely the Divine writings are more fruitful in resources for every kind of subject. Nor am I afraid to say that the Scriptures themselves were so disposed by the will of God as to supply matter for heretics, when I read that *there must be heresies*, which there cannot be without the Scriptures.

1 Cor. 11, 19.

XL. The next question will be, from whom is the interpretation of the sense of those words which contribute to heresies? Why, from the Devil, whose province it is to pervert the truth, who in the mysteries of idols, rivalleth even the very things of the mysteries of God. He too baptizeth[x] some, to wit, his own believing and faithful people; he promiseth a putting away of sin by washing[y]:

[t] cutting away whatever did not fall in with it.

[u] from Irenæus, l. 1.

[x] de Bapt. c. 5. p. 260. and note z. add Aug. adv. Parmen. ii. 10. adv. Petil. i. 9. adv. Cresecon. ii. 25.

[y] See notes l. c. S. Aug. Serm. 197. (ol. Fragm. 5.) "Thence [from pride] are all the rites, which are celebrated by the Pagans, which they say, avail to the cleansing of their souls."

and, if I yet remember right, Mithra there sealeth his soldiers in their foreheads: he celebrateth also the oblation of bread[z], and introduceth a representation of the resurrection[a], and purchaseth a crown under the sword[b]. What shall we say also of his[c] confining the chief priest to marriage with one only? He too hath his virgins[d]: he too hath his self-restraining[e] ones. But if we turn over in our minds the superstitions of Numa Pompilius, if we consider his priestly offices, badges, and privileges, if his sacrificial services, and the instruments and vessels of the sacrifices themselves, and the curious niceties of the expiations and vows, hath not the Devil manifestly imitated that strictness which is in the Jewish Law? He therefore that hath so emulously pretended to set forth, in the concerns of idolatry, the very things wherewith the mysteries of Christ are ministered, that same being surely, and in the same spirit, hath longed[1] and hath been able to adapt to a profane and rival faith the documents also of divine things and of the holy things of Christians, interpretation from interpretation, words from words, parables from parables. And therefore none ought to doubt either that *spiritual wickednesses*, from whence also come heresies, were brought in by the devil, or that heresies are nothing distant from idolatry, seeing that they are of the same author and of the same work as idolatry. They either

[1] gestiit

[z] "Ye know or may know that bread and a cup of water are placed in the sacred rites of him who is initiated," [to Mithra.] Justin. M. Apol. i. §. 66.

[a] Jul Firmicus gives an account of mysteries, which are supposed to be Mithra's, though he does not state it. There one lamented as dead is spoken of as alive. It is not a resurrection, but comes as near as the errors of heathenism as to matter permitted. "Let us set forth another symbol—whereof we must detail the whole order, that all may see, that the law ordained by God has been perversely imitated and corrupted by Satan. On a night, an image is placed recumbent on a bier, and is bewailed in measured dirges. Then when they have sated themselves with the fictitious mourning, light is brought in. Then the faces of all the mourners are anointed by the priest, after which he whispers in a slow murmur. 'Cheer ye, initiated, the god being saved, for we shall have out of toils deliverance?' Why biddest thou the hopeless ones rejoice?—The death of thy god is known, his life appeareth not, nor hath any divine oracle declared his resurrection, nor did he shew himself to men after death, that he might be believed in; he gave no proofs of this work, nor shewed by instances beforehand that he would do it. Thou buriest an idol, bewailest an idol, bringest forth an idol from the sepulture, and, hapless one, having done this, rejoicest." de Err. Prof. Rel. p. 45. 6.

[b] see de Cor. fin. p. 184.

[c] Satan. The allusion is to the Flamen Dialis, see ad Ux. i. 7. Exh. ad Cast. fin. S. Jerome, Ep. 123. ad Ageruch. §. 8.

[d] S. Jer. l. c. adv. Jov. i. 41.

[e] In or after marriage, see ad Ux. i. 6. p. 416. continentia is used as a term contrasted with virginitas, de Virg. Vel. c. 10. as something distinct from it, adv. Marc. v. 15.

De Præscr. Hær. XIV. 41.

imagine another God in opposition to the Creator, or if they confess One Creator, they argue Him to be other than He really is. Wherefore every falsehood which they utter concerning God, is, in some sort, a kind of idolatry[f].

XLI. I will not omit a description also of the very conversation of heretics, how foolish it is, how earthly, how human: without seriousness, without authority, without discipline[g], as according with their faith. In the first place, it is doubtful who is a catechumen, who a believer: they have all access alike, they hear alike, they pray alike. Even if heathens come in upon them, they will *cast that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls*, false though they be, *before swine*. They will have the overthrow of discipline to be simplicity; and the care of it amongst us they call pandering. They huddle up a peace also with all every where. For it maketh no matter to them, although they hold different doctrines, so long as they conspire[h] together in their siege against the one thing, Truth. All are puffed up: all promise knowledge. Their Catechumens are perfected before they are taught. Even the heretic women, how wanton are they! they who dare to teach, to dispute, to enact exorcisms, to promise cures, perchance also to baptize[i]! Their ordinations are careless, capricious, inconsistent. At one time they place in office *novices*[k], at another men tied to the world[l], at another apostates from us, that they may bind them to themselves by vain-glory, since they cannot by truth. No where is promotion readier than in the camp of rebels, where, even to be there, is a merit. Wherefore one man is Bishop to-day, another to-morrow; to-day Deacon, who to-morrow will be Reader: to-day Presbyter, who to-morrow will be Layman; for even to laymen they commit the priestly offices.

Mat. 7, 6.

1 Tim. 3, 6.

[f] "omne mendacium, quod de Deo dicunt, quodammodo genus est idololatriæ." This is the reading not of the eod. Ag. only, but "partly of the Vat. partly of the MS. Angl." in Pam. Gel. also has "genus est idol." Rhen. had de Deo, *vel natio* quodammodo *sexus* est idoi. (only in ed. 4. *variatio* for *vel natio*.) It is thought that "sexus" may have reference to the male and female Æons. [? "even that classing, in a manner, of the kinds of sex is of idolatry." Tr.]

[g] adv. Valent. c. 1. "it hath no terror of discipline."

[h] see S. Hil. de Trin. vii. 4.

[i] See de Bapt. c. 1. and not. f. and c. 17. and not. g.

[k] Can. Ap. c. 71. al. 80. "It is not right to choose presently for a Bishop, one who hath come from the Heathen and been baptized, or from a disgraceful life." S. Jerome, Ep. ad Ocean. fin. Innocent. 1. Ep. 12. ad Aurel.

[l] i. e. having secular employments.

XLII. But what shall I say concerning the ministry of the word, seeing that their business is, not to convert the heathens, but to subvert our own people? This is the glory which they rather catch at, if perchance they may work the fall of those that stand, not the raising up of those that are fallen: since their very work cometh not of the building up of their own, but of the pulling down of the truth. They undermine ours that they may build their own. Take away from them their railing against[1] the law of Moses, and the Prophets, and God the Creator, they have not a word to utter. So it cometh to pass that they more easily effect the ruin of standing buildings, than the building of fallen ruins. In these works alone do they act humbly, and smoothly, and submissively. But they feel no reverence even towards their own chiefs. And this is why there are commonly no schisms amongst heretics, because, when there are any, they appear not: for schism is their very unity. I speak falsely, if they do not differ among themselves even from their own rules, seeing that each forthwith mouldeth, according to his own pleasure, the things which he hath received, even as he, who delivered them to him, framed them according to his own pleasure[l]. The progress of the matter is a confession of its nature, and of the manner of its birth. The same thing was allowed to the Valentinians as to Valentinus, the same to the Marcionites as to Marcion, namely, to change the faith according to their own pleasure. Finally, all heresies, when thoroughly examined, are found in many things to differ from their own founders. Most of these have not even Churches[m]: without a mother, without a settlement, destitute of a belief, outcasts, they all for themselves as it were[n], they wander far and wide[2].

[l] in legem

[2] quasi sibi, late vagantur *restored*

XLIII. Infamous also are the dealings of the heretics with sorcerers[o] very many, with mountebanks, with astrologers, with philosophers, to wit, such as are given to curious

[1] S. Iren. l. 21. 1. and 5. 28. (30.) S. Athan. de Synod. §. 35.

[m] Hence the saying "Wasps too form tribes, Marcionites too form Churches," describing the strangeness and uselessness, not (as Gibbon) their number.

[n] "As though he had said 'themselves are their all;'" [Tr.] and so, as looking to themselves alone, living to themselves, left to themselves, forsaking the Church and forsaken of God.

[o] Iren. l. 13. 23. 24. 5. 25. 3. Epiph. Hær. 27. §. 3. 4.

De Præscr. Hær. xiv. 44.

questions. They every where remember, *Seek, and ye shall find.* Thus the quality of their faith may be judged even from the nature of their conversation: their discipline is the index of their doctrine. They deny that God is to be feared[p]: therefore all things are free to them, and without control[q]. But where is God not feared, save where He is not? Where God is not, neither is there any truth. Where there is no truth, with good reason is there such discipline as theirs. But where God is, there is *fear* towards *God*, which is *the beginning of wisdom.* Where there is fear towards God, there is a goodly gravity, and an awe-stricken diligence, and an anxious carefulness, and admission[r] well-considered, and communion well-advised[s], and promotion well-deserved[s], and religious submission[t], and devotion in attendance[u], and modesty in going-forth[x], and union in the Church, and God in every thing.

Ps. 111, 10.

XLIV. Hence these proofs of a closer discipline amongst us are additional evidence of truth, to turn aside from which befitteth none who remembereth that judgment to come, when *we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ*, to give an account, in the first place, of our faith itself. What then will they say, who have defiled with the adultery of heresy the virgin committed unto them by Christ?

2 Cor. 5, 10.

ib. 11, 2.

[p] "When they [the heretics] see any offending, they say, 'God seeketh nothing but the truth of the faith, which if ye keep, He careth not what ye do.' So saying, they lift up their minds in iniquity, so that they not only do not perform penitence, nor are humbled, but rejoice in their wickednesses, and walk with a stiff neck." Jerome in Os. 4. ap. Pa.

[q] The licentiousness of Marcion, the Nicolaitans, &c. see c. 33.

[r] to the holy order of Priesthood, of which adleguntur is used, Exh. ad Cast. c. 7. de Idol. c. 7. of the Apostles, ab. c. 20. Lac.

[s] to the Episcopal office, coll. Cypr. [Ep 40. ad Cler.] of the Confessor Numidicus, "promovebitur ad ampliorem locum religionis suæ," [Lac.] see Apol. c. 39.

[t] de Bapt. c. 17.

[u] of the inferior on the elder Clergy, (Rig.)

[x] processio, see ad Ux. ii. 4. p. 426. and note m. It seems to denote the solemn staid way of going forth of one on an earnest purpose, not the "procession" of many together. Thus in the de Cult. Fem. ii. 11. occasions are mentioned in which there would be no "procession" (which also in T.'s time would probably have brought perseeution). "But to you be there no ground for going forth, which is not solemn. (tetrica.) Either one sick among the bretbren is visited, or the sacrifice is offered, or tbe word of God is ministered. Any of these is matter of gravity and sanctity, for which there is no need of any remarkable dress, at once studied and unrestrained." (The modesta processio of this place.) T. goes on to use tbe same words of objects not religious. "And if any claim of friendship or of offices towards heathens eall you, why not go forth (procedatis) clad in your own armour, the more as going to women alien from the faith."

They will allege, I trow, that no warning was ever given them by Him, or by His Apostles, about adverse[y] and perverse doctrines, nor any rule about avoiding and abhorring them! Let them acknowledge that the fault is with themselves rather than with those, who prepared us so long beforehand. They will add moreover divers things touching the authority of each particular heretical teacher: that these more than any confirmed the truth of their doctrine, that they raised the dead, healed the sick, foretold things to come, so that they deserved to be thought Apostles! As if this also were not written, that many should come who should work even the greatest miracles, in defence of the deceit of their corrupt preaching. These therefore shall deserve pardon! while those who, remembering the warnings of the Lord and the Apostles, have stood fast, entire in the faith, will, I suppose, be in danger respecting their pardon, when the Lord answereth, 'I plainly foretold that there should be teachers of false doctrine in My name, and in that of the Prophets and Apostles likewise; and I charged My disciples also to preach the same thing to you. To My Apostles I committed once for all the Gospel, and the doctrine according to that same rule: but when ye believed it not, it was My pleasure afterwards to change some things therein. I had promised the resurrection of the flesh also, but I afterwards considered that I might not be able to fulfil it. I had shewn that I was born of a virgin, but this afterwards was a base thing in My sight. I had called Him My Father, Who maketh the sun and the rain, but another and a better Father hath adopted Me. I had forbidden you to lend your ear to heretics, but I was in the wrong.' Such may be the thoughts of those who go out of the right course, and guard not against the danger whereby the true faith is perilled. Mat. 24, 24.

XLV. And now indeed I have argued against all heresies in general, that they ought to be forbidden by fixed, and just, and necessary rules, to bring Scripture into their dis-

[y] sævis, as in Tac. Ann. ii. 5. "quæ sibi sæva vel prospera evenissent." see Gronov. ad loc. [Tr.] "seris," which Rig. adopts, is but a conjecture of Ursini. "sævus" seems to have been used in the same sense as "scævus" which Jun. would substitute, quoting the Gloss. Vet. "σκαίος, scævus, vanus, pravus," and from which it is thought to have been formed.

DE PRÆSCR. HÆR. XIV. 45.

putes. For the rest, if the grace of God shall permit, I will make answer also to certain of them in particular. To those who, in belief of the truth, read these things . . . ., be peace and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ for ever.

Note P, p. 446.

On the early traces and variations of the Apostles' Creed.

The apparent variations in the Apostles' Creed as recited or alluded to by different Fathers or Churches, has been made a ground for denying its Apostolicity, and even the identity of the Creed in the different Churches. Thus Vossius regards the Apostles', as the Roman, Creed; and seems to look upon the Eastern Creed as formed independently of it. Yet, on comparing the several forms of the Creed, it seems impossible that they could have harmonized as they do, unless they had had some common original; the variation is in words, not in the articles of faith selected; mostly it is apparent, not real; the Creed being recited more or less fully according to the object of the father who recites it, so that in different places it is recited differently by the same father, supplying in one place what he omits in another. The utmost, which these variations prove, is, that we know not in which form and precise words the Creed was verbally delivered by the Apostles; but the very variations, amid the general agreement, the more establish that the substance and general form and outline is Apostolic. The variations imply that the Churches adapted the Creed to their different conditions and the heresies wherewith they were surrounded, and did not borrow from any one a fixed form; or in some subordinate points the wording may have varied as the Creed was handed down; the substantial agreement in the articles selected shews that it was every where formed on the same basis. When then we find at an early period, that this Creed is called "the faith, which the Church received from the Apostles and their disciples," (S. Iren. 1. 10. 1.) the "ancient tradition," "the tradition of truth," "delivered by the Apostles to those to whom they committed the Churches," "written without paper and ink through the Spirit upon the hearts," (ib. 3. 4. 2.) in which way the Creed is especially spoken of, see S. Aug. Serm. 212. in Trad. Symb. fin. Sacr. Gelas. (Ass. cod. Lit. i. p. 11. Sacr. Gall. Vet. ib. p. 11. Chrysol. Serm. 56—61.) "the Apostolic tradition," adv. Marc. i. 23. "the Ecclesiastical preaching delivered through the course of succession from the Apostles, and to this day remaining in the Churches," (Orig. de Princ. init. see above, c. xii. p. 446. and note c.) and find that it was handed down continually in Baptism, it cannot be thought that a formula used thus publicly, continually, solemnly, as the terms of the

Christian Faith, whereby persons were received into it, could have had its beginning at any subsequent period. The very silence about it, from which its non-existence has been inferred, (Voss. Diss. 1. §. 28.) the rather proves that what did exist so early, always existed, and so there was no occasion to notice what was known to all, as that confession, upon which themselves had been made members of Christ.

But the variations, on the one hand, do not in many cases exist at all, in others they are expansions only, evolving the meaning of the original Creed, as does the Nicene itself. The correspondence, often verbal, in what seem to be additions to the original form of the Creed, seems to imply that even these were not added by the particular Churches in which they appear, of their own mind, but were a part of a larger traditionary Creed, which the Church had every where, but did not at once embody. And, in the first instance, it must be observed, 1) that scarcely any of what remain were formal statements of the whole Creed, but recitals of it with a view to existing heresies. The expositions of that of Jerusalem by S. Cyril, that of Aquileia by Ruffinus, and that of Africa by S. Augustine, alone have the appearance of formal Creeds. That of Asia Minor as recited by Eusebius at Nicæa, (Sozom. i. 8.) ends with the article on The Holy Ghost, his only object being to give the received confession of the Trinity. Marcellus of Ancyra, rehearsing, as it seems, the Creed of Galatia, ("this faith having both received from Holy Scriptures, and been taught by our forefathers in God,") has the last clauses, but omits the words "The Father," ("I believe in God Almighty.") Epiph. Hær. 72. c. 3. Arius and Euzoius (ap. Socr. 1. 26.) interweave the last clauses, and have even the word "Catholic," but omit "The forgiveness of sins." The same is the case as to the Creed of Origen, though, in parts, much expanded, (de Princ. init.) the full Ante-Nicene Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus, (Bingh. 10. 5. 5.) that of Lucian, (if his,) (ib. §. 6.) and of Eustathius, &c. (Socr. iv. 12.) of Sirmium, (ib. ii. 30.) of S. Basil, (de Fide, c. 4.) Cassian, (de Incarn. l. 6.) reciting the Creed of Antioch, rehearses only the two first divisions of the Creed. The Author of the Dial. c. Marc. ap. Orig. though probably posterior to the Council of Nice, (see Præf. Bened.) gives a compendium, containing the ὁμοούσιος of the Nicene Creed, yet else presenting only certain chief Articles of the Faith, presupposing the rest. "I believe there is One God, the Creator and Maker of all things, and God the Word, Who is of Him, Consubstantial, Coeternal, Who in the last times took man of Mary, Who was also crucified and rose from the dead. I believe also in the Holy Ghost, Coeternal." (init.) The Nicene Creed itself closes with the words, "I believe in the Holy Ghost," not, certainly as not having the other articles, but the fathers of the Nicene Council, having for their object to oppose heresy as to the Son only, stop short with the words which complete the confession of the Trinity. The remaining part is left to be supplied out of the existing Creeds, as it occurred in the contemporary Arian Creeds. (Bingham, 10. 6. 14.) S. Irenæus and Tertullian give in great measure the words, but still are incorporating the Creed into their own discourse. 2) Not only in these cases, but even

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

in more formal professions of faith at Holy Baptism, it was, long after, the practice to recite the Creed in an abridged form. Thus the Gelasian Sacramentary in a MS. at the end of the eighth century, (Ass. Cod. Lit. ii. 5.) the Gregorian (ib. 9. from MS. of the middle of the ninth century,) and the Ordo Romanus, (ib. 17.) run thus; "Dost thou believe in God The Father Almighty? I believe. Dost thou believe also in Jesus Christ His Only Son our Lord, that He was born and suffered? I believe. Dost thou believe in The Holy Ghost; the Holy Church; remission of sins; resurrection of the flesh? I believe." In the Ambrosian Ritual, (ib. ii. 46.) the first and third interrogatories are as full as at present; but the second remains equally abridged. In the Coptic (ib. i. 159.) it is rehearsed thus, "Let the deacon tell him the faith and say thus, 'I believe in One God, the Father Almighty, and His Only-Begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and the Holy Ghost, the Giver of life, the resurrection of the flesh, and in one only Holy Catholic, Apostolic Church, which is His. Amen.'" In the Armenian, (ib. 172.) the faith is thus professed, "I believe in the All-holy Trinity, in The Father, and in The Son, and in the All-holy Ghost," and then after the three-fold interrogation, "Believest thou?" there follows the direction, "They recite the whole (Nicene) Creed," but in another form (ii. 203.) instead of that abridged form, there occurs one altogether paraphrastic, "We believe in the All-holy Trinity, in The Father and The Son and The Holy Ghost, in the Annunciation of Gabriel, in the conception by Mary, in the Nativity of Christ, in the Baptism, in the feast, in the voluntary Passion, in the Session at the right hand of The Father, in the Crucifixion, the three-days Burial, the blessed Resurrection, the Ascension into the form of God, His terrible and glorious coming." The abridged form occurs also in S. Cyril Jer. and that, in the same place as in the Ordo Romanus, the Coptic, and Armenian, just after the renunciation of Satan; and, a second time, in the same place as in the Gelasian and Ambrosian, just before the act of Baptism. (Cat. 19. §. 9.) "I believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and one Baptism of repentance," "each of you was asked, whether he believeth in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." Vigil. Taps. de Trin. xii. p. 799. "that great and blessed confession of faith, yea, the very faith of the Saints, and that covenant wherein we engaged to The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, coming to the sacred washing of regeneration, confessing thus; "I believe in God, The Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ His Only-begotten Son, and in The Holy Ghost." The heretic Eunomius gives "a holy tradition which was in force, from of old, from the fathers," the form, "We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, from Whom are all things, And in One Only-Begotten Son of God, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, and in One Holy Spirit, The Comforter, in Whom the distribution of all grace is given to each of the Saints, according to the proportion, to profit withal." Apol. ap. Fabric. B. G. v. 23. t. 8. p. 267. There is then such evidence of the Creed being rehearsed in an abridged form, that its so occurring elsewhere, cannot in itself furnish any proof, that it did not exist in a fuller. This must weigh much in examining the following evidence.

The first supposed omission is that of the clause "Maker of heaven and earth." This is inferred to have been wanting in the Roman Creed, because S. Leo recites it thus, (Ep. 28. [ol. 10.] c. 2.) [Eutyches] "ought at least to have listened thoughtfully to the common and unvarying confession, which the whole multitude of believers confesseth, that it 'believes in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus, His Only-begotten Son, our Lord, Who was born of The Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,' by which three enunciations the devices of almost all heretics are undone." Yet since S. Leo was not reciting the whole Creed, but only so much as in itself refuted the heresy of Eutyches, it is as likely that he omitted what did not bear upon his immediate object, thus bringing together more vividly that wherein the doctrine impugned was contained. Again, the same has been inferred because Novatian begins thus, "The Rule of Truth requires that, first of all, we believe in God the Father and Lord Almighty, i. e. the All-perfect Creator of all things, Who hung the heaven in its glorious height, and compacted the earth," &c. as though he would not have added it, as an explanation, if it had been part of the original Creed. But neither is Novatian reciting the Creed in a formal, but rather in a paraphrastic, way, and on the contrary it would appear that mention of the Creation was made in the Creed to which he was referring (the Roman), in that he mentions it thus, and sums up this part, "This God then we acknowledge and know the Creator of all things." (c. 3.)

It seems more probable that the clause was wanting in the Creed of Aquileia, since Ruffinus is professing to explain the Creed, "following that order which we received in the Church of Aquileia in the grace of Baptism." He certainly neither mentions nor comments on the words; yet on the other hand, neither does he remark any difference herein from the Eastern Church, with which he does compare this article; and yet we know from S. Cyril Jerus. from whom he took much of his commentary, that there was a clause here speaking of the Creation. Further we know that there was such a clause in the African Creed, since Tertullian alludes to it here and in the de Vel. Virg. c. 1. "mundi conditorem;" and he asserts more largely, (adv. Marc. 1. 21.) "You will find no Church of Apostolic origin, which doth not make Christians in the Name of the Creator," (quæ non in Creatore Christianizet.): S. Cyprian also, referring to the formula of Baptism, asks, "Does he [Marcion] maintain the Same Father, the Creator, as we?" (Ep. 73. ad Jubaian.) S. Augustine equally, who himself has, in one place, (Serm. 215.) "Creator of all things," in two others (Serm. 212. 214.) does not mention any such clause formally as part of the Creed, but presently adds, "Creator of things visible and invisible," "made all creatures visible and invisible," &c. as he afterwards often introduces the articles of the Creed which he is explaining, not formally, but blended with his own Comment. Again, in the statement of "the Catholic faith" prefixed to the Lib. Imp. de Gen. ad lit. (c. 1.) he begins, "It" [the Catholic Faith] "is this, that God The Father Almighty made and formed all creation [there follows "visible and invisible"] through His Only-begotten Son," &c. But in a fifth place, (de Fid. et Symb.) though

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

he speaks of the Creation, he uses no words of the Creed, which yet it is clear he had. In like way Chrysologus omits it in every place, (Serm. 57—62. B. P. vii. 889 sqq.) and takes no notice of it in his comment, yet the ground manifestly was to connect more closely the Doctrine of the Co-eternal Existence of The Father and The Son. Among the heretics, having been mentioned in the 5 Antioch Confessions, and the 1st of Sirmium, it is omitted in Sirm. 2. and at Nice, inserted at Seleuc. (S. Ath. de Syn. §. 23. p. 106 sqq. Oxf. Tr.) and by Acacius, (Socr. ii. 40.) and Pseudo-Sard. S. Hil. de Syn. §. 34.

The Creation is distinctly mentioned in the Gallican Creed, (S. Iren. i. 10. "in One God the Father Almighty, Who made heaven and earth and the sea, and all things therein[a],") by Origen (de Princ. Præf.) Adamant. (Dial. c. Marc. ap. Orig. T. 1 init.) the Apost. Constitt. (vii. 41.) the Jerusalem, (S. Cyril Jer. "Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things both visible and invisible,") Epiph. (Anc. fin.) and more concisely in the Asiatic Ante-Nicene Creed rehearsed in the Council by Eusebius as that "received from the Bishops, before him, both in the Catechising, and when he received Baptism," (Socr. l. 10. "Maker of all things both visible and invisible.") In the Church of Antioch, (as recited by Cassian,) "Maker of all creatures visible and invisible." S. Basil has simply "of Whom are all things," (Serm. de Fid. §. 4.) and Eustathius, &c. (ap. Socr. iv. 12.) By Arius and Euzoius, Eus., Ant. 4., Macrost., it is mentioned in the second place in the Nicene Creed, of the Son: with respect to Whom the creation of "things visible and invisible" is confessed in Ant. 1. 4. "all things in heaven and earth, visible and invisible," Macr. Pseudo-Sard. Sirm. 1. And so S. Basil, "by Whom all things were made, visible and invisible, and in Whom all things subsist."

There being then distinct mention of the Creation in the Creeds of Gaul, Africa, Asia Minor, Jerusalem, it is probable that it occurred also in the others, although it might be considered to be involved in the word "Almighty[b]," which as S. Augustine remarks (de Fid. et Symb. §. 2.) contains more than the confession of a creation, since some who admitted this, yet denied that God could have created out of nothing.

In like way, another clause "DEAD" occurs in Tertullian, adv. Prax. (c. 2. "suffered, dead, and buried[c],") yet here and in the de Vel. Virg.

[a] It occurs also in a Gallican Sacramentary of the end of the 7th century, Ass. ii. 42. it is omitted by Marcellus l. c. (but his statement is evidently abridged here, see above, p. 481.) by Maximus of Turin in Trad. Symb. Bibl. P. T. vi. p. 42. but also in the Creed in Anglo-Saxon characters, A. 703. (Usser. de Symb. p. 8.) and in one of the same date (perhaps translated from it) appended to a Græco-Lat. MS. of the Acts (ib. 8. 9.) in that of Etherius and Beatus of Spain against Elipand, (but this in other places also is not recited verbatim; thus it has "one Lord *and God*," and "arose again *alive* from the dead," the remission of *all* sins." ap. Usser. de Symb. p. 10, 11.)

[b] Conversely, the 1st Eusebian confession at Antioch omits the word "Almighty." "We have learnt from the beginning, to believe in One God the God of the Universe, the Creator and Fore-disposer of all things, spiritual and sensible." (S. Ath. de Syn. §. 22.)

[c] It occurs also in the Creed of Sirmium, in Ant. iv. ap. Ath. de Syn. §. 26. Ant. Macrostich. ib. §. 26.

c. 1. the Death and Burial are included in the Crucifixion, as also in S. Irenæus (i. 10. " and the Passion,") the Creed of Asia Minor (" Who suffered,") Jerusalem, (" He was crucified.") Venantius Fortunatus, (who was yet copying from Ruffinus, and from him has the " descent into hell.") " Death" only is so included in that of Aquileia, Marcellus, Acacius, Eustathius, Eus., Ruffinus, S. Augustine, Antioch. ap. Cassian., Maximus Taur., Chrysol., Old Saxon Creed, Ancient Latin ap. Blanch. Enarr. (which yet has the " descent into hell.") Pseudo-Ath. (see Walch, p. 74.) Facund. (Def. 3 Capp.) Ruff. " crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried." S. Aug. " crucified and buried," Lib. Imp. de Gen. ad lit. c. 1. Serm. 212. add S. 214. c. 7. de Fid. et Symb. §. 11. and in one place and in commenting, Serm. 213. 3. in commenting, Serm. 215. c. 5. (where the word " mortuus" seems to have been added to the text,) yet Chrysologus while the words were not in his text[d], introduces in his brief commentary the word Passion in five discourses, (Serm. 57—60, 62.) So also in the Gallican Sacramentary, (Ass. ii. 42.) " suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified and buried."

A yet more remarkable instance perhaps is S. Jerome's apparent assertion, that the Creed ended with " the Resurrection of the Flesh," omitting consequently " the Life Everlasting." adv. Joann. Jeros. §. 28. " In the creed of our faith and hope, which, delivered by the Apostles, is not written with paper and ink, but on the fleshy tables of the heart, after the confession of the Trinity and the unity of the Church, the whole mystery of Christian doctrine is concluded in the Resurrection of the Flesh;" and Ruffinus in commenting on the Creed of Aquileia does not mention this same article, but says in the like way, " But these last words, which declare the resurrection of the flesh, closes with a succinct brevity the sum of all perfection," and proceeds to vindicate that doctrine against the cavils of philosophy, dwelling entirely upon it.

Yet we know that this clause formed part of the Creed of Jerusalem, where S. Jerome was writing, (" And in the life Everlasting," S. Cyril. Lect. 18. §. 28.) as also in that of S. Irenæus[e], an Asiatic Creed, (i. 10.) Marcellus, Bp. of Ancyra, (l. c.) the Apostolic Constitutions, (vii. 41.) the African in Tertullian in this place, and S. Cyprian, Ep. 69. ad Magn. " When they say, Believest thou in remission of sins and life eternal through the holy Church?" and Ep. 70. Synod. ad Januar. where the two first clauses are transposed. In S. Augustine, Serm. 214. fin. they are interwoven in the discourse, " How shall we doubt that He will give our soul and flesh eternal life, &c.?" and (according to the formula preserved in S. Cyprian,) Serm. 215. fin. " that you may be able to attain *remission of sins, and resurrection of the flesh, and life everlasting*, through the One true and *holy Catholic Church*, in which is known Father, Son, and Holy

[d] He comments on these three, " the judge," " crucified," " buried," so as to shew that these alone were recited, " audis judicis nomen, audis crucifixum, audis sepultum," Serm. 57. 61. and so Serm. 60.

[e] and from him in the Gallican Sacramentary (Ass. ii. 42.) paraphrastically, " Doth he believe—that he hath life after death, riseth again to the glory of Christ?" It occurs also in the Ambrosian, (ib. 46.)

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

Spirit, One God." In the Op. Imp. de Gen. ad lit. c. 1. it is blended differently, the Article of the Resurrection being combined (as in S. Irenæus) with that of the Judgment, Eternal life with "Forgiveness of sins." Yet in the de Fid. et Symb. fin. and Serm. 212. it is implied only, in Serm. 213. it is omitted, as it is by Tertullian in the de Vel. Virg., though he had mentioned it here. It occurs also in the commentary of Pet. Chrysologus, Hom. 58. which assigns a reason why it may have been the less dwelt upon, being so evidently involved in the preceding; "This article is evident, for when death itself dieth, eternal life succeedeth," and Serm. 59. "He who rises again must needs live for ever, for if he lived not for ever, he would rise again not to life but to death," yet he himself omits it, and does not comment on it, Serm. 61.[f]

The mere omission of an article on any occasion does not imply its absence from the Creed: and with regard to the statement of S. Jerome, it seems most probable that he looked upon the articles of the Resurrection and Life Eternal, as one, since it is a Resurrection to life eternal, and singled out that part for which he was contending, "the Resurrection of the *Flesh*," as the concluding article of the same faith with that in the Ever-blessed Trinity. Ruffinus again, dwells on that which was chiefly disputed, and on which S. Cyril, from whom he borrowed, most dwelt, yet also speaks subsequently of the "life everlasting:" "But that the just shall ever abide with Christ our Lord, we have both already taught above," §. 46. "There shall be given to sinners also, as we said above, a state of incorruption and immortality from the resurrection, that as to the just it ministers to a perpetuity of glory, so to sinners to a lengthened confusion and punishment;" (§. 47.) and after the recapitulation of the Creed, he concludes with the mention of "resurrection to eternal life." This certainly seems the most probable solution as to S. Jerome, writing where the article certainly existed. As to the Church of Aquileia there may be the more doubt, since the article is wanting in a Greek Creed in Saxon characters, said to be of the seventh century, and an old MS. of King Ethelstan, containing the Psalter and the Creed, (Fell on S. Cypr. Ep. 70.) by Max. Taur. using nearly the same words, ("'resurrection of the flesh.' This is the end of our religion, this the sum of believing,") yet interweaving the mention of life in his comment, and a Sacramentary of Gelasius at the end of eighth century. (Ass. ii. 5.) Yet in the same Sacramentary, the words "God of God" are omitted in the Nicene Creed, both in the Greek and Latin forms. (ib. i. 11, 12.) If the clause "eternal life" were really wanting in these Creeds, it only illustrates the more how the Creed was yet substantially the same, amid these apparent variations; if in any case this article was not set down, it was only as being in reality one with that of the Resurrection, as indeed is evinced by the way in which the Fathers interweave the two clauses.

[f] In like way the words "from the dead" are omitted in Serm. 58–62. occur S. 57. They are omitted also in the Vet. Lat. ap. Blanch. S. Aug. Serm. 212. 214. (the clause being interwoven with the discourse,) they occur Serm. 213. 215. and de Fid. et Symb.

This agreement in doctrine amid apparent variation is the more illustrated by the agreement in omitting two clauses, which are later insertions in our Western Creed, and which have never been enounced in the Eastern, "the descent into Hell," and "the Communion of Saints." The doctrine, of course, was known to the Ancient Church, else it could not have been admitted at all into the Creed; it is mentioned in the summary of teaching attributed to Thaddæus, which is cast in the mould of the Apostles' Creed; (Eus. H. E. i. fin.) it is mentioned by S. Cyril of Jer. both in his summary of the Creed, (iv. 8. p. 39. Oxf. Tr.) and on the article of His Resurrection, (xiv. 10. p. 175.) as also by S. Epiphanius, (Anaceph. 9. t. ii. p. 155.) is alluded to in Chrysol. Serm. 57. and S. Augustine asks, "Who but an infidel would deny that Christ was in hell?" (Ep. 99. c. 2.) Yet it does not appear in any ancient Creed except that of Aquileia[g], and is directly stated by Ruffinus to have been wanting in the Roman and Oriental Creeds. Where not enounced, it was regarded as involved in the Article "buried," as appears from the remarkable substitution in the third Creed, drawn up in Latin at Sirmium, and produced at Ariminum, in which in place of "The Burial," there occurs, "And descended into the lower parts," where however as Bp. Pearson remarks (Art. 5. not. t.) more is meant than the Burial, since there follows, "and ordered the things there, Whom the porters of hell seeing, were affrighted." This then we have, expressed in two Latin Creeds only, and in that which subsequently formed the basis of the latter part of the Athanasian; in the Greek we have the doctrine, not the formal expression. The Article of "the communion of saints," lying implicitly in "the Holy Church," is not found in any very ancient Greek Creed, and hence not incorporated into the Nicene, nor into the Athanasian. The earliest place in which it occurs is in the Gallican Sacramentary of the end of the seventh century.

It seems altogether improbable that there should have been no evidence of the formal admission of the one of these articles into any early Creed except that of Aquileia, of the other into any Creed, and so much evidence of the existence of the other clauses, had they equally been present in it or absent from it. Together, they evidence the existence of a distinct universal Creed.

The identity of the original Creeds is the more illustrated, again, by their verbal variations. The substance and order being, according to the statement of Ruffinus, arranged by the Apostles before their separation, the words would yet naturally be varied as they passed into different languages. Thus in the Creed of Aquileia, the ancient Roman Creed, (ap. Leo M. l. c. see p. 483. Vigil. l. c. Chrysol. Serm. 57.) probably in that of Origen[h], it stands, "born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary," in that of Galatia[i] and others, "born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin

[g] The commentary of Fortunatus is taken from Ruffinus, and therewith this article too; it occurs in the Spanish Creed adduced against Elipand, A. 785. and in the Gallican Sacramentary, (Ass. ii. 42.)

[h] "He assumed a Body like to our body, save that it was born of a Virgin from the Holy Ghost," de Princ.

[i] Marc. Anc. l. c. The Anglo-Saxon, Facund. def. 3. Cap. have *and*.

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

Mary," in S. Augustine both[k]; Epiphanius, "incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary," the modern form occurs in the Gallican Sacramentary[l]. In the Creed of Antioch, "Who came and was born of the Virgin Mary," and the Dial. c. Marc. "took human nature upon Him of Mary," expressing the same doctrine, (see above, Note H. p. 323.) S. Irenæus, in his summary, gives the two parts of the doctrine, the Incarnation and the Natjvity, without express mention of the Holy Ghost, "Who was incarnate for our Salvation—the Nativity of a Virgin;" Tertullian expresses the whole in different places, "born of the Virgin Mary[m]," "brought down from the Spirit and Power of the Father into the Virgin Mary[n]," "sent by the Father to be born of a Virgin[o];" Lucian, "Who in the last days descended from on high, and was born of a Virgin according to the Scriptures;" the Apostolic Constitutions, in nearly the same words, "Who in the last times came down from Heaven, and taking flesh upon Him, was born of the Holy Virgin Mary;" in the Creed of Jerusalem and Cæsarea[p], this is expressed more generally by the words, "Who was incarnate and made man." This variation, though in part owing to the mode of quotation, is such as one would expect, when the same substance was handed down by oral tradition, not being written, as is said, "with paper and ink, but through the Spirit on the hearts."

Remarkable, in the same way, is the agreement of the Eastern and Western Churches severally within themselves. Had the words received by the Eastern Churches been incorporated into the original Creed, they would have been expressed probably in the Western; had they not formed part of the original traditional Creed, they would not, previously to General Councils, have been found with such uniformity in the Eastern. Thus in the beginning, the Unity of God denied by the Marcionites is declared "in almost all the Eastern Creeds[q]," and thence in that of Gaul[r], in those also of Africa[s], Sardica[t], that of Origen, Adamantius, Lucian, Greg. Thaumaturgus, the Apostolic Constitutions, Jerusalem, in S. James' Liturgy, Antioch, Faemndus, that of Arius and Euzoius, that recited at Nice, and hence in the Nicene itself, "I believe in ONE God." Against Cerinthus again and the Gnostics, who separated JESUS from the CHRIST, and in the language of Eph. 4, 5. there is added, "And in ONE Lord." So in "the Oriental Creeds," (as quoted by Ruffinus,) in S. Irenæus[u], and in that of Jerusalem,

[k] *et* Aug. Serm. 212. 214. de Gen. ad lit. *ex* Serm. 215. de Fid. et Symb. §. 8. In Serm. 213. the text has the now-received form, "conceived, &c." but not being noticed in the Comment, it has probably been admitted incidentally.

[l] Ass. ii. 42.

[m] de Virg. Vel. c. 1.

[n] in this place.

[o] adv. Prax. c. 3.

[p] ap. Socr. 1. 26. "was incarnate and conversed among men," Arius and Euzoius, probably abridged, "was incarnate."

[q] Ruff. Exp. Symb. c. 4.

[r] Iren. 1. 10. 22. (ol. 19.) 2. 25. (ol. 43.) 2. 3. 3. 3. (from Clemens Romanus) 4. 27. (ol. 45.) fin. and 33. (ol. 62.) 8. It occurred in the Gallican Creed, as late as the Synod. Vaur. 1468. can. 1.

[s] Tert. here, de vel. Virg. c. 1. adv. Prax. c. 2.

[t] Lucif. Cal. Ep. ad Imp. Const.

[u] 1. 10. "And in ONE Jesus Christ, the Son of God," 3. 16. (ol. 18.) 3. "One Jesus Christ our Lord."

Cæsarea, and thence in the Nicene; and also in the Dial. c. Marc., Greg. Thaum., Lucian, the Apost. Constitutions, Facundus.

The word "Catholic" again occurs in the Eastern, where the first heresies arose, not originally in the Western. Until heretics also claimed to be Churches, there was no occasion for that body, which held the one Faith, to designate itself as "the Holy Church spread throughout all the world." Yet it was no new term, but in the Greek Church occurs from the first; S. Ignatius (Ep. ad Smyrn. §. 8.) the Church of Smyrna of the time of S. Polycarp, (Eus. H. E. iv. 15.) S. Clem. Al. (Strom. vii. 17. p. 325. Sylb. "we affirm that the ancient and Catholic Church is one only, collecting into the unity of one faith according to her own testaments, or rather one testament in different dispensations, by the will of The One God, through The One Lord;") the Creed of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, (Theod. H. E. i. 4.) that of Arius and Euzoius, (see Bp. Pearson, Art. 9. not. e. g.) the Apostolic Constitutions. The Creed of S. Epiphanius has the fuller and later form of the Nicene Creed, "One Catholic and Apostolic Church." In the Latin Creeds, on the other hand, it is so uniformly omitted that it hardly seems likely that it formed part of the original. So in Tert. (adv. Marc. v. 4.) S. Cyprian, (see above, p. 485.) S. Jerome, (adv. Lucif. §. 12.) "Believest thou the Holy Church? Believest thou the remission of sins?" S. Augustine Serm. 213. c. 7. 214. In Serm. 215 it is added in the second place, in the de Fid. et Symb. §. 21. as an explanation, "utique catholicam;" in the de Ag. Christ. c. 29. "sancta Ecclesia quæ una Catholica est," and de Gen. ad lit. "that by Him was constituted our mother the Church, which is called Catholic, because, &c." It is omitted in the Creed of Aquileia, by Maximus, Bishop of Tours, the Gelasian Liturgy, (Ass. ii. 5.) and the Anglo-Saxon, (ap. Usher,) occurs in the Gallican, (perhaps from the Greek, Ass. ii. 42.) and the Ambrosian, (ib. 46.) in Chrysol. (Serm. 58—62. It occurs in the text Serm. 57. but not in the Comment, and is probably an addition,) in Marcellus of Ancyra, in the baptismal Creed of the Spanish Church in the 8th cent., Etherius and Beatus adv. Elip.

The identity of the Creed, even in its more enlarged form, may perhaps become the more apparent, by setting down those clauses which were incorporated into the Universal Creed by the Council of Nice, and noting the traces of them in the earlier Creeds. It will thus appear that in no case was any new language adopted, and that, with the exception of the word ὁμοούσιος, which was itself a received and ancient word, no word was introduced which was not found in the earlier forms of the Creed[w].

The only-begotten Son of God[x],

[w] The Creeds here referred to may be found together in Bingham 10. 6. more fully in Walch Bibliotheca Symbolica; The heretical Creeds, in S. Athanasius de Synod. §. 22 sqq. p. 104 sqq. Oxf. Tr. and S. Hilary de Synod.

[x] Greg. Thaum. "Perfect, Begotten of Perfect, Father of an Only-begotten Son." Lucian, "His Only-begotten Son, Who is God." S. Basil, "Our Lord and God." Apost. Const., Cæsar., Marcell. Anc., Ant. 4. Macrostich. Phil. "His Only-begotten Son." Jerus. (as Nic.) Antioch. against Paul Samos. (Mansi, i. p. 1033 sq.) Eus. "and in One Son of God, Only-begotten." Ant. 3. "Perfect God of Perfect God."

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

Begotten of the Father before all worlds[y],
God of God[z],
Light of Light[a],
Very God of Very God[b],
Begotten, not made[c],
Being of one Substance with the Father[d],
By Whom all things were made[e],
Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven[f],

[y] Orig. "Begotten of the Father before every creature." Apost. Const. Cæs. Luc. Ant. ap. Cass. "The First-born of every creature." Ap. Const. "Who before all ages was Begotten." Ant. ap. Cass. "born of Him before all ages." Jerus. Cæsar. Ant. 3. 4. Maer. Phil. Sirm. as Nic. Eus. "Who was, and was with the Father Who begat Him, before all worlds." Arius and Euz. "God the Word begotten of Him before all worlds."

[z] Orig. "Being God, He was made flesh, and as man, remained what He was, God." Adamant. "One that is from Him, [God,] God the Word." Greg. Thaum. "One Lord, Alone of Alone, God of God." Lucian, "God of God, Whole of Whole, One of One, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord from Lord." Ant. 3. Maer. Phil. Sirm. as Nic. add Iren. 1. 8. 5. Justin M. Apol. i. 63. Dial. c. Tryph. §. 126. 128. (ap. Bull, ii. 4.) Theoph. ad Aut. ii. 22. (ib.) Tert. Apol. c. 21. (ab. p. 47.) Novatian. de Trin. c. 11. (ap. Bull, ii. 10. 6.)

[a] Cæsar. Ant. Macr. Phil. Sirm. as Nic. Luc. "True Light." see ab. on Apol. c. 21. n. b. p. 48.

[b] Greg. Thaum. "True Son of The True Father." Jerus. "begotten of the Father, Very God." Cæsar. Ant. ap. Cass. as Nic.

[c] Apost. Const. as Nic. Ant. ap. Cass. "born of Him before all worlds, and not made."

[d] Adamant. "of one Substance, Eternal." Greg. Thaum. "Invisible of Invisible, Incorruptible of Incorruptible, Immortal of Immortal, Eternal of Eternal." Ant. "being in Substance and Person God, Son of God—but whoever contendeth that the Son of God is not God—we account him alien from the Ecclesiastical rule, and all the Catholic Churches agree with us." Ant. shorter form (l. c.) "altogether of one substance with the Father together with the body, but not as to the body of one substance with God; as neither according to the Godhead is He of one substance with man, although with the Godhead being of one substance with us, &c." Ant. ap. Cass. as Nic. add Iren. ii. 30. iv. 20. (ap. Bull. ii. 5.) Tert. Apol. c. 21. ab. p. 47. and note a. Orig. in Ep. ad Hebr. ap. Pamph. Apol. c. 5. and ap. Ruff. de Adult. Libb. Orig. (Bull, ii. 1. 8.) and ap. S. Ath. de Syn. Nic. Decr. §. 27. (Bull, ii. 9. 23) Theognostus, Hypot. ii. ap. S. Ath. l. c. §. 25. (Bull, ii. 10. 7.) Dionys. Alex. Ep. ad Dionys. Rom. Op. p. 90. (Bull, ii. 1. 8.) Epist. 6. Episc. ad Paul. Samos. (ap. Bull, ii. 13. 1.) Vett. doeti, illustr. Epise. ap. Eus. Epist. ad Cæs. Socr. H. E. 1. 8. (Bull, ii. 1. 8.) Vett. Episc. ap. S. Ath. Epist. ad Episcop. Afr. §. 9. (Bull, ii. 1. 3.)

[e] Orig. "Who ministering to The Father in the Creation of all things." Tert. (here) "Who produced all things out of nothing by His Word, sent forth before all things." adv. Prax., Lucian. Jerus. Cæsar. Eus. Ant 1. Ant. 2. 3. "by Whom are all things." Greg. Thaum. "The Power that made the whole Creation." Ant. c. Samos. (Routh Rel. T. ii. p. 469. "by Whom the Father made all things, not as an instrument, nor as unsubstantial intellect." Ant. ap. Cass. "by Whom the worlds were compacted and all things made." Ar. and Euz. "by Whom all things were made, both the things in heaven and on the earth."

[f] Lucian. "Who in the last days descended from on high." Ant. "sent by the Father from heaven." Cæs. "Who also for our salvation was incarnate, and conversed among men." Jer. "Who came to [us] and became man." Ant. ap. Cass. "Who came for us." Ar. and Euz. "Who came down and was incarnate." Eus. "Who, in the last days, came down according to the good pleasure of the Father." Ant. 4. Maer. Phil. Sirm. "Who, in the last days, was incarnate for our sakes, and born of the Holy Virgin."

And was made man[g],
And was crucified also *for us*[h],—
Rose again *according to the Scriptures*[i],—
Whose kingdom shall have no end[k].

With regard to the clauses in the third division of the Creed, which relate directly to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, the traces of their existence before the Council of Constantinople are necessarily less distinct, because the object of adducing the traditional Creeds being the true doctrine as to The Son, they are closed mostly with the simple Confession "And in the Holy Ghost," to complete the Faith in the Trinity. Even the Council of Nice adds no more, (see above, p. 481.) In setting down then what remains, passages have been added from Doxologies, or such formal statements, or such reiterated phrases, as seem to come from Creeds.

The Lord, and Giver of life[b],
Who proceedeth from The Father[c]
and The Son,
Who with The Father and The Son together[d]
is worshipped and glorified[e],
Who spake by the prophets[f].

[g] Orig. "and became man." Tert. "was made flesh in her womb, and of her born man." Jerus. as Nic. Cæsar. "and conversed among men." Ant. "and incarnate, He became man." Luc. "and having become man."

[h] Luc. "Who suffered *for us*."

[i] Ant. ap. Cass. S. Basil.

[k] Apost. Const. Jerus. "Of Whose kingdom there shall be no end," "abiding King and God for ever." Eus. ap. Ath. de Syn. §. 22. Ant. 3. "abiding for ever." Ant. 4. "Whose kingdom, being indestructible, remaineth for boundless ages." Ant. Macr. Phil. Sirm. "Whose kingdom remaineth unceasing, &c."

[b] Greg. Thaum. "Life, the cause of life."

[c] Greg. Thaum. "One Holy Spirit, having His subsistence of God—Image of The Son, Perfect of Perfect." Athenag. Leg. 24. "The Spirit, Effluence (ἀπόῤῥοια) [of The Father,] as light from fire." Lucian. Philopatr. 12. "Spirit proceeding from The Father."

[d] Athenag. Leg. 10. "The Son being in The Father and The Father in The Son by the Unity and Power of The Spirit." (ἑνότητι καὶ δυνάμει Πν.) Id. c. 12. "What is the Union of their Majesty and the distinction of the In-One'd, (τίς ἡ τῶν τοσούτων ἕνωσις. καὶ διαίρεσις ἑνουμένων,) The Spirit, The Son, The Father."

[e] S. Polycarp. ap. Ep. Smyrn. "With Whom to Thee and the Holy Ghost he glory, both now and in the ages to come." Hipp. cont. Noet. fin. "to Him be glory and power with The Father and The Holy Ghost." Ep. Smyrn. "with Christ be glory to God and The Father and The Holy Ghost." Ed. Vales. p. 65. Act. Martyr. S. Ignat. "through and with Whom glory and power be to The Father with The Holy Ghost for ever." S. Basil (de Sp. S. circ. fin.) quotes Africanus as giving "glory to Christ with The Holy Ghost." S. Justin, see not. f. S. Clem. Al. Pædag. iii fin. "to give thanks and praise to....with, &c." Orig. "They also delivered to us that the Holy Spirit was joined in honour and dignity with The Father and The Son." Greg. Thaum. "Perfect Trinity, in glory and eternity and kingdom, not divided, not separated."

[f] S. Justin. Apol. 1. 6. "Him and The Son from Him, and....and the Prophetic Spirit we worship and adore." 61. fin. speaking of Baptism, "Over him who desireth to be born again, there is named the Name of the Father of all things....and in the Name of Jesus Christ Who was crucified under

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

Pontius Pilate, and in the Name of The Holy Ghost Who through the prophets," &c. "The Prophetic Spirit." S. Just. Apol. i. 13. 31. 32. 33. 44. 47. 48. 51. 53. 60. 63. Dial. c. Tryph. 32. 43. 53. 54. 56. and S. Clem. Alex. Pæd. i. 5. S. Iren. "Who preached in the Prophets the dispensations, &c." Orig. "that That same Spirit inspired all the Saints or Prophets or Apostles, and not one Spirit in the old, another in these who were inspired at the Coming of Christ, is most plainly taught in the Churches." Jerus. ap. S. Cyr. "Who spake in the Prophets." Apost. Constt. "The Comforter, Who worked in all the saints from the beginning, and was afterwards sent to the Apostles also from the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, and after the Apostles to all who believe in the Holy Catholic Church."

Note Q, on p. 455.

The various bearings of the title "Rock" in St. Matt. 16, 18.

Tertullian interprets the "rock" of St. Peter's person, de Monog. c. 8. de Pudic. c. 21. (but, in the latter, in an heretical sense, as denying the transmission of the authority of binding and loosing to the Church). S. Cyprian also explains it of St. Peter personally, (Ep. 71. ad Quint. Ep. 43. Pleb. Univ. 40. Pam.) as a type of unity, (Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. add Firmil. Ep. 75. §. 11.) as representing the Church and speaking in her name, (Ep. 59. ad Cornel.) but the authority he speaks of as derived through him to all Bishops, (de Unit. Eccl. §. 3. p. 133. Oxf. Tr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. §. 6. Ep. 66. ad Flor. Pup. v. fin.) so that the Church is placed on the Bishops. (Ep. 33. ad Laps. 27. Pam.) S. Greg. Naz. interprets it of him individually, Orat. 32. de Moderat. §. 18. so also S. Epiphan. Ancorat. §. 9. yet with reference to his faith, (adv. Hær. lix.) so that he says at once that it was built upon him and upon the Faith which he confessed, on him, as the organ of, and by virtue of That Faith, whereon it is indeed built. "And he was received by the Lord, who for a time denied, the holy Peter, and very chief of the Apostles, who became to us in truth a firm rock, founding the faith in the Lord, whereon the Church was every way built. First, because he confessed Christ The Son of The Living God, and was told, 'upon this rock of the solid Faith will I build My Church,' because he had openly confessed the True Son." S. Augustine at first explained the rock of St. Peter personally, following the hymn of S. Ambrose, "Æterne rerum conditor," then "very frequently explained it of Christ Whom Simon confessed, as the whole Church since confesses Him." Retr. 1. 21. "i. e. on Myself, The Son of The Living God, will I build My Church. On Me, will I build thee, not Me on thee," Serm. 76. in Matt. 14. as does Tertullian,

adv. Marc. iv. 13. Again, Theodoret. in 1 Cor. 3. S. Chrysostom (ad loc.) Theodoret (Ep. 77. ad Eulal.) Greg. M. (Ep. iv. 38. ad Theodelind.) Felix iii. Ep. 2. (Conc. t. 10. p. 12. ed. Reg.) Johann. viii. Ep. 76. ad Pet. t. 24. p. 99. (quoted by Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, Supp. i. iv. 20. p. 99. 100. Oxf.) Auct. Testim. de advent. Dom. fin. ap. Greg. Nyss. t. 2. p. 162. Ambrosiaster in Eph. ii. 20. Acacius Melitenes, Hom. in Conc. Eph. c. 7. p. 3. Juvenalis Hieros. litt. Synod. Isid. Hispal. Orig. L. vii. (quoted by Du Pin de Ant. Eccl. Discipl. iv. 1. 1.) interpret the "rock" of the Faith which St. Peter confessed. These expositions, however, in no way exclude each other. The words were pronounced to St. Peter, by virtue of the true Faith in Christ, which he had just confessed; he was a rock, by reason of his union with the Rock; that Faith in Christ as the Son of God, was his stability and that of the Church afterwards and of those who at any time were pillars in the Church. Thus *Origen* who (if the Latin Translation be in this case faithful) says that "on St. Peter, as on the earth, the Church was founded," (in Rom. L. v. fin.) argues at length (in loc. tom. xii. §. 10, 11.) that the title is not to be confined to St. Peter alone, (as neither were the keys given to him alone,) but belongs to the other Apostles, and that "every disciple of Christ, of Whom they drank who were of the spiritual Rock Which followed them, is a rock," "all imitators of Christ becoming a rock, as He is a Rock," (Hom 16. in Joann. §. 3.) Again, *S. Hilary* says generally "the blessed Simon who, after the confession of the mystery, lay as a foundation for the building-up of the Church," (de Trin. vi. 20.) and "Peter upon whom He was about to build His Church," (in Ps. 131. §. 4.) yet elsewhere speaks of the Church as built on the Faith (the doctrine) which he confessed. "On this rock then of the confession [of Christ as The Son of God] is the Church built.—This Faith is the foundation of the Church. Through this Faith are the gates of Hell unavailing against her. This Faith hath the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." (de Trin. vi. 36, 37.) and, "This is the one immoveable foundation, this the one blessed rock of the Faith, confessed by the mouth of Peter, 'Thou art the Son of the living God,'" (de Trin. ii. 23.) so probably ad loc. §. 7. "O blessed foundation of the Church on the naming of the new Name.") *S. Ambrose*, who in one place (de Fide iv. 5. §. 56.) applies the term simply to St. Peter, elsewhere implies that he is the representative of the Church, (de bono Mort. c. 12. §. fin. in Ps. 40. §. 30.) or explains it of "the Flesh Which redeemed the heaven and the whole world," Ep. 43. ad Horont. §. 9. In another place, he combines these meanings, that "the Rock" is Christ, that to the Church and the individuals in it, it is the Faith which confesseth Christ, that St. Peter was so called, our Lord vouchsafing to impart to him His own Name, and (as Origen) that individuals, strong in faith, are also rocks. "Great is the grace of Christ, Who hath imparted to His disciples almost all His Names—Christ is the Rock (1 Cor. 10, 46.); to His disciple also He denied not the grace of this name, that he also should be Peter, because from the 'petra' he hath the solidity of stedfastness, the firmness of faith. Strive therefore thou too to be a rock. Seek thou the rock not without thee, but within

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

thee. Thy rock is in act; thy rock is the mind. On this rock thy house is built, that no storms of spiritual wickedness have power to overthrow it. Thy rock is Faith; the foundation of the Church is Faith. If thou art a rock, thou wilt be in the Church, for the Church is on the Rock. If thou art in the Church, the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee." L. vi. §. 97, 98. in Luc. 9, 20. and in another place, although calling S. Peter a "foundation" he directly denies that "the rock" is to be understood of his person. "This then is that Peter, who answered for the rest of the Apostles, yea, above the rest, and is therefore entitled a 'foundation,' because he could steady others, not himself only.—Him Christ approved; to him the Father revealed. For he who speaketh of the true Generation of The Father, hath received it of The Father, not of the flesh. Faith then is the foundation of the Church; for not of the human person of Peter, but of Faith is it said that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; but Confession [of the true Faith] hath overcome hell. And this confession hath shut out more than one heresy; for whereas the Church, like a goodly vessel, is oft beaten on by many waves, the foundation of the Church must hold good against all heresies." de Incarnat. Dom. Sacram. c. 4. 5. §. 33. 34. *S. Augustine* combines these same meanings, Serm. 76. "This name, that he should be called Peter, was given him by the Lord, and that in a figure, to signify the Church. For since Christ is the rock, Peter is the Christian people. For Petra (rock) is the chief name. Peter then is called from petra, not petra from Peter, as not Christ from Christian, but Christian from Christ. 'Thou,' then, He saith, 'art Peter, and on This Rock' which thou hast confessed, on This Rock which thou hast known, saying, 'Thou art The Christ, The Son of The Living God,' 'I will build My Church,'" &c. as above. *S. Jerome* applies it generally, Ep. 41. ad. Marc. §. 2. yet regards Christ as really the Rock, in that he combines this passage with St. Matt. 7, 25. "on whom the Church of the Lord was solidly founded, which is shaken by no beating of the flood, nor by any tempest." (c. Pel. i. 14. comp. in Matt. 7, 25.) and ad loc. "As He, being the Light, gave to the Apostles to be called the light of the world, and they obtained their other names from the Lord, so also to Simon, who believed in the Rock (petra) Christ, He gave the name Petros. And after the metaphor of a rock, it is rightly said to him, 'I will build My Church upon thee.' Elsewhere, following S. Cyprian, he regards it as a symbol of unity, but belonging equally to all the Apostles. "'But,' sayest thou, 'the Church is founded on Peter,' although in another place it is on all the Apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the Church is consolidated upon all, yet therefore is one chosen among the twelve, that, a head being constituted, occasion of division might be done away,'" (comp. S. Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. 1 c.) and (in Is. 2, 2.) "This house is built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, who themselves also are mountains, as imitators of Christ.—Whence also Christ foundeth the Church on one of the mountains, &c." and in Am. 6. 12. 13. "The Rock is Christ, Who gave to His Apostles [not St. Peter only] to be called rocks." *S. Cyril of Alexandria*, (L. ii.

in Joann. 1, 40.) speaks generally of the Church being built on St. Peter, but when he explains himself, it is the faith which he confessed, not his personal faith, but the object of Faith, the Eternal Sonship of our Lord. "By 'the Rock,' in reference to which He gives the name, He means, I deem, nothing else than the unshaken and most settled faith of the disciple, on which Faith the Church of Christ is founded and fixed, so that it cannot fall, abiding for ever, unsubdued even by the gates of hell," whence he infers the wretchedness of forsaking that Faith. (de Trin. iv. init.) Hence on Is. 33, 16. (L. iii. p. 460.) "It suits, that our Lord Jesus Christ be here entitled the Rock, in Whom the Church, as some cave or sheepfold, is conceived as having a safe and unshaken abiding-place. For He saith, Thou art Peter, and on this Rock, &c." and these meanings he harmonizes on Is. 44, 23. (L. iv. Or. ii. p. 593.) "Why do we call them (the preachers of the Gospel) the 'foundations of the earth?' For The Foundation and unshaken resting-place of all things is Christ, Who holdeth all things together, giving well-being to the things which rest on Him. For 'on Him are we all built, a spiritual house, being through the Spirit compacted together into a holy temple, for His dwelling-place.' For He 'dwelleth in our hearts through Faith.' But as foundations nearer to us, may be conceived the Apostles and Evangelists, who were 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word,' and who were set for the confirmation of the faith. For, knowing that we ought to follow their traditions, we shall keep our faith to Christ unwarped. For He said to the blessed Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church,' meaning, I deem, by 'rock' immoveableness in the Faith of His disciple. But it is said by the voice of the Psalmist, 'Its foundations are upon the holy mountains.' Exceeding well are the holy Apostles and Evangelists likened to mountains, in that their knowledge [of God] is established as a foundation to those after them, suffering not those caught in their nets, to fall into a reprobate faith." Here, in one passage, we have Christ as *The* Rock, or Foundation; the Apostles and Evangelists, (and among them St. Peter) as foundations upon which we proximately rest, and that, as depositories of the saving Faith, by cleaving to whose doctrine and teaching we are kept from falling from that Faith. This is remarkably developed by *S. Leo*, who had the more occasion to dwell upon it, in that, as S. Athanasius formerly, so, in his own person, the see of Rome then was the great bulwark of the Apostolic Faith. It was not then all faith, but the transmitted Faith in the Person of Christ, as God and man, which was the "Rock" upon which the Church, being founded, remained unshaken. Thus, having given a summary of that part of the Apostles' Creed, which relates to our Lord, as "the rule of Faith," he says; "Deservedly was the Blessed Apostle Peter praised for the confession of this Unity [of the two Natures in Christ] who, when the Lord enquired what the disciples thought of Him, with greatest speed forecoming all their words, said, 'Thou art Christ, The Son of the Living God.' Which truly he saw, not by revelation of 'flesh and blood,' by whose intervention the inward eyes might be hindered, but through the Spirit of 'The Father,' Himself operating in the heart of the believer, so

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

that he, who was being formed for the rule of the whole Church, should first learn what he was to teach, and for the stayedness of the Faith which he was to preach, was told, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock, &c.' The strength then of the Christian Faith, which, built upon an impregnable rock, fears not the gates of death, confesses One Lord JESUS CHRIST, both very God and very man, believing the Same to be the Son of the Virgin, Who gave being to the Virgin; the Same born in the end of time, Who is the Creator of time; the Same the Lord of all power, and one of our dying race; the Same 'who knew no sin,' and 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' was offered for sinners." (Serm. xi. de Pass. Dom. c. 2.) In like way, when exhorting Maximus, Bp. of Antioch, to watch over the purity of the Faith in the Eastern Churches, against the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, he appeals to the deposit of Faith, which St. Peter had committed to that Church. "So then, brother best-beloved, thou hast need to contemplate with thy whole heart, over the rule of what Church the Lord has willed that thou shouldest preside, and remember that doctrine which the most blessed Peter, the chief of all the Apostles, laid as a foundation, by one uniform preaching, through the whole world, but yet with special authority in the city of Antioch and of Rome; understanding that he, preeminent in the abode where he is glorified, requireth [at our hands] those forms of doctrine which he delivered, as he received them from the Truth Whom he confessed. And permit not that in any wise, in the Eastern Churches, and specially in those which the Canons of the most holy fathers of Nice assigned to the See of Antioch, the Gospel should be assailed by ungodly heretics, and the doctrine either of Nestorius or Eutyches be maintained by any. For, as I said, the rock of the Catholic Faith, whence was derived the name which the blessed Apostle Peter received from the Lord[a], admitteth no trace from either ungodliness." (Ep. 119. c. 2) Here again the rock is the Confession of Faith, not of individual faith, nor belief generally, nor new decrees as to faith, but the one deposit of the Faith in the Object of faith, which was delivered alike to the keeping of Antioch and of Rome. This Faith S. Leo elsewhere describes as the sum of saving Faith, the 'right Faith in the Son of God,' John 20, 31. "The firmness of the foundation, whereon the heighth of the whole Church is built, is shaken by no massiveness of the temple built thereon. For the solidity of that Faith, which was praised in the chief of the Apostles, is everlasting, and as That abideth which Peter believed in Christ, so abideth that which Christ established in Peter." Then after quoting Matt. 16. and speaking of the present dignity of St. Peter, and that he "abode in the transfused strength of The Rock," that he was "called a rock, declared to be a foundation," he adds, "This, dearly beloved, hath that Confession obtained, which, inspired by God the Father into the Apostle's heart, transcended all uncertainties of human opinion, and received the firmness of a rock, unshaken by any shocks. For in the

[a] The last Roman editors, arguing against Quesnel, refer wrongly to this passage, as though in it S. Leo "called not the faith of Peter, but Peter himself 'the rock of the Catholic Faith.'" Obss. in S. Leon. Serm. p. 462.

whole Church, doth Peter daily say, ' Thou art Christ, The Son of The Living God;' and every tongue which confesses the Lord, is instructed by the teaching of that his voice. This Faith conquereth the devil, and looseth the bands of his captives. This conveys to heaven those snatched from the world; and against it the gates of hell cannot prevail. For with such solid strength was it fortified by God, that neither could heretical perverseness ever corrupt it, nor pagan treachery overcome it." (Serm. 3. de Nat. ips. §. 2, 3.) In reference to the same truth, he paraphrases our Lord's words, " ' And I,' He saith, ' say unto thee,' i. e. as My Father has manifested to thee My Divinity, so do I also make known to thee thy eminence, ' that thou art Peter,' i. e. whereas I am the unassailable Rock, I the Corner-stone Who made both one, I the ' Foundation, other than which can no man lay,' yet thou also art a rock, because thou art strengthened by My might, so that what of right belongs alone to Me, by My communication should be shared by thee, ' And on this rock, &c.' He saith, On this strength I will build an everlasting temple, and the height of My Church, which shall reach to heaven, shall rise upon the firmness of this Faith." S. Leo subjoins, " This confession the gates of hell shall not master, the bands of death shall not bind; for that word is the word of life. And as it advances those who confess it, to the heavens, so it sinks those who deny it, to hell; whence it is said to the most blessed Peter, ' I will give thee the keys, &c.' The right of this authority passed to the other Apostles, [see S. Cypr. de unit. Eccl. l. c.] and what this decree decided, became common to all the heads of the Church, yet not without reason is that entrusted to one, which was to be conveyed to all. For this is therefore committed to Peter individually, because Peter is the common type of all the rulers of the Church. The privilege of Peter then abides, wherever sentence is passed with his equity." (Serm. 4. §. 2, 3.) The " rock" then according to S. Leo, was the revealed Faith in the Rock, the Ever-Blessed Son of God, which whosoever confessed, partook of the solidity of that Rock, Which St. Peter confessed, which Faith St. Peter first, in the name of the other Apostles, confessed, and for them received the blessing, himself possessing it first in order and dignity, which Faith also he preached, and delivered it, as the title-deeds of the Church, especially to the Churches over which he himself presided, to Antioch as to Rome, yet not in any other sense to Rome than to Antioch, nor as though new doctrine might be added, or as though doctrine, not virtually contained in the Apostles' Creed, formed a part of it[b].

[b] In the words of Quesnel " he asserts that the solid strength of that Faith which was praised in Peter, is that rock upon which He promises that He will build His Church," to which it is rightly added by the subsequent editors, " not faith in general, nor the private faith of Peter, but that Faith which he preached, and of which he left a deposit in the Roman See [as in that of Antioch] and transmitted to his successor with the like privilege of solid strength." (l. c.)

Note R, on p. 455.

The keys (Matt. 16, 19.) *given to the Church in the person of St. Peter.*

NOTES ON DE PRÆSCR. HÆR.

Tertullian, as a Montanist, confines this gift of the keys to St. Peter's first preaching the Gospel, excluding the authority of the Church. de Pudic. c. 21. "He saith, 'I will give *thee* the keys,' not, the Church. And so the event shews. He first applied the key. Observe, what key. 'Ye men of Israel, hear what I say, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved by God unto you and the rest.' And this was what was peculiar to St. Peter. The rest he shared with the other Apostles, and with them, transmitted to the Church." See S. Cyprian de Unit. Eccl. §. 3. p. 133. Oxf. Tr. Ep. 33. (27.) ad lapsos. Ep. (73.) ad Jubaian. Orig. ad loc. "Are then the keys of the kingdom of heaven given to Peter alone, and shall no other of the blessed receive them?" (Afterwards, Tom. 13. in Matt. fin., he contrasts this authority given to S. Peter, not with that given to the Apostles or the Church, but with that which he supposed they have who thrice rebuke a brother.) Firmilian ap. S. Cypr. Ep. 75. c. 11. S. Ambr. in Ps. 38. §. 37. "This Novatian hath not heard, the Church of God hath heard—What is said to Peter, is said to the Apostles. We do not usurp power, we obey a command, &c." de Pœn. i. 7. §. 33. S. Hil. de Trin. vi. 33. "O blessed and holy men, [the Apostles,] and who for the reward of your faith obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing in heaven and in earth." (comp. c. 16. in loc.) S. Aug. Tr. 22. in Joh. §. 7. explaining xi. 44. "It is said to the attendants, the Apostles, whatsoever ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." (comp. Tr. 49. §. 24.) Serm. 295. de nat. Pet. et Pauli §. 2. "Among these [disciples] to Peter every where almost alone was it vouchsafed to represent the Church. On account of this very character, which he alone bore, of representing the whole Church, was it granted him to hear the words, 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' For these keys not one man, but the unity of the Church received. Hereby then is the excellence of Peter set forth, that he was an emblem of the Church, in its universality and its unity, when it was said to him, 'I give to thee' what was given to all. For that ye may know that the Church did receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hear in another place what the Lord saith to all His Apostles, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' and then instantly, 'whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained,' (Joh. 20, 22. 23.) appertaineth to the keys of which it was said, 'Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven.' (Matt. 16, 19.) But this He said to Peter, that thou mayest know that Peter was then representing the whole Church." Tr. 118. in Joh. §. 4.

" In that he returned that answer for all [the Apostles] and *with all* received that saying, [' I will give thee, &c.'] representing, as it were, the very character of unity itself, therefore was he one for all, because unity is in all." Tr. 124. §. 5. " As relates to himself properly, he was by nature one man, by grace one Christian, by more abundant grace, one and the same the first Apostle; but when that was said to him, ' I will give thee, &c.' he represented the whole Church, which in this world is beat upon by divers temptations, wind, floods, storms, and falleth not, for it is founded on the Rock, whence Peter had his name.—The Church then which is founded on Christ, received from Him, in Peter, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, i. e. the power of binding and loosing sius." Tr. 51. §. 12. " Were not Peter a type of the Church, the Lord would not say to him, ' I will give thee, &c.' If this was said to Peter only, the Church doth it not. But if it is wrought in the Church also, that what are bound on earth are bound in heaven, what loosed on earth loosed in heaven, because, when the Church excommunicates, the excommunicate is bound in heaven, where he is reconciled by the Church, the reconciled is loosed in heaven—if this is wrought in the Church, Peter, when he received the keys, signified the holy Church." add de doctr. Christ. i. 18. c. advers. leg. i. 17. in Ps. 108 init. as a type of the Church, de ag. Christ. c. 30. " for to this Church [the Church Catholic] were the keys of the kingdom of heaven given, when they were given to Peter." add c. 31. de Bapt. iii. 17. as a type of unity, add vii. 51. Pacian. ad Sympr. Ep. 3. p. 311. Ep. i. p. 106. " What is that which He saith to the Apostles—Was this permitted to the Apostles alone?" S. Jerome adv. Jov. i. 14. (quoted Note Q.) Opt. vii. 3. " To him it was vouchsafed to be preferred to all the Apostles, and he alone received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which were to be communicated to the rest" [by Christ, Rig. ad Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. Du Pin Diss. iv. 1. 1.] S. Leo Serm. 4. (quoted Note Q.) Fulgent. de Rem. Pecc. i 19. 24. ii. 20. de Fide ad Pet. c. 3. Johann. Hieros. et Synod. Palæst. (ap. Launoy p. 32.) Pseudo-Eucherius Hom. de Nat. S. Pet. (ib.) Gaudentius Tract. in dic. Ordinat. suæ. (Du Pin iv. 1. 1.) Theoph. in loc. " Although the ' I will give thee' was said to Peter alone, still it is given to all the Apostles," Phot. cod. 280. ap. Barrow on the Supremacy of the Pope, Supp. i. 20. c. 16. S. Chrys. among the titles of S. John, adds " who hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven," (Hom. 1. in Joh. §. 1. quoted ib.) See the Gallican Divines, Launoy Ep. ii. 5. Du Pin Diss. iv. 1. 1. vi. 6.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

On Apol. c. 21. p. 48. n. f.

Chrysologus (Serm. 57. de Symb. Ap.) uses nearly the same words as T. "The Son proceeded from The Father, not receded, nor, to succeed to The Father, did He go forth from The Father, but He went forth to abide ever in The Father," (processit Filius, non recessit, nec successurus Patri, &c.)

On Note D, *on the Millennium*, p. 128.

S. Jerome in Is. l. xvii. c. 60. v. 19. 20. uses language which might seem to imply that he himself received the doctrine of the Millennium, in a spiritual sense; but in saying that he does not differ from the Millenarians as to the period when these prophecies shall be accomplished, he probably means only that it shall be at the end of all things, but in Heaven, not on earth. The passage is, "From this section, we are compelled to refer all which has been and is about to be said, to the last time, when, heaven and earth passing away, the office of the sun and moon shall cease, and the Lord Himself shall be the everlasting Light; so that what the Millenarians assert shall be fulfilled carnally, we believe are to be spiritually, differing as to the quality of the promises not as to the period," and, in the same context, he paraphrases, c. 62. v. 7. "So long ought ye to ask, until Jerusalem which fell in the Jews, and is a by-word and curse, shall be the praise of the whole world;" and, on v. 9. "These things (Matt. 14, 25.) are in part being fulfilled in the Church, when the Lord saith to His disciples, 'Drink, My friends, and be ye inebriated' with 'the wine which maketh glad the heart of man.' And in midday doth Joseph drink with his brethren. And it shall be fulfilled more completely, when the earth shall be inebriated with the blessings of the Lord." This period he explains (on c. 60 fin.) to be "the consummation of all things and the second coming of the Saviour," but so also does S. Augustine place the Millennium after the Day of Judgment. It seems very unlikely, however, that had S. Jerome held a spiritual Millennium, he should speak so very often as he does against the fleshly Millenarians, without intimating the doctrine which he held.

On Note F, p. 253. l. 6. *On the human appearance of our Lord.*

It is to be observed, on the other hand, that S. Irenæus, to whom T. owes so much, quotes this same Scripture of the lowliness of His Humanity. The Old Latin translator uses the word indecorus. "The Divine Scriptures attest both of Him, that He was a Man without beauty (indecorus) and subject to suffering, and sitting on the foal of an ass; vinegar and gall are given Him to drink, and He is despised of the people, and descends even to death, and that He is the Lord," &c. iii. 19. 2. S. Cyril of Alexandria ad loc. uses St. Clement's word εὐτελῆ of His being "found in fashion as a man." "We saw Him, and He had neither appearance nor beauty, i. e Divine Beauty, but His Form was without honour (ἄτιμον). For petty and mean (σμικρὰ καὶ εὐτελῆ) and without honour are human things altogether, compared to the Divine and exceeding excellence and incomparable brightness of Beauty of that Nature Which is above all things. It is said accordingly, 'fairer than the sons of men.'"

On p. 262. de Baptismo, c. 5. "*The* image *is considered to be in His* [*for 'his'*] *Form, the likeness in His* [*for 'his'*] *Eternity.*

Tertullian draws a distinction, as other Fathers have done, (see note, p. 262.) between the "Image" and the "Likeness" spoken of in Gen. 1, 26. He refers the former to the impress of the Divine Character bestowed on man at the Creation, lost at the Fall, and in part recovered in Baptism: the latter to the gift of Immortality, the "likeness" of God's Eternity[a], conferred at the Creation, (Gen. 2, 7.) annulled at the Fall, (Rom. 5, 12.) restored in the covenant of the Gospel, (2 Tim. 1, 10.) For the use of the word "Form" (effigies) in the sense above noted compare 2 Cor. 3, 18. "we are transformed into the same image," (τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα,) Rom. 8, 29. "He predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son," (συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.) Who Himself is declared to be, in a way inherent in Himself, "in the form of God," (ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ) Phil. 2, 6. Gal. 4, 19. "of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed (μορφωθῇ) in you," on which latter passage Theophylact says, "He would say, Ye have defaced the 'form' (μορφὴν) of Christ, which ye had in yourselves from Baptism, and ye need again another regeneration and re-formation, (ἀναπλασίως) that the Form of God (ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ) may again be in you, so that ye may bear on you an Impress from Him." (ἐξ αὐτοῦ χαρακτηρίζεσθαι.) [Tr.]

[a] Comp. Wisd. 2, 23. "For God made man to be immortal, (ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ) and made him an image of His own proper nature." (τῆς ἰδίας ἰδιότητος.)

On p. 274. note e.

The same text occurs in S. Jerome on Is. 57, 8.

On Note I, §. ult. p. 326.

Passages in which S. Clem. Alex. entitles The Son The Will of The Father, are Pædag. iii. ult. "The Good Will (Βούλημα) of The Good Father," and Strom. v. 1. p. 547. "Almighty Will," θέλημα παντοκρατορικὸν, add c. 9. p. 573. and Orig. de Princ. quoted by Coteler. on Recogn. i. 24. where The Holy Ghost is entitled "The Will proceeding from the First Will," (The Son.)

On Note M, p. 402. *On the* absolute *necessity of Confession.*

Bingham (15. 8. 6.) quotes part of the following passage from Laurentius Bp. of Novaria, (A.D. 507.) Hom. 1. de Pœnit. B. P. ix. 466, 7. "God is in thee. He will be to thee penitence, and a fountain, and Baptism, and remission, Who never ceaseth nor faileth in thee.—Hast thou fallen after Baptism?—What then? is hope perished? Not so. Thou hast in the font received the sign, not of despair but of mercy.—From that day and hour that thou camest forth from the laver, thou art to thyself a perpetual fountain, an abiding remission. Thou hast no need of a teacher, or the hand of a priest. As thou wentest up from the sacred font, thou wert clothed with a white robe, and anointed with the mystic ointment; the invocation was pronounced over thee, and the Threefold Power came upon thee, which, into thee, a new vessel, poured this new teaching. Thenceforth He made thee a judge to thyself, and gave thee knowledge, of thyself to discern good and evil, i. e. acceptableness and sin. And because while remaining in this body thou couldest not be free from sin, after Baptism He has set thy remedy within thyself, He hath placed remission in thine own option, that thou seek not a priest, when need requireth, but thyself, as a skilled and clear-sighted master, correct thine error within thyself, and by repentance wash away thy sin.—Abiding penitence is placed within men as a font."

INDEX.

A.

Abel, see *Cain*.
Abortions, procuring of, unchristian, 22.
Abraham, his temptation, 305.
Abraham's bosom, see *Paradise*.
Actors, degraded among Romans, 211, note e.
Adam, saved by confession, 369.
Ades, see *Paradise*: an unseen place, 119. held to be under the earth by some, ib.
Adrian, inquisitive, 14.
Advent, twofold, 49. view of, mark of Jew or Christian, ib.
Æons, 440. Valentinian pairs of, 467, and notes.
Æsculapius, 58, 135, 172.
Albinus, 157, note g.
Albini, 76.
Alburnus, 12.
Alexander, 29.
Alexander M. 95.
Alleluiah, 319, and note i.
Alms, to heathen, 249. procure pardon, 358, note g. 365, note m.
Altar, the, a name for Paradise, 119.
Amen, see *Eucharist*.
Anacharsis, 3.
Analogy, silences objections to doctrine of the Trinity, 47, note a.
Anaphe, 85.
Anaxarchus, 104.
Ancharia, 62.
Angels, conduct souls to Paradise, 118. associate with saints, ib. have celestial bodies, 120. gave water a healing power, 260, note y. 261, note h. 263, note n. of prayer, ib. and other things, ib. cause of their fall, 314, note k. pray, 321. to be restored, see *Creation*.
Anger, of God, how much implies and is implied by it, 134.
Animals, types of certain vices, 252, note f. none an emblem of idolater, 252.
Antelii Dæmons, 182, 241.
Antichrist, to come before the Millennium, 122. resistance to a condition of enjoying it, 123, 438.
Antinous, 181.
Antonine, nursed by a Christian, 147.
Antoninus Arrius, 148.
Apelles, 440. thought Christ's body fantastic, 463, note k. see *Philumene*. makes two gods, 468. affirms that of the law to be fire, ib.
Apocryphal writings, by heretics, 451, note p.
Apollinarius, a Millenarian, 128, 129.
Apollo, a suppliant, 170, 178.
Apologist, Christian, 131, note a.
Apology, summary of, 142, &c. its date, 1. and contents, ib. Jerome's character of it, ib.
Apostles, not yet crowned, 117. baptism of, see *Baptism*, 270. their faith, 272. their commission, 452. descent of the Church from, 453. the keepers of all mysteries, 455. fulness of their knowledge, ib. agreement between, 458. said nothing in secret different from the Creed, 460. succession from, 465. their writings read in their Churches, 470. equality of, 471, note k.
Appearance of God to patriarchs, 447, note f.
Appion, 43.
Arabia, perfumes of, how allowable, 175.
Archemorus, 181.
Arcæ, 145, note y.
Ariadne, 170.
Arians, cannot baptize, 285.
Aristotle, 95. tendency of his arguing spirit, 441.
Aristeas, history of the LXX, 42.
Aristides, 29.
Aristippus, 95.
Ark, a type of the Church, 252.
Arts, first inspired by God Himself, 173. idolatrous, inspired by demons, 201, 203, 222.
Asclepiodotus, 58.
Asper, mild to Christians, 146.

Ass's head, worship of, attributed to Christians, 36.
Astrology, &c. put forth by rebel angels, 77. invented by devils, 230. religion of Magi no plea for, ib. a species of sorcery, 231. excludes from heaven, 232.
Astrologers, attendant on idolatry, 229. agency of demons supports them, 230, note s.
Atargatis, 62, and note k.
Atheism, Christians charged with, 24, note k. reason of it, 25.
Athenian harlot, 104, 156.
Atys, 35.
Augustine, St. see *Tradition*. His opinions of the Millennium, 128. see *Millennium*. Refuses title of Lord, 74.
Aurelius Marcus, assisted by Christians, 147.
Authenticæ literæ, 470, note h.

B.

Bacchus, 17, 178. banished Rome, 16. his feast, 89. the Egyptian Osiris, 171. theatres, temples to, 200.
Baltheus, in a theatre, 192, note u.
Baptism, Tertullian's treatise upon, 255. its date, ib. tit. not Montanistic and why, ib. the sacrament of water, ib. use of discussing, ib. denied by the Cainites, ib. note h. simplicity of a stumbling-block, 256. marvellousness of, ib. figured by water, 258. in heathen rites, 260, note z. Satan's imitations of, ib. note c. 261. believed by unbelievers in the true, ib. type of at Bethsaida (=Bethesda, note h.) 261, 2. in what like, in what unlike, the flood, 265. and the Red sea, ib. other types of and testimonies to, 266. by fire, meaning of, 268, note g. different views of, ib. in the other life according to some, ib. its connection with the judgment, ib. why not administered by our Lord, 269. necessity of the resurrection to, ih. 278, 279, note x, note h. of the Apostles opinions upon, 270, note k, 271. by aspersion, trace of, 271, note l. necessary over and above faith, 272. not disparaged by, 'Christ sent me not to baptize,' 273. heretical, null, 274, Note G, 280, at length. Of blood, 274. serves for that by water, ib. in whose gift it is, ib. 275. lay valid yet not desirable, 275, note d. guilt in laymen not, in danger, to give it, ib. not to be rashly given, 276. no argument to the contrary from the Eunuch's case, ib. to be delayed unless necessary, 277. restores the Holy Spirit forfeited by the fall, 277, note o. its attainment to be feared most, 278. seasons fitting for, ib. note r. delay of frequently reproved in the Fathers, 278, note q. its grace equal at all times, 278. preparations for it, 279. reason for them, note x. temptations followed Christ's and will man's, 279. makes the whole body clean, 308. of repentance, 351. preceded by repentance, 358. why, 359. how to be reverenced, 360.
Baptism, heretical, why excluded, 280, Note G. three views on Baptism out of the Church, 281. that of Africa and Asia Minor excluding heretical and schismatical baptism, ib. the Greek which excluded heretical, ib. and the Latin which excluded none, ib. the latter that of St. Stephen defended by St. Austin, ib. what was the point at issue, ib. view of the Greek Church ancient, ib. testimonies to it, ib. St. Dionysius of Alex. his doctrine upon it, ib. 282. supported by Cyprian and St. Firmilian, 282. his grounds for it, ib. note a. opposed by Romanists, ib. Montanist baptism admitted by S. Basil, ib. stated by Firmilian to be Apostolic, 282. who rejects all baptism out of the Church, 283. observations on the decree of Council of Iconium cited by him, ib. and on his real meaning, ib. 284. the question raised by St. Stephen, ib. passage from St. Basil upon, ib. 284. his distinction between treatment of heresy, schism, and conventicles, ib. his comments on Firmilian, ib. St. Ambrose, his opinion on it, 285, note e. St. Athanasius, 285. denies that Arians can impart it, ih. and Manicheans and Phrygians, 286. does not sanction the Romanist view, ib. The distinction between Eastern and Western view stated, ib. St. Epiphanius' opinion of Arian baptism, ib. *is* against its validity after the separation of the heresy, ib. as of other heresies, 287. passage from St. Basil to shew the extent of heresy taken in by Greek rule, ib. Encratite, Marcionite, Montanist baptism rejected by it, ib. difficulties owing to this extent, ib. and the doubt whether some doctrines were heretical or schismatical, ib. differently applied in different dioceses, ib. St. Basil's opinion upon it, 288. held valid by St. Stephen, ib. note f. seeming want of rule about, in the East accounted for, 289. St. Firmilian's rejection of Montanist, ib. St. Cyprian's virtual

admission of a distinction between it and schismatical baptism, ih. 290, 292. his objections chiefly to St. Stepben's maxim concerning it, ib. acts on the Greek rule, 291. origin of tbat rule unknown, hut early, ib. St. Cyprian's view of, grounded not on tradition, but Scripture, ib. passages of it which relate to *heresy*, 292. St. Stephen's view of, erroneous in St. Cyprian's opinion, ih. reason of absence of Apostolic tradition about, ih. St. Cyprian's theory of the origin of Roman view, 293. this view to be found in St. Stephen's fragments, and was developed by St. Austin, ib. wherein it was contrary to the modern view, that the validity was dependent upon tbe form not the officiator, ib. limitations of from St. Austin, ib. sanctioned by Council of Arles, 294. St. Austin's reference to it, and seeming mistake upon, ib. note i. Nicene Council condemned that of the Paulicians only, ib. judgment of Council of Carthage upon, 294, 5, note l. rule in Roman ritual concerning, 295, note m. and in Scotch Church, 295. Greek rule about sanctioned by Council in Trullo, ib. Timotheus Presbyter's classification of heretics bearing on it, ib. 296. does not, like tbe Roman rule, proceed on a definite line, ib. adbered to in rejection of Latin Baptism in later times, ib. theory to account for diversity of views, ib. instance of it by persons never commissioned, unknown in early times, 297. advantages of English and Scotch practice, ib.

Baptism of John, discussed, 266, note b. its power not divine, 267. did not give tbe Holy Spirit, ib. proofs of this, ib. not heavenly, ib. employed as aspiring to remission to follow, 268. contrasted with true baptism, ib. was probably administered to tbe Apostles save St. Paul, 269, 270, note k.

Barnabas, St. his opinion of the rebuilding of the temple, 126, note h.

Baronius, famous passage from, on the ship as type of the Church, 271, note m.

Basil, see *Baptism heretical*, 283.

Beasts pray, 321.

Belenus, 62.

Bellarmine, makes serious mistakes upon the antiquity of image-worship, 113. misrepresents St. Cyprian on confession, 377, note g.

Berosus, 43.

Bethesda and Bethsaida, confused, 261, note h.

Birds, their wings form a cross, 321. seem to pray, ib.

Blasphemy, of the world, not to be caused or avoided by sin, 239.

Blessings, sacredness of, in God's Name, 133.

Blood, used by heathen in rites, 22. tasted hy them, 22, 23. Christians forbidden it, and abbor it, ib. puddings of blood not to be eaten by Christians, 23. prohibition to Christians to eat, see at length, Note A, p. 107. and that as a necessary duty, ib. opinions of Fathers, ib. and Councils, ib. upon the subject,—not originally an enactment of and so not annulled with the Mosaic code, 108. unconscious eating of it an excuse for violating, ib. very long observed, 109. penance imposed on non-observers, ib. human, thought by heathen to appease the dead, 202.

Body, self-same to rise again, 98. this more credible than another, 100. partakes in sin, 352, 3. its restoration denied by all philosophers, 441.

Bonds, to heathen, danger of, 250, 1.

Brahmans, 88.

Brothers, title of Christians, 453. disused through luxury, ib. note z.

Byzantium, catastrophe of, 146.

C.

Cælestis, 30.

Cæsar, above gods in heathen's esteem, 69. destroys temples, &c. at will, ib. with what he may he served, 241, 242.

Cain, a type of the lowest cast with heretics, 441, note l.

Caian Heresy, what, 467.

Caius Seius, 8.

Calamities, public attributed to Christians, 85. persecutions on account of, ib. real cause of, 86. lightened by Christians, 87, 88.

Callimachus, 170.

Callinicus, 106.

Cannæ, 86.

Canon, the, 97.

Capella, Cæcilius, his exclamation at the fall of Byzantium, 146.

Cardea, 182, 241.

Cardines, in theatre, 192, note n.

Caristia, 232, note e.

Carthage, 64, note h. fire over the walls of, 145. Christians numerous there, 148.

Cassii, 76.

Cassius Severus, (Hemina, note p.) 26.

Castor and Pollux, 56. Arcenses, 197, 199.

Catholic, the word not originally in the Creeds, 489. why Eastern and not Western, ib.

Catiline, 22.
Cato, 29. laxness about marriage, 82.
Cœlestis, 62.
Celibacy, of Christians, 24. excellence of, 411.
Censors put down theatres, 100.
Ceres, 134. Pharian, 38. African, 416.
Charge of sinning against Roman Religion. see *Christians*.
Chastity of Christians, 24, 105.
Chastisement, blessedness of, 341.
Childmurder, Christians charged with, 17.
Children exposed by heathen, 24.
Chrestian Chrestus, 9.
Chrism, 263, note m. 264. rules for administering to heretics in Greek Church, 296, notes p. q.
Christ, proposed by Tiberius as a god, 12. (and thought Divine, 13, note p.) in vain, ib. is God, 45, 46, 59, 60. the Word, Reason, and Power of God, 46, 47. His death and ministry, summary of, 50. supposed a magician, ib. note. the Word, ib. foretold His death, ib. is of a Divine Nature, 52, 53. instructed the wise of this world, 53. His retirement and the object of it, 153. His entry into Jerusalem, 180. His example of service and humility, 246. condemns pomp, ib. His unction, 264. note. the Spirit of God, 299. styled Spirit by the Fathers, 321. why, ib. 324. our Lord's Divine Nature meant by it, 322. His Human Nature born from the Word and the Spirit, ib. spoken of as inspiring the Prophets, 324. is the Will of the Father, Note I. ib. 325. styled Will of Will, ib. is and hath the Will of the Father, 326. His sayings sometimes not commands but principles, 443. meaning not letter of, to tell, 444. made flesh in the womb of S. Mary, 447.
Christians, enmity against, 1, 9. private persecutions of, ib. note. numerous, 2. of every estate and nation, 3, note. do not repent of being so, 10. treated otherwise than other criminals, 4, 6, and note a. called public enemies, 4. calumnies against, 5, note q. tortured to make them deny the truth, 6. accused of all crimes, 7, 8. a crime to be so, 8. their reformation owned but hated, 9. name hated, 9, 12. absurdity of doing so, 9, 10. charges against retorted on heathens, 10. persecuted first by Nero, 13. serve in army, ib. force of their prayers against drought, ib. note z. accused of secret crimes, 17. which cannot be proved, ib. continually beset, ib. and 20. forbidden blood, 23. and Append. Note A. their chastity, 24. charged with Atheism, ib note k. sent to mines or islands, 30. said to worship an ass's head, why, 36, 39. called Jews, ib. note z. their power over demons, 57, note u. 58, 60, 68. charge of sinning against Roman religion, 61. tempted to sacrifice to heathen gods, 66. their refusal deemed perverse, 67. charged with offending against Cæsar, 68. pray for Cæsar, 69. manner of doing so, 70, 71. benefitted by peace, 72. truest friends of Emperors, 73. use titles of respect for Emperors, 74. invited to heathen rites, 75. their real loyalty, 77. benefit all men, ib. their patience of injury, 78. their rapid spread, 78. their numbers, 79. keep off unclean spirits, ib. note a. why not factious, 80. why they meet, ib. their love noticed by heathen, 82. why called brethren, ib. note p. and q. charged with public calamities, 85. rigour of their fasting, 87, note z. their use of things as not abusing, 89. not in places of punishment, save as such, 91. witness to chastity of, 105. charged with want of demonstration, folly, madness, &c. 136, note t. rejoice in suffering, 142. charged as impious and disloyal, 143. falsely, 144. known but for piety, &c. ib. their upright dealing, 147. persecuted for it, 148. their numbers, ib. badges of, 180. trained to hardness, 188. reproached with obstinacy, ib. note f. their joy not in this world, 216, 217. allowed till Severus' persecution, to hold office, 220. tit. not to be present at heathen rites, and why, 238. no man's servants, 246. might always be informed against, 409.
Christian worship, 81. discipline, ib. alms, ib. feasts, their simplicity, 83. law, lightened and so to be obeyed more completely, 252.
Christianity, unknown, 28. unheard and so hated, ib. 4. examination of avoided, lest it prove true, 2. rapidly spread, 3, note. seems madness, 4. improves men in all relationships, 9. favoured by good Emperors, 13. Tacitus' account of it, 36. difference of, from Judaism, 45. esteemed foolishness by Gentiles, 136, notes s. and t.
Church, increases under persecution, 105, note a. grounds of her practice to be sought while obeying it, 160. present in a Christian, 263. in what sense so, note p. ih. communion with, necessary in order to Sacra-

ments being valid, 284. being received into essential as well as Baptism, 293.
Churches, all Apostolical, 453. in what sense, note u. see *Creed*.
Cicero, 29, 106.
Circus, the, 196, 197, 207. from Circe, 197.
Cleanthes, his belief, 46.
Clouds, supposed object of Christian worship, 62, note y.
Cleopatra, 156.
Clement, *St.* of Rome, bis succession to St. Peter considered, 465, note s.
Cletus, *St.* 465. samc name as Anacletus, ib. note s.
Cœlestis, 58.
Collections, at Eucharist, 81, note l.
Colours, sacred to certain gods, 190.
Comedians deride the gods, 34.
Comeliness, want of, in Cbrist, Note F, 252. rather lay in unattractiveness, ib. 253. opinions of Tertullian upon, ib. of St. Clement, ib. Origen, ib. St. Basil, ib. St. Austin, ib. amount only to exposition of prophecy, ib. difference of T.'s and St. Austin's view, ib. is not *meanness* of countenance, 254. partial parallel from unattractiveness of a saint's visage to the unsympatbizing, ib. agreeable to Origen's tradition on diversity of our Lord's appearance, ih. and to St. Jerome's, ib. who compares it to the *hidden* powers of magnet, &c. ib.
Commerce, based on covctousness, 234. purveys for idols, ib. not in all cases wrong, ib. 235.
Commixtus, see *Mixtus*.
Communion, with wicked to be avoided, 239.
Communion of Saints, article of, in no Creed before seventb cent. 487.
Concretus, see *Mixtus*.
Confession, preparatory to baptism, 278, note u. lightens sins, 364. what it implies, 365. sbame no justifiable obstacle to it, 366. use of public, 367. an aid against hell-fire, 368. attends on repentance, 369. (see *Exomologesis*,) Note M. on necessity of, p. 379. the question hetween the Roman Church and ours relates to right of dispensing witb it, 380. wbat tbe Roman claims are concerning it, ib. contrasted with the puhlic confession in the Fathers, ib. passages examined from Origen, 381. relate to puhlic penance or counsel sought in difficult cases, ib. 382, 397. of Lactantius, 382. St. Hilary, 383. does not imply private confession, ib. and St. Basil, 383. does not make it compulsory, ih. note m. 384. and St. Ambrose, 384. his practice, 385. St. Gregory of Nyssa, ih. speaks of puhlic penance not of confession, ib. Pacian speaks of public p., 386. St. Chrysostom implies duty of discretion in regard to men's capahilities, not absolute necessity of confession, ib. or duty of confessing to God, 387. St. Innocent I. speaks of public penance, 388. St. Jerome speaks of confession in order to advice, ib. or tbe duties of a confessor, ib. St. Augustine, in spurious passages speaks of public confession, 389. in genuine of conf. to God, ib. Sozomen does not speak of mere private penance in tbe Roman Church, 390. St. Leo, passage from, 390. does not argue for substitution of private for public penance, 391. another passage from, ib. speaks of public penance, ib. evidence from first five centuries does not favour Roman practice, 392. sins omitted hy Canons entailed no penance, ib. classification of sins in ancient Churcb and modern Roman, as bearing upon, 392, 393. required in public only for excommunicating sins, 394, 395, 396. passages adduced hy Bellarmine and prove any thing but the indispensahility of, 396. as from Origen, 397. from St. Gregory of Nyssa, 398. necessary before God only according to S. Chrysostome, 399, 401. the shame of tbis forgotten hy Romanists, 399. hut is St. C.'s settled teaching, 402. language of otber Fathers inconsistent with indispensability of, 402. this further shewn from its not being exacted before communion, 403. and from the admissions by the Fathers of their ignorauce of the people's sins, 405. collateral negative evidence to tbe same effect, 406. salutary when a Church is degenerate though not essential to a Church's heing, 407. Theodorus Cantuar.'s testimony considered, ib. note t. farther note on 501.
Conscience, a security against crimes charged on Christians, 20. guide to fitness or unfitness for communicating, 404.
Consualia, 194.
Consubstantiality, of the Three Persons, Tertullian asserts it, 47, note a.
Consus, 194, 195, 197.
Continence, heathen instances of, 416. a preparation for eternity, 417. helps to, 418.
Converts, allowed to remain soldiers on what condition, 177.
Coracion a Millenarian, 127.
Cos, 85.
Council of Arles, 294. Nicene, ib.

Council, Deutero-Nicene, decrees worship to images, 110, 114. Eliberis prohibits paintings, 111. see *Blood*.
Council of Florence, its statements concerning departed souls, 119, 120, note d.
Council of Hexapolis, 159, note g.
Covetousness, implied by impatience in losses, 336.
Crassus, 29.
Creation, argument for resurrection, 100. subjected to vanity, meaning of, 168, note p. at length to be restored, ib. subjected to whom, 190. may be abused, ih.
Creatures, of God, pure in what sense, 174.
Creed, used at Baptism, 163, note s.
Creeds, not to be tested by persons, 437.
Creed, the, styled rule of faith, 446, note c. as given by T. 446, 7. questioned only by heretics, 447. true Scriptures and interpretations go with it, 452. delivered in Baptism by the Apostles, ib. its unity directeth the Church, 453. a test of truth as being doctrine of Apostolic Churches, 454, note h. and so of Apostles and of Christ, ib. was a form, plainly seen, 459. yet to be used discreetly, ib. was taught to the whole Church, 460. nothing contrary to taught in secret, ib. and well-attested by all in spite of objections, 461. and why, ib. absurdity of the contrary supposition, 462. early traces of, 480.
Creed, Apostles', early traces and variations of, Note P, 480. precise words of, why not known, ib. appellations of in the early fathers, ih. used in Baptism, ib. variations, of, when real, expansions only, 481. accounted for by reference to the occasions on which it was quoted, ib. 491. and by the use of abridged forms of, 482. (specimens of such forms of, ib.) by the purpose for which particular fathers omit, e. g. the words Maker of heaven and earth, 483. this omission made in, when there is evidence to shew its non-universality, 483, 4. other variations noticed, 484, 5. the last clause omitted by Jerome and Ruffinus, 485. yet has proof of its existence at that time, ib. omission of one article does not imply its absence from Creed, 486. the last implied in the foregoing, ib. real additions, clearly marked, prove other clauses not such, 487. (see *Descent into hell* and *Communion of Saints*.) absence of two clauses evidence a distinct universal Creed, ib. weight of verbal variations on this point, ib. 488. these in part referrible to oral tradition of, 488. the differences in Eastern and Western confirm the universal Creed remaining when they are subducted, 488, 489. clauses added to by the Council of Nice, 489—491. taken from earlier existing Creeds, ib. notes. latter clauses of, why less early evidence for, 491.
Crœsus, 29, 56.
Cross, reverence shewn to, 37. the worship of, ib. treated of, ih. note c, 38. St. Cyril Alex. his testimony concerning, 37, note c. St. Ambrose's, ib. Euseb. Emisenus, ib. St. Jerome, ib. stands for the doctrine, ib. not it, but crucifix tends to idolatry, 37. when first worshipped seemingly, ib. extr. used virtually by heathen, 38. the form of used in prayer, 70, note j, 71, note o. frequent signing with, 165, note f. two-fold character of, 226, note g. use of, 235, note k. body in the fashion of, 236, note o. Jacob's use of it, 264, note r.
Crown, Tertullian's Treatise on, 158. occasion and date of it, ih. the earliest with a trace of Montanism, ib. 159, note f. a Christian soldier refuses to wear it, ib. duty of doing so, 159, 160. and the grounds of, ib. not allowed and therefore forbidden by Scripture, 161. made of flowers, 167. which appeal to other senses than that of touch, ih. 168. other kinds of considered, 169, 170. invented by Pandora, 170. used in supplications, ib. note x. originally heathen, 171. connection of with idolatry, ib. 179, 182. absence of them from Jewish ritual typical of what should be Christian's case, 173. wrong to argue from Christ's crown for it, ib. why, 183. absence from Jewish idolatry also, 173, 174. used by heathen for the dead, 174, note a. use of as regardeth demons, ib. to be avoided because idolatrous, 175. none supported by reason, 176. of laurel, myrtle, olive, 178. other heathen uses of, 179, 181, 182. worldly, 180. used in Christian marriage, ib. note t. on women why objectionable, 182. crown of thorns, its meaning, ib. note h, 183. in Revelations, 183. to be waited for in Heaven, ib. how used in Mithriac rites, 184. needless to Christians, 209.
Crowns, golden, given to provincial priests, 245.
Crucifix, not really in early use, 113.
Ctesias, 23.
Ctesiphon, capture of, 158. tit.
Cunei, in theatre, 192, note u.

Cures, see *Miracles*
Customs, innocent may be observed, 243.
Cybele, 63.
Cyprian, St. his revelations, 217, note u.

D.

Danaus, his date, 43.
Daniel, served under an idolater, 244, 245, 246.
Darkness, at the crucifixion, 50. mentioned in heathen records, 51. by Phlegon, note. Eusebius, ib. Origen, ib.
Dead, the, worshipped by the heathen, 53. called 'poor' by heathen and why, 136, 137. prayers for, among heathen, 137. offerings for, 164, notes z. and a. prayers for, ib. scarce any mention of purgatory in those of the Roman Missal, &c. ib. crowned by heathen, 174. sacrifices, &c. to, 201, 202, note e. to be longed for, 339.
Death, fear of, a proof it is evil, 137.
Decumanus, in theatre, 192, note u.
Deification, impossible without a deity, 27. absurdity of, 28.
Delos, 85.
Delventinus, 62.
Demetrius Phalercius, a grammarian, Ptolemy's librarian, 41, 43.
Democritus, blinded himself, 94.
Demons, how produced, 54. their power on men's bodies, ib. their manifold workings for evil, ib. 55, note e. winged and swift, ib. the use they put prophecy to, ib. note b. their divinations, &c. note f. their seeming ubiquity, ib. 56. subject to Christians, 57. see *Magicians*. their envy at Christians, 67. through it instigate heathen judges against them, ib. note p. malice against Christians unavailing, 68. their impotency, 69. creatures of Cæsar, ib. their existence attested by soul, 135. council of, sitting in Rome, 196. in idols, 203. and theatres, ib. note k.
Demonstration, want of, objected to Christians, 136, note t.
Descent into hell, doctrine of, known where not explicitly stated, 487. regarded as involved in the article buried, ib. yet not entirely so in all cases, ib. a Latin not a Greek article of faith, ib.
Devil, his pretensions to divinity, 171. wiles of, 184, 248. pomp of, 232. his rage against the Church, 215. his impatience, 332. to be watched against in the prison, 151. see *Martyrs*.
Devils, rulers of this world, [κοσμοκράτορας, Eph. vi. 12.] 245.
Dido, 155.
Diodorus, 26, 170.
Diogenes, 94, 106. his pride, ib. degraded the gods, 34.
Dionysius, S. of Alexandria, opposed the Millenarian doctrine, 127. not clear what form of it he opposed, ib. objected to carnal views, ib.
Discipline, of orthodox and heretics contrasted, 476, 478. strict, an evidence of truth, ib.
Divorce, none in early Rome, frequent later, 16. T. allows marriage after, Note O, 431. Roman practice and writers opposed to this, 432. different opinions upon, ib. called adultery by some, ib. marriage of the adulterous party not allowed, 433.
Doctors, an order of men, 448, note h.
Dog, of what a type, 252, note f.
Dogs, used to cause darkness by Christians, (see *Secret crimes*,) 19.
Domitian, checked persecution, 13.
Donative, 158, 159, note e.
Doors, worshipped by heathen, 241, 2.
Dove, descent of into Christ, 265. meaning of Noah's, ib.
Dress, idolatrous, 221.
Dusares, 62.
Duty, grounded on God's command, 355, note p. knowledge of, increases guilt of sin, 356.

E.

Easter, why fit season for Baptism, 278.
Eclipse, notable one, 145.
Elders, what the term includes, 81, note k.
Eleusis, mysteries of, 260. their supposed effect on men after death, ib. note e.
Elias, a second-coming of, believed, 130.
Elijah, abused application of his history, 212, note g. his vision, 347.
Elysium, 98.
Emperors, the humane favour Christianity, 13. deified, 27. prayed for by Christians, 69, 72. acknowledge God implicitly, 72. their health sworn by, ib. note y. reverenced as God's representatives, 73. necessarily men, ib. may be called lord not god, 74, notes b, c. and father of his country, ib. prayed for, 80. secret hatred of, 76, 7.
Empedocles, 104, 155.
Emissum, 446.
Encratites, a name of the Manichees, 288, note f. their orders allowed by the Church, 288. cannot baptize, 287, 8.

End of all things expected, 72, note u. in what way to be desired, ib.
Endurance, of Christians, its effects in converting others, 149. a preparation for martyrdom, 154, note g. in heathen for mere glory, 155—7.
Enoch, book of, quoted, 223, 224. opinions of the Fathers on it, ib. note c. extant before our Lord's time, ib. St. Jude infallibly guided in selection from, ib. 224. counted apocrypbal, ib. quoted, 241.
Enquiry, into rules of the Church to be made while obeying, 160, 161. when it is to stop, 442, 444. is for definite truth, ib. 445. or definite places, 446.
Enquirers, unsafe guides, 448. are not Christians in their own eyes, 449.
Enthymesis, 441, note u.
Epicurus, 92. his opinion of the soul, 132, 136.
Epona, 37.
Equiria, 194.
Equity, only solid basis of laws, 12.
Erichthonius, 199.
Error, spirits of, 97. their mode of opposing truth, ib.
Eucharist, received early in morning, 164. and fasting, note x. administered only by heads of the Church, ib. note y. why offered for the dead, note z, at length. care not to spill it, ib. note d. styled Holy Thing, 214, note n. impiousness of going to theatre after it, ib. Amen as used at it, St. Austin's mention of, ib. and St. Ambrose, ib. 215. not be touched by unhallowed hands, 228, with note n. received primitively into the communicant's own hands, ih. see *Lord's Prayer*, fourth petition. received daily by some, 303, note z. celebrated by St. Paul, 318. daily, 395. left for laity to take, and why, 404. conscience a guide about, ib. eaten fasting, 427. note z.
Evil, men ashamed of it, 3. ascribed to stars, 4. Satan, 305.
Eunuch, his baptism, 276.
Euripus, in the circus, 197, note g.
Eusebius, his testimony to the number of believers in the Millennium, 125.
Excitements, detriment to holy quiet of mind, 205.
Excommunication, 87.
Exomologesis, Note L, 376. more than Latin 'confession' and what, ih. note c. does not necessarily involve it, 377. used of a special part of penitence, ib. note f. St. Cyprian's use of the term, 378. and Pacian's, ih. acts of implying detestation of sin, ib. St. Chrysostom's use of it, 379.
Exorcisms, 60, note h. 176.
Exorcism, instance of, 215. allusion to, 236.
Expediency, of Christian doctrines, 102.
Exsufflations, 60, note e.

F.

Factions, causes of, 80.
Faggot men, &c. Christians called so, 103.
Faith, unquestioning commendable, 161. sees things to come, 219. safe while in awe, 251.
Fame, falsity of, 18. difficulty of distinguishing the truth in it, 18, 19. internal evidence against, 19.
Fasting, 87, 164. preparatory to Baptism, 278, note t. a remedy for sins of the belly, 280. duty of secrecy in, 310. (see *Kiss of peace.*) when it may be dispensed with, 311. see *Lent* and *Good Friday*. T.'s witness to observation of several, ib. note z.
Father, blessedness of calling God so, 300. specially Christian revelation of Him, ib. iii. will of, what we pray may be done, 302.
Fear, a stay of faith, 251, 252. of God, heretics void of, 478. attendants upon, ib.
Festivals, of Christians, 240. more numerous than heathens', ih.
Fire, kinds of, known to philosophers, 102, 268. (see *Baptism.*)
Firmilian, 283. see *Baptism Heretical.*
Fishes, a name for Christians, 256, note d.
Flesh, essential to suffering, 136. resurrection of a main argument against Christianity, 136, note t.
Flowers, the uses of them, 167.
Flood, 85.
Famina, 313, notes d. and h.
Foolishness, Christianity so accounted by heathen, 136, note s.
Forculus, 182, 241.
Frankincense, its uses, 234, 235, note i. burning it a test for Christians, ih.
Funerals, spices used at, 89, note n, 98.
Funeral supper with heathen, 137.

G.

Gabinius, 16.
Games, of different gods, 194. see *Shows*, 202, 206, note o.

Garland, why forbidden, 89.
Genii, dæmones, 73.
Genus, attributes of, belong to species, 259.
Geta Hosidius, his Medea from Virgil, 474.
Gifts, spiritual, remained in S. Irenæus' day, 447, note h.
Gladiators, 35, note s. shows of, on the election of Quæstor, 203, note d, 209, 211, 306. master of, to be excommunicate, 235.
God, worshipped alone by Christians, 39. His immeasurableness, 40. His being proved by His works, 40. by heathen testimonies, ib. notes z. a. teaches by Scripture, 41. His prophets, ib. and dispensations, ib. Easy to be found owing to the LXX version, 42. His power proved by demons' powerlessness, 59, 60. His Kingship over all gods, 61. attested by heathens, ib. and note d. duty of sole worship to, illustrated by respect shewn to the emperor, 61. the disposer of kingdoms, 66, 70. unequal distributions of His blessings, 88. philosophers' theories concerning, 96. thought by Platonists to care for the world, by Epicureans not, 96. heathen belief in one, 132. and by the soul, 133. His Providence disbelieved by some, 134. and His anger, ib. wondrousness of His works a reason for belief, 256. simplicity of His means, 256, 257. a stumblingblock to unbelief, 256. a proper quality of His, ib. contrasted with idolatry, ib. sanctifieth others of Himself, 301. His will what it is, ib. 302. His eternal Kingship, 302. rewarder of what He accepts, 357. His omniscience, 210.
God-parents, 163, note t.
Gods, not to be consecrated without Senate's approval, 12, note p. neglected by Romans, 17. their birth assignable, 25. and their burial, ib. what they are, 29. discoverers of necessaries, 28. their vices, ib. worse than some men, 29. a source of revenue, 31. degraded by poets, 33. philosophers, 34. comedians, ib. on the stage and elsewhere, 35. monstrous, of the heathen, 39. were demons, 59. shewn by their subjection to men, ib. their powerlessness proof of the true God, ib. 60. originally men, 171, note z, 172. not to be named, 247. save in common affairs, 248. and so not as gods, ib. nor sworn by, ib. blessings in their name to be avoided, 249.
Gomorrah, its overthrow, 86.
Goods, questionable, 412, note p.
Good Friday, observed as a stricter fast than others, 311, note z.
Gospel, adds to the law in forbidding sins of the will, 354. all new in, 298.
Greeks, believe Millennium, 128.
Greek Church, its view of Baptism out of Church, see *Baptism*, 281.

H.

Hands, why spread out in prayer, 308. not to be lifted too high, 309.
Harpocrates, 16.
Heathens, sanction unjust persecution, 3. praise vice, 9. their perverse way of arraigning Christians, 7, 8. afraid to examine, 17. see *Christianity*. neglect their gods, 33. filthiness of their rites, 35, 60. their intolerance, 62. confined to Christians, ib. mob of, its brutality, 78. temples of neglected, 90, note o. wisdom of thought in Christians foolishness, 102. their injustice proof of Christians' innocence, 105. their testimony to the truth, 131. when to be attended to, 132. their good, object of Christian apologies, 142, 144. uncertain in defining truth, 210, 211.
Heaven, new. see *Creation*.
Heavenly-mindedness, remedy for pains, 153.
Hebion, his Judaism, 466.
Hell, place of, 98. painful description of, 218. comp. note a.
Hell-fire, eternity of, 101. preservative power of, ib.
Heraclitus, his death, 155.
Hercules, 170, 181. feasts of, 83. tithes given him, 33.
Heresy, distinguished from schism, 284, and note d. St. Basil's view of it, 290. St. Cyprian's, 291. severity of Apostles against, before it was full-grown, 292.
Heresies, permission of, no just cause of scandal, 435. analogy from fevers to shew this, 436. teaches how to act under, ib. vanquish only the weak in faith, ib. as trying faith, parallel to sins of other kinds, 437. and alike cautioned against in Scripture, 438. trial by, different from that by persecution, ib. intended to manifest the approved, 439, 474. numbered amongst the works of the flesh, ib. imply choosing one's own creed, 440. are worked out by philosophy, ib. necessity of, no excuse for, 463. later than sound doctrine, ib. why not Apostolic, because under Apostles, 465. to be

tested by succession from Apostles, and of doctrine, 466. how condemned by the silence of Scripture, 468, 469. degenerate offspring of the truth, 472. as from Satan, 474, 475. why like idolatry, 475. self-destructive in principle, 477. called adultery, 478. miracles no proof of, 479. particular kinds of answer to, contemplated by Tertullian, 480.

Heretics, why not to be allowed to argue from Scripture, 449. not to be dealt with after the first admonition, 450. corrupt and yet attest the genuineness of Scriptures, ib. note n. 451, note r. pervert them by interpretations, ib. note o. deny and affirm that Apostles knew all things, 453. cannot prove themselves a Church, 456. doctrines of, imply that Christ will suffer twice, 464. make greatest use of St. Paul, 457. cannot claim Apostolic succession, 465. nor succession of doctrine, 466. why refused communion, ib. cannot retort the tests applied by the Church, 469. have no right to Scriptures, 472. description of their conversation, 476. of all sorts conspire to hate the truth, ib. confer their orders in a random way, ib. destroy but cannot build, 477. deal with sorcerers, ib. their discipline the index of their doctrine, 478.

Hermas, 95.

Hermas, St. Pastor, 298. tit. quoted as authority, 308, 309, note s. read in Churches, ib.

Herminianus, Claudius, 145.

Hermogenes, 464. in bondage to the elements, as thinking matter eternal, 467.

Herodotus, 22.

Hiera, 85.

Hilarian, the president, 144.

Hilary, St. contrasts Kingdom of Heaven with Kingdom of the Lord, 117.

Homer, his degradation of the gods, 33.

Homer and Hesiod, their views of spirits, 532.

Homeric centones, 474.

Honey and Milk, use of before Baptism, 163, note u. consecrated for the purpose, ib. not to be placed on the altar, ib.

Hostia, 62.

Hours for prayer, third, sixth, and ninth, most solemnized in Scripture, 318, note c. Jewish, ih. note d. three at least needful, exclusive of morning and evening, ib.

Human sacrifices, 21, note k. 22. of priests by a proconsul, ib.

I. J.

Jacob, why he crossed his hands to bless, 264, note r.

Janus, 182, 241.

Idols, things offered to, allowable if necessary only, 172. or comforts not vanities, 173, 175. all places full of them, 197. their temples not invariably wrong for Christians to approach, ib. things offered to abhorred, 204. demons in them, 203. none in former days, 222. not to be made, 223. makers of cursed, 225. not to be allowed to enter a church, ih. 227, 228. are worshippers of Satan, 227. sin of making Christian ministers of such, 228. nothing to be required knowingly for them, 229. birthday of kept, 232. names of not to be learnt, 233, note f things done in honour of inseparable from, 240. demons bound to them, 241. (see *Demons.*) services pertaining to, to be shunned, 243. not to be sworn by, 248. honoured by alms to their votaries, 249.

Idolatry, conflicts with itself, 31. danger of, to be avoided, (see *Images,*) 175. T.'s treatise on it, 220. the date and occasion of, ib. tit. the chief sin of the whole world, init. suicidal, ib. whorish, ib. covetous, 221. and full of all sins, ib. committed when disguised, ib. wide acceptation of, paralleled with that of adultery, 222. and murder, ib. idols necessary to, 223. lies in consecration of images, 224. the book of Enoch agrees with Scripture in condemning, ih. its abettors cursed, 225. is a worship of devils, 227, 229. and the dead, &c. 237. see *Dead.* catechizing concerning idols when not such, 233. Chiefly wrought by burning of incense 235. borders of, to be shunned, 237. festivals, &c. a temptation to it, ib. 238, notes s. t. all worship paid to men is, 240. Christian acts of it, ib. not to be done in obedience to kings, 242. the work of the evil one, 243, 248, 261. partaken in by standing by the sacrifice, ib. 244. dangers of, in being a magistrate, ib. risk of, in dress, 245, 246. in words, 247. lies in disowning God either by words or deeds, 250. like a whirlpool, 251. avoiding it our sole business, 252. its rites sumptuous, connected with Christian, 256.

Idolater, no animal an emblem of, 252.

Jerome, St. misconceives of the opponents of Millennium, 128. allows the extent of the belief in it, ih. 500.

Jesse, rod of, 184, see note c.
Jews, rivals of Christianity, 17. taxed for reading the Scriptures, 42. confide in their fathers, 45. not allowed to greet their native land, ib. note t. look for Christ's coming, 49. confuse first and second coming owing to their sins, ib. their account of Christians, 36, note z. types of Christians, 173.
Ilia, 178.
Image of God, ought to worship God, 62, note g. in Christ, 114. in man, 241. not fully restored yet, 262, note k. Origen's opinion thereon, ib. St. Austin.
Image-making, a confutation of their worship, 30, 31.
Images, when introduced at Rome, 65, note f. entirely absent among early Christians, 109, Note B, at length. modern Rome's excuses for refuted, 110. principles of early Christians concerning from De la Rue, ib. his exceptions not valid, 111. that at Paneas set up in a heathen way, ib. that of Christ broken by heathen was the work of a heathen, ib. Eusebius' expression implies their rareness, ib. existence in Churches denied by St. Austin, 112. destroyed by Severus, 114. absolute and relative worship of, ib. 115. image of emperor worshipped by heathen, ih. passages from Fathers no justification of, 115. Heathen and Romanist arguments for similar, ib. danger of, 116. summary historical statement concerning, ib. carried in heathen processions, 196.
Immersion, trine, 163, note r. prescribed in the present Roman Ritual, note r.
Imo tibi, 249, note e.
Impatience, see *Patience*.
Impossibilities, the materials of God's operations, 256, note h, 257.
Inachus of Argos, Moses' cotemporary, 43.
Incarnation, different modes of stating in Creeds, 487, 8.
Incest of heathen, 23, 24.
Infants, said to be murdered by Christians, 5.
Indifferent things, rule about, 174—6. use and abuse of, 189, 190.
Indifference, danger of, 238, note s.
Ingratus explained, 68, note u.
Injustice of heathen persecutors, (comp. *Christians*,) 2, 3. of heathen, see *Heathen*.
Intermediate state, see *Paradise*.
Interrogatory at Baptism, 291.
Invisible things, furnish Christians with *shows* (which see), 217. visible by Faith, 219.
Job, his patience unbroken, 345.
John, St. his knowledge, 455. his sufferings, 471.
John, St. the Baptist, T.'s peculiar view of his enquiry when in prison, 267, note e. those of other Fathers, ib. prepared Christ's way, 268.
Joseph of Arimathea, prophecy of, 192.
Joseph, served under an idolater, 244, 245, 246.
Josephus, 43.
Iromus, 43.
Irenæus, S. his opinion of the Millennium, 121, &c. held not the restoration of the kingdom to Israel literally, 123.
Isaiah, his patience, 345.
Isis, 16, 171. see *Water*.
Islands, Christians banished to, 30.
Israel, not to be restored to their own land, 123, 124, 125, 126, note b.
Juba, 43.
Judgment, attested by soul, 134. according to men's deservings, 101. how a proof the body will be raised, 99. by Christ, 59, 60. see *Baptism*, 268.
Judgments, for impiety, 145, 146, 242.
Judicial forms, perverted for Christians, 7—12.
Julian law, 11, note m.
Juno, 135.
Juno Curitis, 62.
Juno Achæan, 416.
Jupiter Latiaris, human sacrifices to, 21, note o, 23.
Jupiter, 170, 179, 181.
Jupiter Feretrius, 195, 202.
Jupiter, of human origin, 27.
Justin Martyr, his account of Pilate's acta, 13, note s. his opinion of the Millennium, 123, 124. independent of S. Irenæus herein, 123. held it a great error to think souls are received at once to Heaven, ib.

K.

Keys, power of, confined by T. as a Montanist to first preaching of the Gospel, 498. extended to the other Apostles by St. Cyprian and others, ib. to the Church (as represented by St. Peter,) by St. Austin, 488, 9.
Kiss of peace, 310, note y. need of in T.'s estimate, ib. though shunned by those who were fasting, ib. when and why dispensable with, 311, note z. at Holy Communion, 426, note p.

Kingdom, of Heaven and of the Lord, St. Hilary's contrast between, 117. coming of prayed for, 303.
Kite, of what a type, 252, note b.
Kneeling, see *Prayer*, 317.

L.

Laberius the Pythagorean, 98. his belief in a transmigration of souls, ib.
Lacedæmonians, their odious cloak, 15. their scourgings, 104, 156.
Laity, their duty, 275. see *Baptism*.
Lamech, allusion to, 305.
Lamps, hung over doors, 242.
Language, one though various, 141.
Lapsed, the, 151, note e.
Larentina, 32, 63.
Laticlave, allusion to, 180, note s.
Laurels, hung over doors, 242.
Law, against the Nexi, 11, note n. suspicious if unwilling to be proved, 12. common, its analogy to tradition, 166, note h. all founded on reason, ib. notes i, k. one given by nature, 168.
Laws, against Christians, 10, 11, 12. not repealed while others were, 11. their inadequacy, 92.
Lectisternia, contrasted with Christian feasts, 74, and note f. 87.
Lent, observed before Council of Nice, 311, note z.
Letters, the invention of, 139, 172.
Leo, the Egyptian, quoted, 171, note z.
Leon, persecution there, 148.
Liberalia, 194.
Lightning, burns without consuming, 102, note i. prayed against, 145.
Limentinus, 182, 241.
Litany, mode of, 87, note a.
Literature, heathen, how far to be avoided, 233. teaching worse than learning it, ib.
Litteræ formatæ, 453, note a.
Liturgics, their testimony to renunciation in Baptism, 162.
Love-feasts, 83.
Lord's day, 240.
Lord, allowable title for emperors and with what limitations, 74.
Lucania, separated from Sicily, 85.
Lucernariæ, 84, note z.
Lucius Titius, 8.
Lucretia, 155.
Ludi, 194.
Lupercalia, 194.
Lusts, different kinds of, 204.
Lycurgus, 11. starved himself, 94.
Lydians, Etrurian colony of, 194. originators of shows, &c. ib.

M.

Macedonians, incestuous, 23.
Magistrates, in what to be obeyed, 242. difficulty of Christians being such, 244.
Magi, believe in angels, 54. purport of their offering, 230. and return, ib. 231, note u.
Magicians, their oracles and miracles, 56. how brought about, 67. subject to Christians, ib. 58. rivals of Moses, 231.
Magus, Simon, reason of his fall from grace, 231, note y.
Man, image of the Trinity, 162, note k. his whole substance changed by the fall, 191.
Manetho, 43.
Marcion, his heresy worse than the rest, 292. of the Stoics, 441, note n. the first who maimed the Scriptures, 450, note n, 472, note q, 473. his followers received part only of St. Luke's Gospel, 456, note i. was a ship-owner of Pontus, 462. still teaching in 11th of Antoninus, ib. note d. presented money to the Church before openly heretical, 463, note g. died before his restoration to the Church, 463. disbelieved resurrection of the body, 466. forbade to marry, 467. denied the first Advent, ib. held two gods, 468.
Marcionites, cannot baptize, 285, 287, note x. disallowed marriage, 411, note k.
Marcomans, 78.
Marcus Æmilius, 12.
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, letter of appealed to, 13, 14. his death, 62.
Maritus of Adrumentum, condemned to the beasts, 146.
Marriage, Christian, rite of crowning at, 180, note t. traces of in Old Testament, ib. of Christians, not yet, 216. innocent customs in, 243. with heathen, adultery, 343, note t. blessed by God as means of propagating the human race, 410. unity of recommended, ib. those of the patriarchs why allowed, ib. n. Gospel and legal rules concerning, 411. power of granted through necessity, ib. commended in comparison with an evil, ib. 412. sought from lust of the flesh or the world, 413. how to displace such feelings, ib. unchristian if for worldly ends, 414. dangerous even when for

children, ib. 415. death of husband warning not to renew it, 417. second discouraged by the Church, ib. in the Lord enjoined not counselled, 422, note d. with heathen may be continued not contracted, 423. the former sanctifies heathen, 424. the latter defiles the temple of God, 425. and prevents the performance of sundry Christian duties, 426. and likely sinfully to expose to scorn Christian practices, ib. 427. and tempt to other sins, ib. degradations of, 428. and privations, ib. why continuing in a heathen connection made before grace may be blessed, ib. why contracting one is not, 429. analogies for this rule from earthly discipline, ib. covetousness the ground of such marriages, 430. blessedness of Christian marriage, 430, 1. see *Divorce*. and on second marriage, Note N, at length, 430.

Martyrdom, the seed of the Church, 52. obtains perfect remission, 106, note h.

Martyrs, power of their tombs, 58, note u. blood, seed of the Church, 105, note a. admitted into higher heaven at once, 120. St. Austin's opinion concerning them, ib. address to, 150. date of, ib. tit. supplies sent to in prison, ib. 152. Holy Spirit with them there, ib. the devil will assault them there and how, 151. compared to soldiers, 153. and wrestlers, 154. women among them, 154, 155. their previous endurance preparatory to their crown, 154. cautioned against the weakness of the flesh, 155. stimulated by sufferings of heathen for mere earthly glory, 155—7. and from those naturally entailed on man, 157. their cry for vengeance when to be heard, 303.

Matrons, immodesty of in T.'s day contrasted with early customs, 15.

Matter, made to obey God or be fruitful, (note o,) to Him in the Sacraments, 258. penetrated by spirit, 259. heresies run upon the view of, 441.

Matthias, 452.

Mauritania, persecution there, 148.

Maximilla, 256, note e.

Mecenius, slew his wife, 16.

Medicine, invention of, 172.

Melampus, 52.

Melito, Bp. of Sardis, his holiness, 124. his journey to ascertain Canon of O. T. ib. a maintainer of the Millennium, 125. not a follower of Papias herein, ib.

Men, how classified by heretics, 440, note l. 441, note m.

Menander, 43.

Menedemus, his respect of the LXX, 42, note e. an assertor of Providence, ib.

Mercury, Gauls sacrifice adults to, 21, 172.

Messiæ, 197.

Military service, whether meet for Christians, 176, 177, 184, at length. dangers of, 177. allowed to converts who do not think fit to leave it, ib. on what condition, ib. the question not fully discussed as beside T.'s purpose, 178. extent of Tertullian's objections to, Note E, 184. condemns free choice of, 185. Origen's objections of the same character, ib. no where maintains its lawfulness, ib. Heathen and much more Christian Priests to be exempt from it, ib. fewer Christians found in it, ib. Lactantius against it, ib. St. Basil would restrain, not do away with the Catholic practice, ib. advises such as have shed blood in, to be kept from holy Communion, ib. this practised willingly by Emperor Theodosius after, ib. not disapproved by S. Greg. Naz. 186. panegyrized by Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine, ib. arguments of the latter on both sides, ib. why objectionable for a Christian to enter on, 247.

Millennium, 101, note f. Note D, upon, 120. belonged to full soundness of the faith, 121, 123. parable relating to in S. Irenæus, ib. S. Ir.'s doctrine of, ib. 122. his authorities for it, ib. the influence of it on the Saints, 122. its use against the Gnostics, ib. the language used to describe it symbolical, ib. its Feast sacramental, ib. and note e. not carnal, ib. and 123, 124, 125. held by St. Justin M. 124. and by St. Melito, 125. believed by most in early times through Papias, ib. 126. comp. 128. Tertullian's opinion of, ib. those who questioned it in two first centuries unnamed, ib. first opposed by Origen, ib. and then by S. Dionysius Alex. 127. Nepos' view of it thought carnal, 125. with no likelihood, 127. a low doctrine of spread in Arsenoitis, ib. St. Jerome's opinion, ib. 128, 500. an undecided question in his days, 128. believed by a chain of Greeks, 128. St. Austin's opinion of it, ib. different from S. Irenæus, ib. spoken tenderly of by him even when his view changed, 129. held by Apollinarius, 128, 129. reasons for its being set aside, 129. substitution of purgatory for it, ib. rejected generally but not universally by the

Roman Church, 130. difficulties of and safeguards suggested for the belief in it, ib. dependent on the Revelations, ib. and on secondary fulfilments of prophecy, ib. expectation of analogous to that of Elias, ib.
Mind, 441.
Minerva, 135. 172, 178. new scholars offer to, 232.
Minervalia, 232.
Mines, Christians condemned to, 30. Christians confined there, 81.
Minos, 60.
Miracles, wrought by Christians, 57, note u, 59. when they ceased, ib. 58. not with the Apostles, ib. done by Christians, 217.
Miraculous shower, 14, note z.
Mithra, use of crown in his rites, 184. his rites, 475, notes z, a. see *Water*.
Mixtus, applied to two natures in Christ, 48, note h.
Money, evils of borrowing from heathen, 250.
Montanism, Tertullian's early bias towards it, 151, note c.
Montanists, cannot baptize, 287. the contrary a mistake in St. Dionysius, 288. their view of penance, 349. their quarrelsomeness in prison, 151, note c, 159, note g.
Monuments, proof that resurrection was naturally desired, 105.
Moors, 78.
Moses, a prophetic shepherd, 170. his date, 43.
Mourning, rules of, 339.
Mucius, 104.
Mulier, 313, notes d, h.
Murcia, 198.
Musæus, 52.
Music, invention of, 172.
Mutius, 155.
Mutura, 63.
Mysteries, secret always, 18. profane secluded from them, ib. master of consulted by novices, 20. heathen, stolen from earlier sources, 98.

N.

Name of Christ, its power, 60, and note b.
Name of Holy Trinity, essential to baptism, 293.
Names Divine, what they guarantee, 263.
Nantia, 62.
Nations, particular, types of nations in general in prophecy, 192, 193.
Nature, yields arguments for resurrection, 100. instructs in many things, 168. duty of adhering to, 169.
Nebuchadnezzar, his penance, 344. type of repentance, 369.
Necessity for sinning, none, 178.
Nepos, Bishop of Egypt, his view of the Millennium carnal according to Gennadius, 125. but probably not in reality, 127, and note h.
Neptune, 178.
Neptune Circenses, 197, 199, 202.
Nero, first persecutor, 13.
Nigidius, 464.
Niger, 76.
Non-resistance, a Christian duty, 106, note a.
Novatians, accounted heretics by St. Cyprian, 287.
Numa, his nicety in superstition, 65.
Numa Pompilius, 52, 195. strictness of his ritual, 475.

O.

Oaths, by false gods sinful, 249. even in money contracts, 250. essence of in the mind not the tongue, ib. though dictated by another, ib. or in writing, 251.
Obelisk, in honour of the sun, 197.
Obstinacy, seeming, of Christians, its good effects, 106.
Oil, used in miraculous cure, 147.
Olive, a sign of peace, 265.
Operatio, 310, note y.
Oracles, silenced by Christians, 58, note.
Origen, his objections to a [carnal] Millennium, 126. the first who openly impugned the doctrine, ib. doubtful if he means to speak of that held by the Church, ib. 127, note h.
Orpheus, 52.
Osiris, 171, 172.

P.

Pandora, 170.
Pantheists, deny a Providence, 441, note n.
Papias, his tradition relating to the Millennium, 121, 122. induced most to believe it in early times, 125.
Paradise, 98. intermediate state so called by Fathers, 116. (at length) different appellations of, ib. 117. an *imperfect* state, 117. called Heaven in a different sense from that of final bliss, 118. Angels why in it, ib. called Abraham's bosom, ib. and Ades, ib. Abraham and the Patriarchs thought by some to have been removed thither, 119. not in Heaven

as modern Romanists suppose, ib. Tertullian's opinion upon it, ib. other opinions, ib. harmonize, ib. St. Austin averse to determining the place of, 120.
Parthians, 78.
Paschal vigils, 426, note n.
Papian law, 11, note m.
Passion, the, reality of, 302, note q.
Patience, T.'s treatise on, when written, 327. his confession that he lacked it, ib. 328. needful for any good work, ib. 337, 343. praised by heathens, ib. 347. God the rule of Christian, 328, 333. how displayed in Christ's ministry and childhood, 329. and in His Passion, 330. how a witness of His divinity, ih. want of it the cause of the fall of Satan and of man, 332—36. and of all sin, 334. example of in Abraham, 335. came not hy the Law but by Christ, ib. gains God for our Father, ib. use of in loss of goods, 336. in almsgiving, 337. and Christian endurance, ib. 338. in times of mourning, ib. 339. or injuries, 340. under chastisements, 341. enters into the beatitudes, ib. and into penitence, 343. and charity, ib. its fruits in the body also, 344. as instanced in Nebuchadnezzar, ib. and the case of continency, &c. ib. 345. and in Isaiah, Stephen, and Job, ib. 346. portraiture of, 347. is the abode of the SPIRIT, ib. on what grounded, 348.
Patriarchs, not yet crowned, 117. laws from, 165, 180. attended idolaters within bounds, 244, note p. appearance to, 447, note f.
Paul, St. his counsel like a divine command, 166, note l. his baptism, 269, 272. agrees with other Apostles, 456. made great use of by heretics, ih. does not blame St. Peter for error in teaching, 457. not superior in teaching to St. Peter, 458. committed his whole doctrine to St. Timotby, 459. his death, 471. equal to St. Peter, ib.
Paulianists, reject form of Baptism, 289, note g.
Pay-days, mention of, 238.
Penance, public, see *Confession*. when dropped, 406.
Pentecost, 240. why fit season for Baptism, 278. no fast on it, 240. note a.
Pepuzencs, cannot baptize, 287.
Peregrinus, tbe cynic, 155, note r.
Persecutors, infamous character of, 13. their death-bed, 145. visited with bodily scourges, ib.
Persecution, began with Nero, 13. local, 78, note s. grounds of, note t. not retaliated, ih. waste of life in, 91. increases the Church, 105, note a. leads to increase of tbe Church, 149.
Persians, incestuous, 23. worship sun, 38.
Peter, St. why reproved by St. Paul, 457, notes p. and q. his ordination of St. Clement, question of, 465, note s. his death, 471. see *Rock. Keys.*
Pharaoh, tbe type of impenitence, 369.
Pherecydes, 170.
Philosophers, named from founders of places, &c. 9.
Philosophy, Christianity thought to be a kind of, 93. its powerlessness against dæmons, ib. contrasted with Christianity, 94, 95. its wrangling character, 96. may not blend with Christianity, 442.
Philumene, 440. ber feigned revelations written by Apelles, 463.
Phlegon, on the darkness of the crucifixion, 51, note.
Phrygians, cannot baptize, 286.
Pictures, scanty in four first centuries, 111. disapproved when common, by St. Austin, ib. of Christ, &c. 114. St. Mary, &c. 113. prohibited by Conc. Eliber., ib. St. Paulinus' reason for them, ib. Epiphanius, his zeal against one of them, 112. not of Martyrs but Martyrdoms, ib. of Abraham's offering common, ib. importance of observing that they were of histories not of persons, 112. of the living placed on Churches, 113. of one set over a workshop for a guardian, ib. disallowed by Pope Gregory I. 114. confusion on the subject at Deutero-Nicene Council, ib. summary historical statement concerning, 116. see *Images.*
Pilate's acta, their account of Christ, 13. his report sent up to Tiberius, 52.
Pileus, 211, note a.
Pindar, 33.
Pius, 14.
Piso, 16, 195.
Places, defiled hy tbe things done in them, 198.
Plank, emblem of repentance, 354, note o.
Plato, 85, 94, 95. believed the creation, 27. his views of spirits, 53, note. believes in angels, 54, and note. believed body would not rise, 136.
Platonists, their opinions on Providence, 96. the creation, 97. state of the soul, ib. fluctuating, ib.
Pleasing men, St. Paul's way of, 239.
Pleroma, 441, note u.
Pliny, his testimony, 5.

Polycarp, St. ordained by St. John, 465, and note r.
Polycrates. 29.
Pompey, 29. his entering the temple, 36.
Pomps of the devil, 181. see *Renunciation*.
Possession by devils, 147.
Præsumptio, 136, note t.
Prayer, force of, 13. manner of with Christians, 70. forms of, 70, note l. mode of, 71. for all conditions, 82. by night, 83, note z. and at feasts, 84. preparatory to Baptism, 278, note t. of beasts, 321. of birds, ib. of our Lord, ib. Lord's prayer a means of remission, 394, 395, 398, note p. T.'s treatise on date of, 298. tit. not Montanistic. ib. new form of suits the all-renewing Gospel, ib. reason why St. John Baptist's prayers are lost, 299. reasons for secrecy of, ib. for forgiveness, is confession, 304. can only be fittingly taught by God, 306. obedience to commandments paves the way for, ib. 319, 320. instances in proof of this, ib. undone by persisting in wrath, 307. defiled, gloomy, and enthralled spirits cannot pray, ib. pure hands needful to it, ib. washing not so, ib. though usual, ib. note m. superstitions to be avoided in, 308. humility befitting it, 309. loud crying in, with the heart, note v. proof of this from Jonah's case, 310. dress of women at, 312. kneeling at when dispensable, 317, note u. right always at private morning prayer. ib. and on fasts and stations, ib. meaning of injunction to, 'every where,' ib. hours for, 318. to use before bathing, ib. and food, ib. and parting with brothers, ib. and strangers, 319. is the spiritual victim, ib. to be in spirit and in truth, ib. 320. might and distinctive character of Christian, ib.
Prayer, the Lord's, 299. its sincerity and fulness, ib. 300. the first words of, express honour to the Holy Trinity and Mother Church, 300. see *Father*. first petition praises God and prays for all men, 301. its fulness reason of its stopping short, ib. second petition fulness and universality of its request, ib. figurative and simple meaning of, ib. asks for the substance and power of God's will, ib. special meaning of as applied to the Father, 302. premonishes patience, ib. third petition does not pray for the prolonging of the world, but for sooner reigning, 303. fourth petition, its connection with the foregoing, ib. understood by T. of earthly, but, rather, of spiritual wants, ib. specially of the Eucharist, ib. and by other Fathers, note z. of Christ by some, ib. prays for union with the Church, 304. excludes luxuries, ib. and thought for the morrow, ib. fifth, its connection with fourth, ib. what it implies, ib. 305. sixth petition, its connection with fifth, ib. does not imply that any is tempted of God, ib. but by the devil as seen in the Lord's temptation, ib. its fulness and efficacy, 306.
Prayers and Eucharists universal, 3.
Preaching, only introductory to Baptism. 273. more honourable to the officiator, ib. note r. must be backed by consistent life, 327.
Prescription, T.'s book on, 434. written before his fall, ib. as shewn by his mode of speaking of the Paraclete, ib. the Church, ib. and the Incarnation, ib. and from other arguments, 435.
Priapus, 170.
Priests, their *character* belongs to all Christians, 206, note p.
Priscillianists, allegorize away the force of Scripture, 451, note o.
Prison, house of the devil, 151. those in it relieved by the Church, 150, 152. hides the world's sins from those in it, 152.
Processio, 478, note x.
Proculus Torpacion, 47.
Proeleusis, the, 47.
Prompters, used by heathen in prayers, 10, and note b.
Prophecy, instances of, 44. warrant for future fulfilments, ib. its time one, ib. foretold the coming in of the nations, 46.
Prophets, heathen drew from them, 96. obscure, ib.
Proverb, 'from sky to stye,' 214.
Providence, attested by soul, 134.
Psalms, used at feasts, 84. the Alleluiah, 319, notes i. and k.
Ptolemy Mendesius, 43.
Ptolemy Philadelphus, his zeal for letters, ib. sends for Hebrew Scriptures, 42. and gets them translated, ib.
Pudens, mild to Christians, 146.
Punishment, eternal, 92. not to be rejoiced in by the uninspired, 218, note a. of the bad, good, yet not to be rejoiced in, 209. civil, whether to be administered by a Christian, 244, note r.
Purgatory, see Note on *Paradise. Dead*, prayers for.
Purple, dress of rulers, 245. mark of high birth with Barbarians, ib. when idolatrous, ib.

Pyrrhus, 56.
Pyriphlegethon, 98.
Pyrrho, 106.
Pythagoras, thought the world eternal, 27, 94.
Pythagoreans, their doctrine of transmigration of souls, 136.

Q.

Quietness, thought by some philosophers to be pleasure, 216, note s.
Quinquatria, 232, note b.
Quinisextum, 295.
Quintillians, a division of Montanists, 256, note e.
Quintilla, anti-baptist, 256.

R.

Raven, of what a type, 252, note f.
Reason, source of law, 165. justifies Christian traditions, 166, note n. of God, 298, note b. heathen devoid of, 349.
Rebecca, veiled herself, why, 165. her veiling, 317.
Records, Egyptian, Chaldean, and Phenician, 43. heathen, far later than Scripture, 42.
Regeneration, none by heathen lustrations, 260, note c.
Regulus, 104, 155.
Religion, of Romans, whether the cause of their prosperity, 63—66, 70. the way to national prosperity, 74, 77.
Reminiscence, absence of a proof of the soul's being created, 100.
Remission, three sorts of, 395, note o.
Renunciation, in Baptism, 162, note p. 181, 193, 196, 204, note m. 227. its place in different rituals, ib. 163, note q. forms of, ib.
Repentance, in man's power, 267. date of treatise on, 349. heathen notions of, ib. 350. not to be repented of, ih. note r. 352, 356. in God what, 350, note g. prepares for faith and abode of the Spirit, 351. how it fulfils rightcousness, 352. needful for sins of the mind as of the body, 353. God's desire of it in man, 354. His attestation that it is good, 355. relapse from, a preference of Satan to God, 356, 357. is perverse and hypocritical, ib. precedes pardon even in Baptism, 358. needfulness of this as preventing a fall, 359. fear instrument of, 360. ought not to be needed by Christians, 361. in what sense, ib. note b. but once in public, for seven centuries, 362, note d. hopes of encouraged in our Lord's threatenings and parables, 363. mode of true, 365, and note o. is not to be delicate, 347. backwardness in, contrasted with the self-degradation of candidates for office, ib. 368.
Representaneæ, explained, 68, note b.
Rescript of M. Aurelius, in favour of Christians, 14.
Resurrection of man most probabilities in favour of *it*, 100, 101. of the body, disbelieved by heretics, 466.
Revelation, a, 242.
Revelations, sought by Christians, 217, note u. Allix makes this a tendency to Montanism, ib. to St. Cyprian, ib.
Revenge, to be left to God, 340.
Rhadamanthus, 60.
Rhodes, 85.
Ring, nuptial. used by Romans, 15.
Rites, heathen from Jewish, 260, note c. idolatrous from Satan, 474, 475.
Rock, on which the Church is founded, interpreted by T. of St. Peter's person, 492. though in an heretical sense, ib. opinions of other fathers the same way, in what sense, ib. St. Austin retracts his personal explanation, ib. as does Tertullian, ib. others understand it of the faith of St. Peter, 493. this not opposed to the former, since each Apostle could be a rock only through faith in the Rock, ib. the same fathers use the two interpretations, ib. 494. yet chiefly refer it to Christ and faith in Him, 494, 495. St. Leo's testimony to its meaning the faith in Christ as confessed by St. Peter, 495—497. the rock according to him revealed faith in Christ the Rock, 497.
Romanists, modern, their opinions, see *Images*, *Paradise*, &c. &c.
Romans, disregarded sumptuary laws, 15. change old customs, 16.
Roman Empire, supposed to be Antichrist, 72, note u.
Rome, its suburbs under the Bishop, 469, note g. nature of authority of discussed, 470, notes i. and k. her orthodoxy, 471, 472.
Romulus, his disappearance, 52, 195, 199.
Rudis, 211, note d.

S.

Sabæans, trade with, 89.
Sabbath, done away by Christ, 219, 240. wrong not to kneel on, 317.

Sabellians, cannot baptize, 286.
Sacrament, its original meaning preserved, 153, note m. the, see *Baptism*. Cainites anti-baptists, 255, note b.
Sacrifice, Christians tempted to, 66.
Sacrifices, for Emperor's health, 76.
Saints, their state short of perfect in Paradise, 117. see *Paradise*. see *Christ's Humanity* only, 118. threefold habitation of (in S. Irenæus), 122. enjoy the Millennium, 123. nature of their reign, ib. to judge the world, 152.
Salii, 26, 83.
Salvation, a name of Christ, 351.
Samosatenes, cannot baptize, 284.
Satan, secret author of hatred towards Christians, 7, note h. 8. implied mention of his name by heathen, 135, note p. his attributes according to Christians, 135. his imitations of the truth to cozen men, 260, note c. 261. his rage against men, 362. to be judged by the saints, ib.
Satisfaction made for things past, 279. Note K, p. 369. Estius' definition of it, ib. illustration of the use of the word from the classics, 370. how used by the Fathers, ib. by S. Cyprian, of penitential acts to Godward, 371. and by St. Augustine, 372. or also to the Church, ib. and by St. Ambrose, ih. of St. Peter's confession by tears, ib. by St. Leo as equivalent to repentance, 373. as by St. Chrysostom, ib. of penitential acts by St. Maximus and St. Gregory, ib. no equivalent to it in Greek, 374, and note d. as implying self-affliction held of old acceptable to God, ib. St. Ambrose's instances of it, ib. and of other Fathers, 375. inherent fitness of it, ib. St. Augustine's scientific statement of it as such, 376. contrasted with the Roman view, ib.
Saturn, 134, 170. human sacrifices to, 21. Baal or Moloch, note k. first god, 25, 26. Italy named after him, 26.
Saturnalia, 89.
Saturninus, 145. Claudius, commended, 171, 175, 178, 181.
Scapula, address to, 142. date of, ib. tit.
Schism, see *Heresy*.
School-masters, their office involved idolatry, 232.
Scipio, 29.
Scripture, the majesty of divine, 44. read at feasts, 84, note a. what it does not command it forbids, 161, note m. width of its bearing, 192. its sense sometimes general though the terms are special, ib.
Scriptures, used only by Christians, 132. their antiquity, 140. removed on persecution, 150. do not belong to heretics, 449. all heretics profess to follow them, ib. note l. discussion forbidden by them and of ill consequences, 450. and inexpedient as confirming heretics, 451, note q. the guide in reading, 453, note u. reading of a proof of a Church's Apostolicity, 470, note h. agree with the Church's teaching, 473. framed so as to supply heretics with matter, 474.
Scylla, 29.
Scythians, 22.
Secret crimes, Christians charged with, 17, 20. source of the charge, 20.
Seneca, declaimed against superstition, 30, 106.
Senones, seized the capitol, 86.
Senses, their ministry in attaining knowledge, 167, 208.
Septuagint, account of, 41.
Serapis, 16, 317. feasts of, 83. the LXX kept in his temple, 42.
Serenus, destroys images, 114.
Serpent, made by Moses why allowable, 225, note f. 226. full meaning of the type, note g. other views of, ib. may be combined with this, ib.
Sessiæ, 197.
Seventh Day, a feast with heathen, 39, note l.
Severus, repeals Papian laws, 11, note m. incurs his conniving at escape of Christians, 146. father of Antonine, mild to Christians, 147, 151, note g.
Shows, objection to 169. public, T.'s treatise on, in Greek, tit. date of, ib. 187. not Montanistic, ib. kinds of objected to, ib. note a. forbidden by Theodosius at what times, ib. and by Zeno, ib. fascination of, 188. and note b. arguments for and against them, ib. 189. their furnishing a use of the things of God no excuse and why, ib. note m. abstinence from not commanded in Scripture, 191. yet implied, ib. whole apparatus of idolatrous, 193. and the origin of them, ib. 194. from Etruria, ib. and tit. (instances of these, ib.) and equipments of, 196, 200. and the places of, 197. and the performances, 198, 201. sacrifices to appease the dead, 202, 203. attended by devils, 203. and so not to be partaken of by Christians, 204. by worse pollutions than eating things offered to idols, ib. further grounds against, ib. opposed to the quiet indwelling of the Spirit, 205. proverbial madness of, 206, note n. shocking im-

modesty of, 207, note s. 211. therefore neither to be looked at nor listened, 208. artificial feats in, an objection to and why, ib. their cruel and impiety such as Scripture condemns, 209. this objection addressed to heathens, ib. defended absurdly from fact that God sees them undefiled, 210. the things represented admitted wrong, the representations so also, ib. things shunned in private, inconsistently tolerated in them, 211. condemned implicitly by infamy of actors, ib. 212. contained a parody on Christian things implicitly, 212. displeasing to God from unreality, ib. a worship of the Devil, 213. and so renunciation of a badge of Christians, ib. repugnant to all subjects of Christian thought, 214. specially the Eucharist, ib. visitations on frequenters of, 215. communion of devil with, in them, ib. their good sentiments a bait for the bad ones, 216. their place supplied to Christians by things invisible, 217—19, note i.

Simon Magus, 32. not confounded with Semo Sancus, ib. note x. his worship of Angels, 468.

Sin, committed by violating the Church's rules, 160. all, idolatry, 221. of graver cast appearance of slighter connivance at, to be avoided, 234. account of, 352. different kinds of, ib. 353. lies in the will, ib. 354. original, 277, note o.

Sins, classified differently by the Fathers and Roman Church, 392. how by Origen, ib. how by St. Augustine, 393—96. distinct remedies for, 397, 398, note p. all wilful, grievous when in the Lord, 425.

Slaves, children of female, slaves also, 429.

Socordius, 58.

Socrates, 29. his oaths, 34, note l. disparaged the gods, ib. honoured afterwards, ib. his dæmon prohibits but does not direct, 53, note. his laxness about marriage, 82. his death, 93.

Sorcerers, punished since the Gospel, 231.

Sodom, see *Gomorrah*.

Soldiers, their duties, emblems of Martyrs', 153. of Christ, see 177, 181.

Son, generation of, 47, 48, and notes. birth of a virgin, 48. not a second God, ib. a new Name of the Father, 300. was the will and power of God, 302, note s.

Sons of God, opinions on the meaning of, 54, note e. not applied to men in O. T. ib.

Soothsayers, expelled Italy, 220, tit.

Sophists, a title given to soothsayers, 231, note z.

Soul, the, a witness to God, 39. suffers through the body, 99. Tertullian's opinion of it, ib. note x. thought immaterial by most, ib. Tertullian held the soul in some sense corporeal, 99, note x. testimony of, one of Tert.'s acutest works, tit. 131. date of, ib. its witness to the truth, 132, &c. eternal according to most philosophers, ib. divers theories of its origin, ib. evidence of the inexperienced, sought for, 133. made, not born, Christian, ib. its witness to one God, ib. to His goodness, ib. and man's corruption, ib. from its natural fear of God's anger, 134. from the use of the word 'God,' 134, 135, 140. attests existence of demons as of a Providence and a Judgment, ib. transmigration of less credible than re-assumption of body, 136. attests by its fears that death is evil to it, 137. by its desire of posthumous fame its immortality, ib. instructed through nature by God in its dictates, 138, 140. teaches selfsame things as Christians do, 139, and note h. futility of objections to this, ib. this teaching if not natural, borrowed from Scripture, 140. summing up of its attestations, 140, 1. in protestations, in language, &c. its witness against itself, 141.

Species, see *Genus*.

Speusippus, 94.

Spirit, Holy, animates all souls, 100. alone gave a law to the world, 107. not to be disquieted in us, 205. is the Baptizer, 250. received in Baptism, 262, note m. the Trinity in Him, 264, note p. His descent into Christ, 266.

Spirit, see *Christ*. applied to all Three Persons, 324.

Spirits, acknowledged by heathen philosophers and poets, 53.

Spitting, a mark of contempt to idols, 235, note k.

Stations, Eucharist received upon, 176, note g. 311, notes z, a. 312. solemnity of increased by standing near the Altar, ib. 425, note l.

Stephen, St. his patience, 345.

Stephen, St. of Rome, his view of Baptism out of the Church, 281. see *Baptism heretical*.

Sterculus, 63, 64.

Stoics, their opinion of the arts, 132, note h. Pantheists, 441, note n.

Strangled things, allowed to be eaten, 108. especially by the Latins, ib. not promiscuously, 109.

Substantia, being, 154, note r.

Succession, the, a safeguard against heresy, 465, and notes, 469.
Sufferings, of Christians, voluntary, 103. joyous at last, ib. in what sense unwilling, ib. praised for human glory, 104. made an argument against Christians, 88, note a.
Sumptuary laws, 15.
Sun-worship, Christians accused of, 38. by the Persians, ib. and other heathen, ib.
Sun, emblem of the Trinity, 47, not s a, b. obelisk in honour of, 197.
Sunday, a feast day, 38.
Suppers, extravagance of among Romans, 15.
Susanna, veiled herself, why, 165.
Suspicious, to be suspected, 20. blind, 24.
Sword, taken away by Christ, 247.

T.

Tacitus. his account of Christians, 36.
Tarpeii, 86.
Tatian, denies Adam's salvation, 369, note a.
Taxes, paid by Christians honestly, 90.
Temple at Jerusalem, no image there, 36. worship there, 37.
Temptation, the, purport of, 279, note y. 280, note z.
Tertullian, misinformed about Antonine's letter, 14. his opinion concerning Paradise, 119, 120, note d the Millennium, 120. his views of the Millennium, 125. spiritual, ib. thought all righteous were to rise within the Millennium, 126. his vehemence leads him to forget what he describes, 218, note a. aims at impressing heathen in his treatises to Christians, ib. his opinion on civil punishment, 244, note r. his opinion on our Lord's want of comeliness, 246, 252, Note F. at length. difference of this from St. Austin's, 253. his saying Credo quia impossibile est, 256. meaning of, ib. note h. held heathen rites to be copied from Jewish, 260, note c. his false view of a Church after his fall, 263, note p. his peculiar view of the withdrawal of the Holy Spirit from St. John Baptist, 267, note c. his view of the Apostles' baptism, 270, note k. his habit of looking at once to the end, noticed, 271, note n. his opinion of infant baptism, 277, note o. of original sin, ib. begs to be remembered in his reader's prayers, 280. his subsequent error deprived even his approved writings of authority, 298. tit. contends that prescription is no argument for truth, 316, note q. see Preface.
Testament, New, its doctrines corrupted, 97, see note o.
Thales, his account of God, 94. is ascribed to others, note r.
Thallus, 26, 43.
Thanatius, 58.
Thanks to God, a formula at martyrdom, 4, note.
Theatre, &c avoided by Christians, 80.
Theatres, destroyed by early Roman law, 15. licentious, and put down by censors as such, 200. temples of Venus, ib. full of devils, 196, 203, note k. 214. God absent from, 213.
Thecla, acts of, 275, note h. a forgery, 276.
Themistocles, 29.
Thysdris, 146.
Tiberius, proposes in Senate to make Christ a god, 12. Christianity began in his reign, 17.
Time, two states of, 101.
Toga Virilis, 243, notes l. and m.
Torture, hindered not confession, 52.
Tortures, used to make Christians deny the truth, 6.
Trades, unlawful, necessity no excuse for, 225, 228, 229. none idolatrous allowable, 236. excuses for such refuted, ib. abandoned for Christ, 237.
Tradition, Apostolic, 38, note k, extr. a guide in doubtful cases, 161, note n. 166. whether unwritten should be received, ib. 162, note o. doxology received upon it, ib. and mixture of water with the wine, ih. equal when universal to the decrees of Councils in St. Austin's judgment, ib. rules for deciding which are so, ib. and in doubtful cases, ib. justifiable by reason, 165, &c. catholic, infallible for practical purposes, 461. primitive from God, 472.
Trajan, his orders to Pliny, 5. iniquity of his sentence, ib. foils laws against Christians, 14.
Transmigration of souls, 136. a corruption of belief in the Resurrection, 98. less credible than it, 99, 100.
Treason, theory of, 75, note n.
Treaties, made with blood, 22.
Trinity, dwells in the, reference to in promise to two or three gathered in Christ's Name, 263, note p. Name alone of, its efficacy the point at issue in question of heretical Baptism, 281. of man, 440, note l. 441, note m.
Trophonius, 52.

Truth, how worshipped by Christians, 36. by whom corrupted, 97. then derided, ib. testimonies to in heathen writers, 131. unvarying and so of perpetual obligation, 210. precedes resemblances of it, 462.
Types, see *Animals*, *Jews*, *Serpent*, &c.

U. V.

Valentia, 62.
Valentinus, 441, note m, 473, note u. was a Platonist, 462. his amending of sound doctrine, 464. disbelieves resurrection of the body, 466. his endless genealogies, 467. traces the fault of one Æon to the production of God the Creator, 468. see *Æons*.
Varro makes 300 Joves, 34.
Veil, women to use it at prayer, 312.
Verus, 14, note a.
Venus, 178. theatres, temples, to, 200.
Vepronius Candidus, skreens a Christian, 146.
Vespasian, 14.
Victor, Bp. of Rome, sides with Montanists, 155, note g.
Virgins, included in 'women,' 312—315. duty of bashfulness in at Church, 315, 316. numerousness of consecrated virgins, 316, note p. to be veiled as married to Christ, 316.
Vision, a brother chastised in, 242.
Unbelief, stumbles at simple, 256.
Unreality of worldly things, 181.
Volcanoes, unwasted, 102. forerunners of a greater fire, 368.
Vulsinii, 86.

W.

Washing, abstained from a week before Baptism, 163. in heathen rites, see *Water*. in Jewish, 274. before prayer, 307, note m. reason of, ib. note n.
Water, man reformed by it, 257. dignity of from the creation, ib. dry land founded upon, 258. source of creation and re-creation, ib. praises of, ib. is Christ's, ib. note q. figure of Baptism, ib. sanctified by the Spirit, 259. through prayer, ib. immaterial where they were, ib. imbibes the power of sanctifying, 259. its cleansing power typical, ib. 274. healing powers given to, 260. use of in heathen rites of Isis and Mithra, ib. in Ambarvale, ib. note h. regeneration fancied to be by, ib. and other lustrations, ib. note c. might imparted to since the Incarnation, 262. sweet sounds drawn from, 264, note p. manifold religious uses relating to, 265. Christ never without it, 266. Baptism the Sacrament of, 270. see *Baptism*.
Water and Blood from Christ's side, 274, note z.
Way, a name of Christ's religion, 307.
Whitby, *Dr.* falsifies the Fathers' opinions of the Millennium, 125, note g. 126, note h.
Widowhood, its difficulties, 418, 421. contrasted with those of virginity, 418.
Widows, encouraged to delay Baptism, 278.
Wife, Tert.'s 1st book to, 409. probable date of, ib. why wished by him not to marry again, 410. one allowed to clergy in what parts, Note N, 419, at length. 2d book to, 421. abates somewhat, ib.
Wild beasts fed on blood, 23.
Will, cause of sin, 353, 4. of God, 325.
Wine, matrons forbidden it in early Rome, 16.
Wolf, of what a type, 252, note f.
Women, chastity of Christian and heathen compared, 82. not to officiate in Church, 256, note l. not allowed anciently to baptize, 275. diversity of custom herein, ib. note q. unmarried should delay baptism, 278. their dress at prayer, 312. title of all females in Scripture, 313—15. married why they should veil, 316.
Wood, its use to heal waters, 266. of what a type, ib.
Word, the, how believed by heathens, 46. of God, 298.
World, governed by fixed laws, 28. adopted for man, ib. the, a prison, 152. of God, the things of it of the devil, 206. its enmity with God, Apol. fin.
Worship, prevarication about, implies rejection of, 52. instruction about, given by men as Moses, &c. ib. of heathen a lie, 61. willingness the essence of it, 68.
Wrestling, a work of the devil, 209. of Christians, 217.
Writing, as bad as speaking wrong, 250, 251. argument from Zacharias for their *equivalence*, 251.

X.

Xystarches, 154, note q.

Z.

Zacharias, his writing equivalent to speaking, 251.
Zeno, his belief, 46, note y. 94. of Elea, 104.

INDEX OF TEXTS.

GENESIS.

i. 1. 257
6. 258
7. ib.
9. ib.
10. ib.
20. ib.
26. 262
27. 190, 262, 313
ii. 2. 313
7. 262
iii. 7. 315
17, 18. 182
iv. 24. 305
vi. 2. 314
xv. 6. 335
xxiv. 2. 180
xxviii. 1. ib.
xlv. 24. 306

EXODUS.

viii. 5. 159
xv. 26. 266
xx. 4. 212, 223
7. 233, 248
xxi. 24. 335
xxiii. 13. 233, 248
xxxii. 6. 173

LEVITICUS.

xxii. 8. 23

DEUTERONOMY.

xix. 15. 455
xxi. 23. 338
xxii. 5. 213, 243
xxxii. 2. 357

1 SAMUEL.

xiii. 14. 437
xvi. 7. ib.

2 KINGS.

i. 10. 320
xix. 11, 12. 347

NEHEMIAH.

xii. 27. 173

JOB.

i. 6. 54, note e.
ii. 1. ib.
9. 346
vii. 5. ib.
xii. 10. ib.
xxxviii. 7. 54, note c.

PSALMS.

i. 1. 191, 216
3. 243, 355
ii. 12. 219
viii. 5. 183
xvi. 8. 319
xx. 7. 180
xxii. 16. 50
xxiv. 7—10. 183
xxxiii. 6. 50
xlii. 2. 329
3. ib.
lii. 6. 218
lviii. 10. ib.
xcvi. 5. 248
cix. 8. 452
24. 87
cxi. 10. 429, 478
cxv. 4. 174
8. 174, 224

PROVERBS.

xix. 17. 352
xxi. 1. 302

ECCLESIASTES.

viii. 11. 329
ix. 4. 68

ISAIAH.

i. 2. 300
11. 319
12. ib.
14. 240
15. 308
17, 18. 418
v. 12. 174
18. 368
vi. 9, 10. 49, 50
vii. 9. 267, note c.
xi. 1. 180
2. 184
xiv. 9. 218
xxviii. 31. 172
xl. 3. 263
15. 355
xliv. 8. LXX. 224
20. LXX. ib.
lii. 5. 239
liii. 2. 246
3. 252
7. 330
liv. 5. 182
lxv. 2. 50

JEREMIAH.

viii. 4. 363
xxxi. 8. 278
34. 94

LAMENTATIONS.

iv. 9. 22

EZEKIEL.

xviii. 23. 304, 354
30. 354
xxi. 26. 44

DANIEL.

iii. 12. 242
21. 308
iv. 32, &c. 344
33. 369
vi. 5. 242
22. 320

HOSEA.

vi. 6. 363

JOEL.

ii. 28. 351

AMOS.

viii. 9. 50

MICAH.

v. 1. 48

MALACHI.

iii. 1. 263

WISDOM.

i. 1. 442

SONG OF THE 3 CHILDREN.

ver. 26. 320
27. ib.

SUSANNAH.

ver. 32. 165

BEL AND DRAGON.

ver. 33. 320
34. ib.

ST. MATTHEW.

ii. 1. 230
12. ib.
iii. 2. 351
3. 263
8. 279
10. 180, 355
11. 268
12. 416, 437
iv. 21. 237
22. ib.
v. 3. 341
4. 180, 342
5. 342
9. ib.

v. 11. 338, 342
12. 338, 341
14. 243
15. 460
16. 240
20. 222
21. 250
22. 307, 335
23. 306, 342
24. 207
25. 143, 342
28. 222, 354
32. 424
34. 234, 250
37. 460
39. 212, 337
40. 337
44. 72, 142, 301, 320, 335
45. 328
46. 142
48. ib.
vi. 1. 427
6. 299
7. ib.
8. ib.
18. 300
21. 153
24. 179, 215, 236, 425
25. 237, 414
27. 212, 414
28. 236, 414
31. 236
32. 304, 414
33. 303
34. 304, 414
vii. 1. 340
3. 83
6. 278, 427, 459, 476
7. 280, 306, 442, 443
8. 280, 338
9. 304
15. 338, 438
16. 463
44. 351
viii. 20. 246
22. 272
24. 271
ix. 9. 237, 272
16. 298
17. ib.
x. 5. 443
16. 265
23. 159, 411
27. 459
32, 33. 177
33. 238
36. 17
37. 176, 272, 305
39. 337
40. 318
42. 266
xi. 5. 50
8. 246
11 271
xi. 27. 454
28. 159
xii. 36. 208, 338
37. 247
xiii. 11. 455
24. 464
29, 30. 88
46. 156
xiv. 25. 266
xv. 13. 437
14. 448
24. 443
26. 304
xvi. 18. 455
19. ib.
24. 236
25. 177
xvii. 1. 153
1, sqq. 455
xviii. 16. 450
17. 263
20. 431
22. 305, 342
27. 304, 305
xix. 12. 344, 416
21. 236
23. 430
29. 236
xx. 16. 274, 437
xxi. 25. 266
xxii. 21. 179, 241
28. 410
30. ib.
xxiii. 9. 300
31. 308
xxiv. 7. 44
12. ib.
19. 415
24. 479
xxv. 18. 459
27. 459
xxvi. 27. 164
29. 122
40. 305
41. 154, 279, 305, 345, 412
52. 159, 176, 330
53. 330
56. 303
xxvii. 24. 266
37. 183
64. 219
xxviii. 2. 263
13. 219
19. 272, 443, 452
20. 263

ST. MARK.

i. 4. 268
20. 272
ii. 7. 267
iv. 34. 452, 455
41. 50
vii. 20. 208

viii. 38. 238
ix. 43. 228
49. 102
x. 8. 431
14. 277
xiv. 21. 463
25. 122
xvi. 20. 452

ST. LUKE.

i. 1. 460
11. 309
35. 323
iii. 3. 351
11. 337
14. 17, 247
iv. 2. 305
4. 280
vi. 20. 430
21. 236, 342
24. 336, 430
37. 305, 342
40. 468
vii. 48. 272
50. ib.
ix. 54. 329
60. 237
62. 236
x. 5. 319
xi. 5. 304, 445
10. 445
xii. 2. 359
16. 304
22. ib.
50. 274
57. 166
xiv. 28. 236
xv. 4. 364
8. 363, 445
10. 363
11. 343
11, &c. 364
29, &c. ib.
xvi. 9. 337
11. 430
29. 442
xvii. 27. 415
28. ib.
xviii. 1. 317
3. 445
10. 309
27. 237, 257
42. 448
xxii. 10. 278
19. 303
28. 279
29. ib.
42. 302
61. 352
xxiii. 50. 192
xxiv. 27. 455

ST. JOHN.

i. 1. 50
3. 50
12. 300
33. 299
ii. 2. 266
20. 154
iii. 5. 269, 272
30. 299
31. 268, 299
32. ib.
iv. 2. 268, 275
6. 266
23. 319
24. ib.
v. 4. 261
18. 219
30. 302
31. 456
39. 442
43. 300
68. 437
vi. 33. 303
35. ib.
38. 302
63. 299
66. 437
vii. 37. 266
viii. 14. 171
48. 219
x. 30. 300
xii. 4. 438
28. 301
xiii. 5. 266
8. 270
10. 270, 308
25. 455
31. 274
32. ib.
xiv. 6. 153
27. 431
xv. 18, 19. 1
xvi. 7. 267
12. 455
13. 443, 455
20. 180, 216, 238
30. 437
xvii. 6. 301
xviii. 11. 247
20. 459
xix. 26. 455
34. 266
xxi. 20. 455

ACTS.

i. 11. 278
20. 452
ii. 15. 318
iii. 1. ib.
16. ib.
iv. 27. 264

v. 39. 146
vii. 60. 345
viii. 21. 232
26. 276
ix. 15. 277
x. 9. 318
37. 266
40. 51
xv. 6. 252
20. 23
xvi. 25. 317, 320
26. ib.
xix. 2. 267
xxii. 10. 272
xxvi. 28. 132
xxvii. 35. 318

ROMANS.

i. 20. 350
21. 86
26. 94, 168
ii. 14. 168
24. 239
v. 10. 217
vi. 3. 278
5. 359
viii. 19. 302
20. 168, 173
ix. 21. 355
23, 24. 173
xii. 1. 173, 308
14. 147
15. 237
16. ib.
17. 340
19. 176, 340, 352
20. 337

1 CORINTHIANS.

i. 10. 439, 460
17. 273
20. 231
27. 257, 440
iii. 1, sq. 461
4. 273
12. ib.
16. 173
17. 424
19. 208, 440
iv. 7. 315
12, 13. 72
12. 225
v. 10. 239, 251
11. 424
vi. 2. 152, 428
3. 362
7. 176
12. 275
vi. 15. 425
19, 20. ib.
27. 416
29. 415
vii. 7. 412, 422, 423
9. 411
12, &c. 422
13. 428
14. 424
15, 16. 423
17. 166
17, 20. 423
20. 166, 225
22. 181
23. 181, 246
25. 160
26. 411
27. 417
28. ib.
30. 423
31. 174
34. 412
35. ib.
37. 421
39. 181, 421, 431
40. 166
viii. 2. 461
6. 133
7. 238
10. 175, 176
14. 175
ix. 20. 458
22. 239, 458
25. 154
x. 4. 266, 334
11. 226, 411
19. 171, 201
20. ib.
21. ib.
24. 208
28. 175
32. 239
33. 239, 431
xi. 2. 478
3. 182
4. 314
5. 165, 314
6. 312, 315
7. 182
10. 182, 314
14. 168, 315
15. 315
18. 439, 474
19. 435, 438, 439, 463, 474
31. 375
xii. 4. 280
8. 446
26. 366
xiii. 4, &c. 343
xiv. 35. 276
xv. 12. 466
33. 418, 425
36. 100
53. 417

2 CORINTHIANS.

ii. 15. 152
v. 4. 101
10. 478
vi. 14. 215
15. 175
17. ib.
ix. 7. 427
xi. 2. 182
14. 440
xii. 4. 458
xiii. 1. 263, 455
7. 239

GALATIANS.

i. 6. 461
8. 48, 440
10. 239
18. 457
24. ib.
ii. 9. ib.
12, sqq. ib.
iii. 1. 461
13. 338
27. 269
iv. 9. 467
26. 180
v. 1. 152, 466
7. 461
20. 439

EPHESIANS.

ii. 12. 423
19. 180
iii. 15. 413
iv. 4. 366
5. 273, 366
26. 307, 342
27. 317
30. 150, 205
31. 205
v. 4, 12. 208
8. 152
vi. 12. 474
13. 159
16. 346
17. 159

PHILIPPIANS.

i. 23. 216, 339, 414
ii. 15. 173
iii. 13. 412
15. 166
19. 181, 413, 419
20. 154, 180

COLOSSIANS.

ii. 8. 441
18. 467
iii. 5. 221, 234

1 THESSALONIANS.

iv. 13. 339
14. 339
v. 21. 438

1 TIMOTHY.

i. 4. 441, 467
18. 459
19. 234
ii. 2. 72
8. 317
9. 182, 312
12. 256
iii. 6. 476
iv. 1. 440
3. 467
v. 9. 417
10. 426
12. 428
13. 418
23. 172
vi. 4. 450
10. 336
12. 154
13. 459
20. 234, 459

2 TIMOTHY.

i. 14. 459
ii. 2. ib.
3. 312
4. ib.
17. 441
18. 467
19. 437
25. 239
iii. 16. 313
iv. 7, 8. 183
8. 157, 346
13. 172, 308

TITUS.

i. 5. 417
15. 174
ii. 7. 239
iii. 1. 242
5. 193
9. 441
10. 439, note f. 450
11. 439

HEBREWS.

iv. 15. 304, 437
x. 24. 431
25. ib.
xi. 13. 1, 180
37. 345
xiii. 12. 319

JAMES.

i. 13. 305
iv. 12. 340
v. 11. 345
17. 320

1 PETER.

iii. 1. 182
3. 312
9. 72
iv. 11. 250

2 PETER.

iii. 7. 265

1 JOHN.

i. 1. 329, 413, 437
ii. 15. 205
16. 204
19. 438
ii. 22. 467
iii. 2. 262, note k.
13. 1
15. 222
iv. 3. 467
v. 6. 274
21. 175

2 JOHN.

i. 10. 446

REVELATIONS.

ii. 4. 363
7. 183
10. ib.
11. 363
14. 363, 467
20. 363
24. 222
iii. 2. 363
17. ib.
19. 341
iv. 4. 182, 183
8. 301
v. 10. 184
vi. 2. 183
9. 303
10. ib.
x. 1. 183
xii. 9. 416
xiv. 14. 183
xviii. 4. 180
20. 218

INDEX OF GREEK AND ORIENTAL WORDS.

A.

Ἀγάπη, see 83.
ἀνάκρασις, see *Mixtus*.
ἀνάχυσις, 49, note h.

B.

βασιλεὺς βασιλίσκος, 255, note e.
βουλὴ, 325.
βούλησις, ib.
βριφομαντεία, 56, note r.

Γ.

γυνὴ, 313, note h.

Δ.

διαμαστίγωσις, 156.

E.

εἶδος, 223.
εἴδωλον, ib.
ἐρεύγιον, 416, note d.
ἕνωσις 49, note h.
ἐμπεπυρισμένοι, 324.
ἑτεροούσιος, 303, note z.
ἐτεσυνάπτειν, 344, note y.

Θ.

θηλεία, 313, note h.

I.

ΙΧΘΥΣ, Christ, 256.

K.

καθάρσια, 260, notes z. and d.
Κόσμος, 39.
κρᾶσις, see *Mixtus*.

Λ.

Λόγος, 50, 324.

M.

μῖξις, see *Mixtus*.

Ξ.

ξηροφαγία, 311, note z. 344, note x.
ξύστος, 154, note q.

Π.

πάσχα σταυρώσιμον, 311, note z.
ἀναστάσιμον, ib.
προίλυσις, 446, note d.
προτηδᾶν, ib.

Σ.

συνάφια, 49, note h.
συγκρᾶσις, see *Mixtus*.

Υ.

ὑπερτιθέναι, 344, note y.

Φ.

φωτισμὸς, 81, note g.

X.

χωρίον Ῥωμαιῶν, 469, note g.

ܚܠܛ 49, note h.

ܚܒܠ ib.

ܡܠܟ ib.

ملكة 255, note c.

מעמד 311, note z.

צפע. צפעני 255, note c.

END OF VOL. I.

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ERRATA.

Page 1. l. 4. *for* 396 *read* 196
8. l. 10. *for* know for a certain *read* know for certain
13. l. 6. *for* wreck *read* wreak
14. l. 8. *for* clear *read* dear
16. l. 22. *for* bestowed *read* restored
24. title, *for* defilemen—textent *read* defilement—extent
56. not. m. *for* in Nah. c. 7. *read* in Ab. l. i. c. 1.
76. l. 3. *dele* comma after " Jove"
79. l. 16. *for* yea *read* ye
127. antep. *for* Præp. *read* Præf.
131. l. 3. *for* call *read* cull
136. l. 11. *for* them *read* thee
146. l. 1. *for* this *read* the
159. n. g. col. 1. *for* acknowledged *read* was on the point of acknowledging
164. n. z. l. ult. *for* reserve *read* preserve
177. l. 9. *for* give *read* given
191. l. 28. *for* relates *read* relate
202. l. 30. *for* funeral—sacrifices *read* funeral-sacrifices
205. l. 13. *for* delicate-tranquilly *read* delicate—tranquilly
214. n. n. l. 3. *for* S. Matt. 7, 5. *read* 7, 6.
245. l. 5. from b. rulers of this world *add in marg.* Eph. 6, 12.
247. l. 7. from b. *for* Behold *read* Behold[e]
254. folio, *for* 354 *read* 254
262. n. k. l. ult. *for* in his eternity *read* in eternity
—— l. 15. *for* ' his' twice *read* ' His'
275. l. 5. from b. *for* fast[a] *read* fast
314. n. i. *for* desit *read* dicit
369. l. 24. *for* with a universe kind of brands *read* an universe of brands
385. l. 13. *for* of penitent *read* of the p.
398. n. p. col. 2. 7. from b. *for* aud *read* and
406. n. t. col. 1. ult. *for* well nigh *read* well-nigh
407. n. u. col. 1. l. 4. from b. *for* to each and other, pray *read* to each other, and pray
409. notice, l. 8. *for* humanely *read* humanly
437. l. penult. *for* sedfastly *read* stedfastly
445. l. 8. *for* warm *read* worm
457. l. 19. *for* good enough *read* good man enough

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WHERE REQUIRED, AND SUMMARIES OF CHAPTERS AND INDICES.

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A PUBLICATION, answering to the above title, appeared to the Editors calculated to answer many and important ends, and to supply considerable wants, some peculiar to our own Church and times, others more general.

Their chief grounds for thinking it very desirable were such as the following:—

1. The great intrinsic value of many of the works of the Fathers, which are, at present, inaccessible, except to such as have large libraries, and are *familiar* with the languages in which they are written; and this the more, since a mere general acquaintance with the language will not enable a person to read with ease many of the Fathers. E. g. Knowledge of Latin alone will not suffice to read Tertullian: and in cases less strong, ecclesiastical language and peculiarity of style will often present considerable difficulties at first.

2. The desirableness of bringing together select works of different Fathers. Many who would wish to become acquainted with the Fathers, know not where to begin; and scarcely any have the means to procure any great number of their works. Editions of the *whole* works of a Father, (such as we for the most part have,) are obviously calculated for divines, not for private individuals: they furnish more of the works of each Father than most require, and their expense precludes the acquisition of others.

3. The increased demand for sacred reading. The Clergy of one period are obviously unequal to meet demands so rapid, and those of our day have additional hindrances, from the great increased amount of practical duties. Where so much is to be produced, there is of necessity great danger that

much will not be so mature as, on these subjects, is especially to be desired. Our occupations do not leave time for mature thought.

4. Every body of Christians has a peculiar character, which tends to make them look upon the system of faith, committed to us, on a particular side; and so, if they carry it on by themselves, they insensibly contract its limits and depth, and virtually lose a great deal of what they think that they hold. While the system of the Church, as expressed by her Creeds and Liturgy, remains the same, that of her members will gradually become contracted and shallow, unless continually enlarged and refreshed. In ancient times this tendency was remedied by the constant living intercourse between the several branches of the Catholic Church, by the circulation of the writings of the Fathers of the several Churches, and, in part, by the present method--translation. We virtually acknowledge the necessity of such accessions by our importations from Germany and America; but the circumstances of Germany render mere translation unadvisable, and most of the American Theology proceeds from bodies who have altered the doctrine of the Sacraments.

5. The peculiar advantages of the Fathers in resisting heretical errors, in that they had to combat the errors in their original form, before men's minds were familiarized with them, and so risked partaking of them; and also in that they lived nearer to the Apostles.

6. The great comfort of being able to produce, out of Christian antiquity, refutations of heresy, (such as the different shades of the Arian:) thereby avoiding the necessity of discussing, ourselves, profane errors, which, on so high mysteries, cannot be handled without pain, and rarely without injury to our own minds.

7. The advantage which some of the Fathers (e. g. St. Chrysostom) possessed as Commentators on the New Testament, from speaking its language.

8. The value of having an ocular testimony of the existence of Catholic verity, and Catholic agreement; that truth is not merely what a man *troweth*; that the Church once was one, and spake one language; and that the present unhappy divisions are not necessary and unavoidable.

9. The circumstance that the Anglican branch of the Church Catholic is founded upon Holy Scripture and the agreement of the Universal Church; and that therefore the knowledge of Christian antiquity is necessary in order to understand and maintain her doctrines, and especially her Creeds and her Liturgy.

10. The importance, at the present crisis, of exhibiting the real practical value of Catholic Antiquity, which is disparaged by Romanists in order to make way for the later Councils, and by others in behalf of modern and private interpretations of Holy Scripture. The character of Catholic antiquity, and of the scheme of salvation, as set forth therein, cannot be appreciated through the broken sentences of the Fathers, which men pick up out of controversial divinity.

11. The great danger in which Romanists are of lapsing into secret infidelity, not seeing how to escape from the palpable errors of their own Church, without falling into the opposite errors of Ultra-Protestants. It appeared an act of especial charity to point out to such of them as are dissatisfied with the state of their own Church, a body of ancient Catholic truth, free from the errors, alike of modern Rome and of Ultra-Protestantism.

12. Gratitude to Almighty God, who has raised up these great lights in the Church of Christ, and set them there for its benefit in all times.

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